

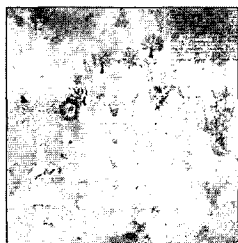
# The American Historical Review



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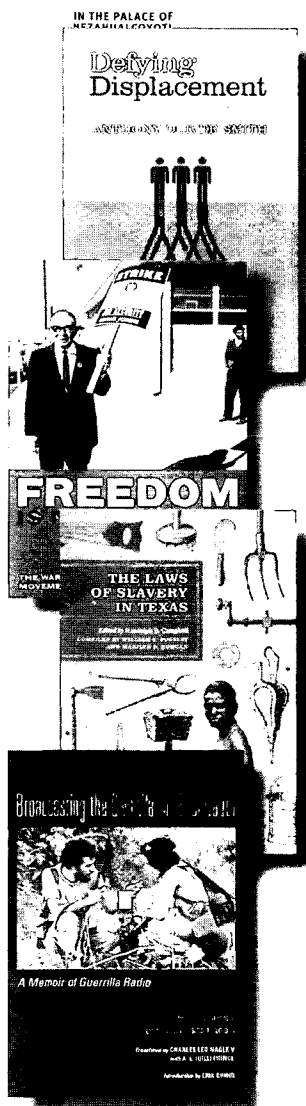
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## In This Issue

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The June issue includes two articles on food in early modern colonial contexts, a piece on official efforts to create a “national language” in Meiji Japan, an analysis of an all but forgotten U.S. congressional act that freed the wives and children of slaves who enlisted in the Union Army during the Civil War, and an *AHR* Exchange on an article we published in 2008 titled “The ‘Myth’ of the ‘Weak’ American State.” There are also five featured reviews, followed by our normal extensive book review section. “In Back Issues” calls attention to articles and features in the *AHR* from one hundred, seventy-five, and fifty years ago.

### Articles

In “‘A continuall and dayly Table for Gentlemen of fashion’: Humanism, Food, and Authority at Jamestown, 1607–1609,” **Michael A. LaCombe** uses the multiple meanings of food—as symbol, rhetorical device, and basic human need—to shed new light on the familiar figures and events of early Jamestown. He notes that the colony’s grave supply problems raised political questions as well as logistical concerns for its leaders, and thus challenged those leaders to justify their choices of policy and conduct. But the governing figures at Jamestown employed different languages of politics and authority in asserting their leadership. Some, such as George Percy, evoked paternalist images of a leader; others, including Captain John Smith, based their self-presentations on rhetoric and imagery rooted in humanism. The historiography of the early period of Jamestown often focuses on breakdown, failure, and dysfunction, but legitimate differences such as these lay at the root of many early disagreements. Further complicating their efforts was the necessity to pursue negotiations with Powhatan, the paramount chief of the Chesapeake region’s native population. English leaders and Powhatan understood that food conveyed similar meanings, though they often differed on what they were, and Powhatan knew full well that English dependency on his people’s food stores could not be reconciled with English claims to preeminence in the Chesapeake. In these ways, food offered early modern English and their Algonkian hosts rich opportunities for cross-cultural negotiation and a complex contest for dominance.

**Rebecca Earle** explores the place of food in a rather different colonial context. In “‘If You Eat Their Food . . .’: Diets and Bodies in Early Colonial Spanish America,”

she argues that if we are to understand the history of European colonization in the early modern era, we must pay attention to how Europeans thought about food. Diet was important to the colonial enterprise because the correct foods were believed to protect Europeans from the rigors of an unfamiliar climate. More fundamentally, food possessed the paradoxical power to create or, more troubling, to blur the bodily differences that separated Europeans from colonized peoples. Looking at a colonial context through food thus reminds us that early modern bodies, whether in Europe or elsewhere, were essentially porous and fluid—the very opposite of the fixed, racialized bodies that some recent scholarship has claimed to locate in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish and English New World settlements. Her article explains the ways in which food was understood to produce “Spanish” and “Indian” bodies. It further demonstrates the centrality of these ideas to Spain’s larger colonial enterprise by tracing the connections between views about the mutability of colonial bodies and the broader aims of colonialism, which sought simultaneously to make Amerindians like Europeans and to keep them separate.

In “Tongues-Tied: The Making of a ‘National Language’ and the Discovery of Dialects in Meiji Japan,” **Hiraku Shimoda** examines the process of standardizing spoken Japanese from early modern times to the early twentieth century. While variety in provincial speech was a fact of life in Tokugawa Japan (1603–1868), the imperatives of the nation-state of the Meiji era (1868–1912) compelled a reinterpretation of that familiar social reality. As Meiji-era scholars and officials sought to overcome diversity by creating a newly normative “national language” (*kokugo*) or “standard speech” (*hyōjungo*), they transformed and redefined longstanding varieties of speech into “dialects.” By analyzing scholarly discourse as well as field cases in the Aizu region of northeast Japan, this article reveals the struggle to nationalize the legacies of regionalism and the ironies inherent in the search for modern uniformity. Shimoda argues that the fundamental recasting of provincial speech in the late nineteenth century rendered “dialects” no less an artificial linguistic category than “national language.”

In “Instead of Waiting for the Thirteenth Amendment: The War Power, Slave Marriage, and Inviolate Human Rights,” **Amy Dru Stanley** explores the counterpoint between two antislavery decrees adopted by the United States Congress during the final months of the Civil War. One became the Thirteenth Amendment, which prohibited slavery everywhere in the American republic and its territories; the other was an enlistment measure, which liberated Union soldiers’ wives and children who were owned by slave masters in the loyal border states exempt from the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation. That counterpoint, she argues, sheds new light on both the making of abolition and notions of human rights forged at an epic moment in the downfall of New World slavery. Instead of waiting for the Thirteenth Amendment, Congress asserted its sovereignty under the War Power to overturn chattel bondage via slave marriage. With the constitutional amendment pending, abolition thereby tethered a new birth of human rights to domestic bonds based on the husband’s property in his wife. At the heart of the matter lay the “badges” of women’s slavery—torments peculiar to bondswomen enumerated in excruciating detail by abolitionists

both inside and outside Congress to vindicate, by negation, the ideal of freedom as a universal human right. Yet those badges have never figured in Thirteenth Amendment jurisprudence. To the contrary, the amendment's ambit has remained exceedingly narrow, never encompassing subjection based on sex, while the scope of the Commerce Clause has swelled as a foundation for fundamental human rights guarantees. The roots of that puzzle, Stanley argues, reach back to the counterpoint between the abolition decrees adopted just before peace came at Appomattox.

## **AHR Exchange**

The June 2008 issue of the *AHR* included an essay by William J. Novak, "The Myth of the 'Weak' American State," which argued that historians and other scholars have long underestimated the power and intrusiveness of the U.S. state. Because of its provocative nature and its wider implications, the editors invited three scholars to comment on Novak's article. Those essays and his response constitute the *AHR* Exchange, "On the 'Myth' of the 'Weak' American State."

John Fabian Witt's comment, "Law and War in American History," begins by joining with Novak in his insistence that law should be seen not as an obstacle to state power but rather as a feature of its authority, facilitating, justifying, and shaping its exercise, both domestically and on the international stage. Witt criticizes Novak, however, for failing to acknowledge a large body of literature that has long focused precisely on foreign affairs as the arena where American state power is most evident, thus challenging his assumption that the "myth" of a weak U.S. state is so prevalent. In addition, he points to other scholarship that offers an analysis of American power which argues that the relationship between American constitutionalism and global power was more complicated than Novak's critique suggests.

Gary Gerstle, in "A State Both Strong and Weak," offers two criticisms of Novak's argument. First, he challenges Novak's claim that America's current status as world hegemon was already manifest in the American state's earliest years, arguing instead that America's global hegemony dates from the 1940s, and especially the post-World War II era. Second, he asserts that Novak's focus on the American state's inherent strengths causes him to overlook this state's chronic weakness: an unwillingness or inability to corral the influence on American politics of private money and private power. Many of those who once imagined the American state as weak, Gerstle notes, were trying to make sense of this reluctance to discipline markets and corporations in the public interest. To ignore their insights, he concludes, is to imperil our ability to understand key aspects of the American state, and many other issues in American history, too.

In "The Puzzle of the American State . . . and Its Historians," **Julia Adams** endorses Novak's quest to discover why so many American scholars persist in seeing the U.S. state as weak when the contrary is so manifestly the case. And she notes that his effort to explain the specific nature of American state power will be welcomed by other

scholars of other political cultures who are similarly engaged in examining the nature of state and imperial power from a historical perspective. She argues, however, that while Novak's question is a good and timely one, his answer is in some respects factually inaccurate and also preserves American exceptionalism to an unwarranted extent. Adams suggests that we can best decipher the U.S. state—which develops in tandem with other states and empires-in-formation—by means of a conceptual language rooted in the work of Max Weber but amplified to incorporate both the specifics of American history and the evolving forms of international sovereignty.

In his rejoinder, “Long Live the Myth of the Weak State?” **William J. Novak** acknowledges many of the criticisms and comments of Witt, Gerstle, and Adams, but energetically defends his thesis. He argues, indeed, that each of the commentators acknowledges the “fundamental, unresolved problems of power in modern American life.”

October's issue will include articles on the links between the seventeenth-century English Revolution and the origins of abolition and on the Middle East in the 1930s, as well as an *AHR* Forum on “Intimate Life and Sexuality in Mid-Twentieth-Century France.”

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## In Back Issues

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In the hope of encouraging readers to dip into the long history of scholarship contained in the pages of the *American Historical Review* (now in the 115th year of its publishing history), and to take advantage of the digital availability of this archive to most readers, the *AHR* editors offer a look back at issues from one hundred, seventy-five, and fifty years ago. What follows is not a comprehensive survey of the contents of those issues, but rather a glance at some of the articles and other features that might be of interest, or even of use, today.

### Volume 15, Number 4 (July 1910)

The July 1910 issue begins with an article by Frederick J. Teggart, "The Circumstance or the Substance of History," which reflects his career-long concern with the sciences, especially biology and Darwinism, and the emerging social sciences as both rivals of and potential models for the study of history. Teggart observes that efforts to preserve history as merely the accumulation of facts, detached from any attempt to arrive at generalizations, have "led to desertions, usurpations of its territory, and much unconscious or unacknowledged theorizing." But he cautions against simply adopting the methods and theories of biology or "social psychology," insisting on the autonomy of history as a discipline: "Every science makes its own hypotheses, in its own terminology, on the basis of its own material." Teggart concludes his essay (which is devoid of notes and references) with a critique of historians' "undue emphasis on events," reflecting an increasing interest in the patterns and forces of historical development at the time. It is hardly surprising that about ten years after this article appeared, Teggart was instrumental in founding the new Department of Social Institutions (which would become Sociology) at the University of California at Berkeley. Perhaps the most notable article in this issue is "Reconstruction and Its Benefits," by "W. E. Burghardt Du Bois." Du Bois had delivered a paper on the subject at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in New York City in 1909, which was the first time the conference had been addressed by an African American. (The next occasion, apparently, was only in 1940.) Du Bois's piece anticipates his study of twenty-five years later, *Black Reconstruction* (New York, 1935), and represents one of the very first critiques of the then dominant view that Reconstruction was an unsuccessful, largely disastrous, and even shameful episode in the history of the United States. Du Bois is not sparing in his acknowledgment



of the negative aspects of Reconstruction, especially the corruption and incompetence prevalent among the newly elected officials in the southern states, many of whom were former slaves. But he largely explains these excesses and misdeeds by underscoring the vulnerability and ignorance of “a new race learning the a-b-c of government.” The main point of his article, however, is to argue for the positive results of Reconstruction. And here Du Bois can point to a number of achievements, including the extension of the suffrage, both to African Americans and, notably, to poor whites; the creation of free public school systems (again for both races); the abolition of property qualifications for jury duty; in some states the elimination of routine corruption and speculation; and in general the adoption of state constitutions that conformed to the general principles of democratic government. Du Bois concludes his article by asserting that these considerable gains remained even after Reconstruction was ended and “negro governments” were ushered out of power. As much as white southerners would lament and condemn the experience, Reconstruction left a legacy of achievements that many of them, especially those of the lower classes, continued to enjoy. “Practically the whole new growth of the South has been accomplished under laws which black men helped to frame thirty years ago,” Du Bois wrote. “I know of no greater compliment to negro suffrage.”

#### **Volume 40, Number 4 (July 1935)**

The July 1935 issue contains three articles on very different subjects: one on the practice of statistical information-gathering in early medieval Europe; another on Columbus’s use of an early map of the known world in the course of his voyages; and a third on the depression in the United States in 1837–1843. A curious feature of this last article, “The Social History of an American Depression, 1837–1843,” by Samuel Rezneck, is that it makes absolutely no reference to the contemporary economic situation, although it does emphasize the human dimension of the nineteenth-century collapse, especially the widespread unemployment and sudden impoverishment. “The Statistical Sources of Frankish History,” by James Westfall Thompson—who would serve as president of the AHA in 1941—surveys the existing evidence demonstrating that medieval Europe under both the Merovingians and the Carolingians was just as intent on compiling statistics regarding taxation, population, and landholding as was Imperial Rome. As Thompson regretfully notes, very few of these documents survive, but he nevertheless is able to convey, through other sources, that a concern for counting, recording, enumerating, and the like was central to the Frankish kings throughout the period. On a more general note, he concludes that “there is more statistical information with regard to the history of Germany, Italy, the Byzantine Empire, the khalifate, and the papacy before the thirteenth century than is dreamed of by the average medievalist.”

## Volume 65, Number 4 (July 1960)

Perhaps the most interesting article in the July 1960 issue is by James H. Billington, the longtime Librarian of Congress, on "The Intelligentsia and the Religion of Humanity." His essay aims to explain the emergence of a generation of disaffected and increasingly radical young Russians in the late 1860s. This movement, he writes, was characterized by an "almost physiological spasm of negation that swept through the young student generation." Ultimately, it adopted the "religion of humanity" espoused by the French thinker Auguste Comte, a belief system that rescued it from the nihilism that was one of its chief characteristics. Indeed, as Billington notes, both "nihilism" and "intelligentsia" were terms that emerged from this movement. Led by "a special priestly caste of 'littérateurs' and 'publicists,'" these young students embraced "a pseudo-scientific theory of history and the ethical fanaticism that it enjoined" but also abandoned their previous commitment to "political liberties, aesthetic values, and even personal amusement." The intelligentsia, this "new and curiously modern class," soon developed the characteristics of a party, complete with ritual excommunication, an insularity and suspicion that prompted them to identify opponents with foreigners and non-Russian ways, and an ideological, though highly suspect, identification with "the people," or *narod*. This movement, however, proved somewhat ephemeral. "The future," Billington concludes, "belonged more to mass movements and passions than to an urbane and still predominantly aristocratic intelligentsia." Still, he notes, the Russian intelligentsia bequeathed its "sectarian spirit, moral fanaticism, and faith in history" to the true revolutionaries who would soon transform Russia into the Soviet Union.



**H**æc est eorum victus ratio: Storea scirpea humi strata, cibum in eius medullis collocant, deinde in orbem assident viri ab una parte, femina ab altera. Cibus est mayz, ignata elixa, eo quo superiore libro scripsi modo, boni admodum saporis, ceruina aut alterius animalis caro & pisces: sobrii tamen sunt, in vultu & pectus, inde diuturno tempore viuunt, cum natura vim non inferant.

C

Sumendi cibum modus/Their Way of Eating Food. From Thomas Hariot, *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia/Admiranda narratio fida tamen, de commodis et incolarum ritibus Virginie* (Latin ed., Frankfurt, 1590). Image reprinted courtesy of The Mariners' Museum, Newport News, Va.

During his stay at Roanoke in 1585–1586, John White painted a celebrated series of watercolors, including one of a Roanoke Algonkian man and woman eating together. Theodor de Bry used White's watercolors as the basis for copperplate engravings that accompanied the 1590 edition of Thomas Hariot's *Briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia*, published simultaneously in English, French, German, and Latin. Based on information found elsewhere in Hariot's text, de Bry added many details not found in White's paintings, including the gourd, walnuts, fish, and maize in the foreground of this image. As Peter Stallybrass has shown, the Latin edition of Hariot in the Mariners' Museum is one of a few that were hand-colored by German *Briefmalers*, perhaps for a specific patron. This process added even more information to the text for these especially interested readers, especially botanical information. The maize in the right foreground was painted white, red, yellow, and blue to correspond with Hariot's descriptions elsewhere in the text. Peter Stallybrass, "Admiranda narratio: A European Best Seller," in *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (facsimile reprint, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press for the Library at the Mariners' Museum, 2007), 9–30. A color version of this image can be seen at the museum's website or in the online "Full Text" version of this article.

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## “A continuall and dayly Table for Gentlemen of fashion”: Humanism, Food, and Authority at Jamestown, 1607–1609

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MICHAEL A. LACOMBE

THE STORY OF JAMESTOWN'S FIRST YEARS is often told as a tardy, frail, and fumbling beginning for English settlement in the New World. Undermined by its leaders' stubborn and often brutal pursuit of unrealistic plans, Jamestown found salvation in the form of tobacco monoculture, which the Virginia Company neither intended nor fully embraced. The logic of tobacco cultivation led to an insatiable desire for land and labor that culminated in the violent expulsion of the Chesapeake's native population and the establishment of African slavery. The turmoil and violence of Jamestown's beginning, in this telling, were problems that prefigured their solution in the establishment of a regime of racial exclusion and exploitation.

Recent literature has put forward a substantially different interpretation by situating Jamestown in a broad sixteenth-century context. For promoters of English settlement such as the Reverend Richard Hakluyt, the Virginia Company's project was the culmination of a lifetime's work collecting, translating, and publishing travel accounts. Hakluyt and others applied the lessons learned from Dutch, Portuguese, French, and especially Spanish efforts to the settlement at Jamestown, drawing also on English experiences in the Mediterranean, in Ireland, and elsewhere in the Atlantic world. From this perspective, what makes Jamestown important is not its singularity as the first permanent English settlement, but the links between the Virginia Company's effort and those that came before it. Jamestown represents an especially well-planned and well-documented project that offers valuable insights into the political and social ideas that shaped the early English Atlantic world as a whole.<sup>1</sup>

This essay first took shape during my graduate studies at NYU, where the participants in Tom Bender's dissertation seminar and the NYU Atlantic History Workshop offered valuable comments on my earliest efforts to link food and political culture. A fellowship at the John Carter Brown Library in 2002 further helped clarify the argument in its early stages. Later versions were presented as conference papers at the Association for the Study of Food and Society's 20th Annual Conference in Victoria, B.C., and at the British Group for Early American History's annual conference in Swansea, Wales, both in 2007. As a seminar paper, it benefited from comments I received at the NYU Department of Food Studies' "Feast and Famine" colloquium and especially from the participants at the Atlantic History Seminar at Harvard University in August 2007. Many thanks to the *AHR*'s anonymous readers for their very helpful comments. Special thanks to Karen Ordahl Kupperman for her help with this article and with the larger project, both of which have benefited enormously from her astute comments and her very generous support.

<sup>1</sup> Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007); Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America* (New Haven, Conn., 2007); Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560–1660* (Oxford, 2008);

Another important theme of this literature is that the history of early Jamestown reflects a process of experimentation, of trial and error, in which English ideas about politics and society were adapted to suit the challenging circumstances of the Chesapeake. As events on the ground required it, the Virginia Company proved willing to improvise, and by 1618, as Karen Ordahl Kupperman has shown, they had found a solution that served as a model for all subsequent English efforts at settlement. Here again, Jamestown's importance lies not in the distinction of being first, but in the fact that it was at Jamestown that English political culture was shaped into "the archetype of English colonization."<sup>2</sup>

FOOD OFFERS A NEW PERSPECTIVE on these questions in three distinct ways. First, in its early years, the Virginia Company struggled to raise funds for the massive expense of supplying the settlement. Chronically short of food, the settlers themselves struggled to secure supplies from neighboring Indian groups with mixed success. Jamestown's supply problems culminated in the gruesome "starving time" of 1609–1610, when hunger reduced the settlement to the point of collapse and rumors of cannibalism suggested that the social fabric itself had disintegrated. In this context, supplies were not only a tremendous logistical problem but also a dense symbol of the social status and political authority of those who controlled them. Each of the leading figures at Jamestown knew that food was the only aspect of daily life that could convey such rich meanings, and they conducted themselves accordingly.

Second, the men sent by the Virginia Company to govern the settlement naturally sought to present themselves in their actions and written accounts as strong leaders whose authority was beyond question. Finding themselves in an unfamiliar context, Jamestown's leaders did this by surrounding themselves with familiar symbols and acting out familiar roles, but in doing so they appealed to markedly different visions of a leader. George Percy and Edward Maria Wingfield based their claims to office on patriarchal assumptions, seeing political authority as rooted in social status and legitimated through demonstrations of a leader's regard for the welfare of the ordinary sort. Captain John Smith had a very different basis for his own claim. Smith's willingness to share the rations, conditions, and labor of ordinary settlers derived from the humanist image of a leader, whose claim to authority rested above all on his willingness to subordinate his own needs to the common good. Since neither patriarchalism nor humanism was the sole legitimate language of politics in England or in the Chesapeake, the two visions of authority were mutually permeable, to a point, and how a given man chose to present himself in person or in writing was in part a strategic decision. Jamestown's first leaders are often presented in the secondary literature as riven by petty squabbles over precedence and personality conflicts. In light of the fact that they held quite different visions of the nature of political authority, these disagreements were far from trivial.

Finally, the Virginia Company wrongly believed that relying on the Indians for

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Peter C. Mancall, ed., *The Atlantic World and Virginia, 1550–1624* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2007); Robert Appelbaum and John Wood Sweet, eds., *Envisioning an English Empire: Jamestown and the Making of the North Atlantic World* (Philadelphia, 2005).

<sup>2</sup> Kupperman, *The Jamestown Project*, 3.



food carried with it no connotations of subordination or submission, as it would have in England. But Jamestown's leaders soon realized that they had to confront a third vision of a leader's authority, the vision of a paramount chief. Powhatan, or Wahunsenacawh, the leader of the Algonkian-speaking native groups of the Chesapeake, asserted his preeminence not only by supplying the settlement with maize (or withholding supplies), but also in the way he conducted his dealings with English emissaries. For their part, the English clearly understood the central meanings conveyed by this vision of status and authority. Captain Christopher Newport, in particular, struggled to respond in similar fashion, and yet the image of a paramount chief was impossible for the English to sustain without supplies adequate to ensure their survival.

Food was the only aspect of daily life that was at once a rich symbol and a biological necessity, and as a result it offers a unique perspective for historians. Food links the trials and errors of Jamestown's first years to larger questions of political legitimacy and authority that shaped the early English Atlantic world as a whole. To the native groups of the Chesapeake and the English visitors to the region, foods conveyed complex meanings connected to social status, gender, and political authority. Some of these meanings were specific to one group or the other, but others were broadly shared, and given the formidable language barrier that divided them, food was often the most direct way to convey these meanings. But however much references to food permeated the rhetoric and symbolism of authority within the walls of Jamestown, however much it dominated cross-cultural negotiations on the larger stage of the Chesapeake, its ultimate importance lay in the human body's biological need for nutrition. For this reason, food—even the lack of food—was a daily marker of the most basic of social relationships.

HISTORIANS OF THE PERIOD regularly stress the importance of food in what Michael Braddick calls early modern England's patriarchal state. Patriarchalism proceeds from the assumption that social inequality derived from a divine ordering of the cosmos that assigned each person a place in the hierarchy based on gender and birth. Equally important, the relationships between men and women, rich and poor, young and old were understood to be rooted in reciprocity and interdependence, each unequal part vital to the success of the larger whole. When medieval landlords collected rents in grain from their tenants, they connected daily life and daily labor with the most fundamental social distinction: between those who produced their own food and those who were able to live without labor. The reciprocity that legitimated these demonstrations of inequality found its purest expression in the Dearth Orders, when the monarch placed control of food in the hands of elites during times of scarcity. Fulfilling the patriarchal expectations of reciprocity, elites guaranteed the survival of those who were dependent on them by directly distributing stored grain or, in the early modern period, regulating local grain markets. Hospitality was a more common opportunity to achieve many of the same ends, bringing ordinary people into the homes of local elites for a meal that plainly manifested both social separation and reciprocal bonds.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Michael J. Braddick, "Civility and Authority," in David Armitage and Michael Braddick, eds., *The*

Dearth Orders and rural hospitality offered elites public occasions on which to demonstrate that their wealth, social status, and political authority were legitimate. Such occasions were not simply a passive reflection of underlying political and social inequalities, but rather a theater of negotiation. When elites appeared in public to exercise the powers of their office, legitimacy was conferred or withheld by peers and subordinates according to elites' ability to present "a self which confirmed the authority of their office." Describing these occasions in such terms underscores their dynamic quality, best illustrated by the fact that even social status, which served as the primary qualification for office, was itself the outcome of negotiation. As Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes have pointed out, "the gentry were that body of men and women whose gentility was acknowledged by others."<sup>4</sup>

Of course, the stakes were not so high on every public occasion. As Andy Wood has argued, to claim that authority is always being negotiated to the same degree is to make the term so diffuse as to rob it of its value. But for a variety of reasons, authority had shallow roots in the early Atlantic settlements, and English officeholders often found themselves faced with the need to stake a claim to legitimacy. For one thing, landed elites were few, and because the middling men chosen to lead voyages and settlements did not have social status commensurate with their office, they often struggled with each other for preeminence. This was especially true at Jamestown, since the Virginia Company named a council of seven men to lead the settlement but ordered that those names be kept secret until after arrival. The members of the council would then be revealed, and they would elect a president from their number, all but guaranteeing competition among the very different men named by the Company as potential leaders. Making it harder for such men to present a sufficiently authoritative self, there were few material reflections of social status in the Americas. Houses and furnishings were rough, dependents often sickly and few, and hunger was a constant concern. In this fluid context, would-be leaders seized any opportunity to stake or challenge a claim to authority by, in effect, striking a pose calculated to confirm their claim to office.<sup>5</sup>

There was more than one way to achieve this goal. In addition to patriarchal

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*British Atlantic World, 1500–1800* (New York, 2002), 93–112; Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c.1550–1700* (Cambridge, 2000), 7–8, 118–128; Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven, Conn., 2000), 110–111; John Walter, "The Social Economy of Dearth in Early Modern England," in John Walter and Roger Schofield, eds., *Famine, Disease, and the Social Order in Early Modern Society* (Cambridge, 1989), 106–120. For rural hospitality, see Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 1990); Keith Wrightson, *English Society, 1580–1680* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1982), 51–61. Sir Thomas Smith famously described a gentleman as a man "who can live idly and without manual labour and will bear the port, charge and countenance of a gentleman." Smith, *De Republica Anglorum: A Discourse on the Commonwealth of England*, ed. L. Alson (Cambridge, 1906), 39–40.

<sup>4</sup> Michael J. Braddick, "Administrative Performance: The Representation of Political Authority in Early Modern England," in Michael J. Braddick and John Walter, eds., *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society: Order, Hierarchy, and Subordination in Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge, 2001), 171; Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales, 1500–1700* (Stanford, Calif., 1994), 19. See also Mark Goldie, "The Unacknowledged Republic: Officeholding in Early Modern England," in Tim Harris, ed., *The Politics of the Excluded, c. 1500–1850* (New York, 2001), 153–194; and A. J. Fletcher, "Honour, Reputation and Local Officeholding in Elizabethan and Stuart England," in Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson, eds., *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 1985), 92–115.

<sup>5</sup> Andy Wood, *Riot, Rebellion and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* (New York, 2002), 15–17; Heal and Holmes, *The Gentry in England and Wales*, chap. 8; Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty*

assumptions, English leaders could employ a range of images and references rooted in civic humanism. From the study of classical authors, civic humanists concluded that every commonwealth faced the threat of corruption, which arose when the common good was sacrificed to private ambition. Corruption could be averted only by the cultivation and exercise of the fundamental humanist virtue: the *vita activa*, or devotion of one's life to active service of the commonwealth. Humanism and patriarchalism were familiar to elites and ordinary settlers alike, and each supposed that on public occasions an officeholder would embody a recognizable set of virtues as a means of legitimating his claim to authority.<sup>6</sup>

Which model to choose was in part a strategic decision aimed at appealing to a specific audience. Leading figures tried to use their control of food (when they did control it) to their advantage, but the audience in Virginia was not the only one that mattered. In writing, Jamestown's early leaders simultaneously waged a rhetorical contest for precedence before a metropolitan audience of investors and officials. One of the distinctive features of English colonial projects was their reliance on private investors, which meant that the rhetorical aspect of English leaders' claim to authority was especially important. In appealing to each of these audiences, the goal was the same: to present a reassuring image of the leader conducting himself according to well-rehearsed norms, and here again food provided a set of symbols and cultural references connected to leadership.

Given the tremendous expense of supplying the settlement with provisions and men, the Virginia Company chose officials who they thought would ensure a stable and prosperous settlement as quickly as possible. These men held very different qualifications: navigational skill and experience traveling to the Americas; military service, especially as a commander, in the Low Countries and Ireland; and the more traditional qualifications of birth and family connections recommended some men for leading roles in the early years. But because there were no precisely analogous circumstances in the English experience, the members of the Virginia Company had no clear idea of what sort of man would be the best choice to lead. As the Company improvised solutions to the problems facing the settlement, what ultimately mattered was a man's ability to convince its members that he understood what had gone wrong and how to fix it, that his personal qualities and experiences had given him more general knowledge, a claim to what Eric Ash has called "the authority conferred by the perception of expertise."<sup>7</sup>

Edward Maria Wingfield made precisely this sort of claim, presenting himself as the right sort of man to lead the new settlement. Not only was he a member of the Virginia Company, but he was named in the 1606 royal patent that gave the Company the right to settle the Chesapeake. In addition, he came from a reasonably prominent family, had received some education at the Inns of Court, and had had a distin-

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*Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996), 89.

<sup>6</sup> Andrew Fitzmaurice, *Humanism and America: An Intellectual History of English Colonisation, 1500–1625* (New York, 2003), 3–8, 21–25, 157–166; R. Malcolm Smuts, *Culture and Power in England, 1585–1685* (New York, 1999), 7–10.

<sup>7</sup> Eric H. Ash, *Power, Knowledge, and Expertise in Elizabethan England* (Baltimore, 2004), 10–16, quote from 22. See also Jim Egan, *Authorizing Experience: Refigurations of the Body Politic in Seventeenth-Century New England Writing* (Princeton, N.J., 1999), 32–46.

guished career as a soldier in Ireland and the Low Countries, including experience with a colonizing project in Ireland. Along with Bartholomew Gosnold, Wingfield was instrumental in recruiting settlers for the voyage, and both men took the further step of traveling to Virginia. Upon their arrival, no one was surprised to find their names on the sealed list of councilors chosen by the Virginia Company to govern the settlement. Since Wingfield alone was a patentee, his election by the rest of the councilors to serve a one-year term as president was a formality.<sup>8</sup>

Wingfield was joined on the council by several men whose social standing was clearly beneath his, including Captain John Smith. By naming such different men to lead the settlement, the Virginia Company signaled that different forms of "expertise" might prove useful in the Americas, but these differences soon became disagreements. Although leaders on both sides of the ocean expected food and leadership to be closely associated on public occasions, Wingfield's efforts in this vein were disastrous. After only four months ashore, the remaining councilors summoned Wingfield to appear before them. He was charged with a range of abuses, removed from office, and fined the enormous sum of £300.<sup>9</sup>

Wingfield returned to England at the first opportunity, eager to appeal his conviction and restore his reputation before his peers in London. Soon after his arrival in May 1608, he completed a written defense, known as the "Discourse," and presented it to the Virginia Company. The "Discourse" clearly reflects Wingfield's efforts to appeal to a specific audience. He intended it to circulate privately, in manuscript, among the members of the Company, in part to spare himself the embarrassment of airing the details of his dispute with his social inferiors. But further, in the written words of his text, Wingfield was personally present in a way the author of a printed work would not have been, demonstrating the existing bonds between the men of status who made up the Virginia Company and, he hoped, strengthening his appeal.<sup>10</sup>

In the way Wingfield described the charges and defended himself, the "Discourse" also reflects a clear strategic decision. According to the manuscript, the charges fell under two broad headings. The first was that Wingfield had "Combyned with the Spanniards to the distruction of the Collony." This was a potentially serious charge: George Kendall, one of the original councilors, had been shot for his supposed participation in just such a plot. Nevertheless, the charge of treason was backed by slender evidence, and Wingfield treated it dismissively in the "Discourse." Most of the text focused, in extensive detail, on the second set of charges: that Wingfield had "affected a Kin[g]dome" and hidden "the Comon provision in the ground."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Philip L. Barbour, *The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith* (Boston, 1964), 100–105; R. C. Simmons, "Wingfield, Edward Maria (1550–1614?)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29735> (accessed August 16, 2006).

<sup>9</sup> Barbour, *The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith*, 147–150. For a sympathetic description of Wingfield's demotion, see Jocelyn R. Wingfield, *Virginia's True Founder: Edward-Maria Wingfield and His Times, 1550–c. 1614* (Athens, Ga., 1993), 234–241.

<sup>10</sup> Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993), 177.

<sup>11</sup> Edward Maria Wingfield, "Discourse" (1608), in Philip L. Barbour, ed., *The Jamestown Voyages under the First Charter, 1606–1609*, 2 vols. (London, 1969), 1: 229. For valuable interpretations of food's significance to the story of early Jamestown from a literary perspective, see Mary C. Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America, 1576–1624* (Cambridge, 1995), 85–140; Robert Appelbaum, "Hunger

The provisions in question were primarily naval stores, durable enough to survive the long, hot southerly route from London to the Chesapeake via the Azores and Caribbean islands: salted pork, dried peas, ship's biscuit, oatmeal, and beer. This monotonous, gray, and salty diet was livened considerably by the foods brought by native peoples in the settlement's first months, but since these were perishable and were offered in small quantities, they were likely eaten soon after the English received them and were therefore not at issue in Wingfield's case. Wingfield was accused not of incompetence in supplying the settlement—he seems to have assumed that that was the responsibility of the Company—but of improperly and unjustly distributing the common stores, and most accounts agree that these were sufficiently well stocked that the settlement expected to survive from them.<sup>12</sup>

In *A True Relation* (1608), the first published account of Jamestown, Captain John Smith claimed that Wingfield had kept the stores (particularly "the Sack, Aquavitie, and other preservatives for our health") for himself and those close to him. Wingfield expanded on Smith's charge in his defense, reporting that John Ratcliffe, elected president after he was deposed, claimed that Wingfield had "denyed him . . . a Chickyn, [and] a spoonfull of beere, and served him with foule Corne." Wingfield also reported John Martin's claims that he had neglected the colony to "tend [his] pott, spitt, and oven," and that he had denied Martin's son, who was sick and soon to die, "a spoonefull of beere" as well. In his defense, Wingfield wrote that he had not "carried any favorite over with me, or intertayned any thear," and that he "did allwayes give every man his allowance faithfully." In short, he hoped to head off the charges against him by pointing out that he had "alwayes . . . equally devided [the stores] amongst the Collonye" according to the ration set by the same men who deposed him. Smith provided a possible explanation of this disagreement in *The Generall Historie of Virginia* (1624). He elaborated on the charges there, accusing Wingfield of "ingrossing to his private, Oatmeale, Sacke, Oyle, Aquavita, Beefe, Egges, or what not," but when it came to "the Kettell," he admitted, "that indeed he [Wingfield] allowed equally to be distributed." In short, Smith's accusation was that Wingfield had stolen the choicest foods from the common stores to serve at his own table, leaving only meager rations in the common "Kettell."<sup>13</sup>

Wingfield's response was that these charges were more accurately aimed at his rivals, who, hoping for "some better allowance for themselves and some few [of] the

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in Early Virginia: Indians and English Facing Off over Excess, Want, and Need," in Appelbaum and Sweet, *Envisioning an English Empire*, 195–216.

<sup>12</sup> For naval stores, see N. A. M. Rodger, *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Britain, 660–1649* (New York, 1998), 235–236, 317–319; and Rodger, "Guns and Sails in the First Phase of English Colonization, 1500–1650," in Nicholas Canny, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol. 1: *The Origins of Empire* (Oxford, 1998), 87–88; Janet MacDonald, *Feeding Nelson's Navy: The True Story of Food at Sea in the Georgian Era* (London, 2004), 9–44; Jennifer Stead, "Navy Blues: The Sailor's Diet, 1530–1830," in C. Anne Wilson, ed., *Food for the Community: Special Diets for Special Groups* (Edinburgh, 1993), 69–96. For the state of Jamestown's stores, see Wingfield, "Discourse," 218; and Captain John Smith, *A True Relation* (1608), in Philip L. Barbour, ed., *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith (1580–1631)*, 3 vols. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1986), 1: 33, both of which claim that the stores were adequate; and George Percy, *Observations gathered out of a Discourse of the Plantation of the Southerne Colonie in Virginia by the English, 1606*, in Barbour, *The Jamestown Voyages*, 1: 143, who disagreed.

<sup>13</sup> Smith, *A True Relation*, 33; Wingfield, "Discourse," 219–220, 221, 223; Smith, *The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* (1624), in Barbour, *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith*, 2: 143.



sick their privates,” had tried to enlist him in a scheme to increase their rations, with (he claimed) no success. Refusing to dignify with an explicit denial the accusation that he had stolen from the common stores, Wingfield presented the other councilors as guilty of favoritism in their efforts to secure an extra ration for “their privates.” Important as it was to be scrupulously evenhanded in distributing food, patriarchalism was predicated on a leader’s regard for the sick and needy, the reciprocal bonds that legitimated his position. Martin’s charge that Wingfield had denied his son a spoonful of beer before his death suggested another dimension to the criticism of Wingfield: not just favoritism but a callous lack of charity. Accordingly, the deposed president wrote in his defense that he had “caused half a pinte of pease to be sodden, with a peese of porke of my owne provision for a poore old man, which in a sicknes (whereof he died) he much desired.” Wingfield intended this anecdote to demonstrate his understanding that “Curtesey and Civility became a governor”—in other words, that charity and liberality, qualities expected of a leader, had eased this man’s final moments and, equally important, had done so without depleting “the Comon pott,” as Wingfield’s rivals had attempted.<sup>14</sup>

The fact that Wingfield controlled private supplies was not held against him. He had brought along chickens to raise in Virginia, and each of the leading figures at Jamestown supplemented his rations from the common stores with private provisions: butter and cheese, distilled spirits, preserved beef, and other foods. Wingfield was expected to maintain private stores, in part because they gave him the ability to distribute food to the sick and needy without reducing others’ rations. But more broadly, a man of his status and office was expected to command supplies beyond the reach of ordinary settlers, in quality and quantity, simply because meals were an inescapable and daily marker of status and office. Jamestown’s president and a patentee of the Virginia Company could not be expected to eat like a servant any more than he could appear in public wearing a servant’s clothes. Wingfield therefore made two central claims in his “Discourse” that plainly rested on patriarchal assumptions: a claim to elite status by virtue of the foods he ate, and a claim to leadership by virtue of the way he distributed his supplies.

But no matter how Wingfield defended himself in writing, the fact remains that his actions at Jamestown failed to secure the loyalty of either elites or ordinary settlers. The roots of his difficulty can be glimpsed by examining the term “private,” which had very different meanings when he and Smith used it. When Smith accused Wingfield of “ingrossing to his private” the choicest foods, he claimed that Wingfield was improperly using the common stores to support his own claims to status. By sharing the best foods with, presumably, Jamestown’s most socially prominent men, Wingfield was guilty of corruption in Smith’s eyes. But when Wingfield defended himself, he took the word “private” to be synonymous with “favorite,” and stressed his impartiality. In his eyes, elites had exclusive claim to the choicest foods, a claim demonstrated by their patriarchal obligation to provide for those in need. Elites could never be considered a faction or “favorites,” because their social standing legitimated their claim to the rarest and choicest foods. Smith and Wingfield differed in the way they understood the term “private,” but they shared the understanding

<sup>14</sup> Wingfield, “Discourse,” 217, 231.

that it connoted corruption. Wingfield's assumption in this regard was that food was, in essence, a sumptuary item.<sup>15</sup>

Wingfield was hardly alone in this assumption. George Percy, the most prominent man by birth among those on the original voyage, also made sure that his office and station were represented at his table. Percy's exclusion from the council was due to his family's recent history. Two of George's brothers had participated in the Earl of Essex's futile rebellion in 1601; more serious, a distant relative had joined in the Gunpowder Plot. For these family associations, George's brother Henry, the ninth Earl of Northumberland, would be imprisoned in the Tower for sixteen years. In their efforts to secure a royal charter, the Virginia Company would naturally keep the Percy family name off both their documents and the governing council. But there may have been other, more personal reasons for Percy's exclusion. Percy had been sickly as a child and may have suffered from epilepsy, which might have dissuaded some from placing him in a position of authority. When he did hold office, he could hardly be called an unqualified success, which might have made him, however prominent, at best a stopgap officer. His birth made his right to rule unquestioned, though his ability to rule was far less certain.<sup>16</sup>

Although he was not named to the original council, Percy assumed a leading role as other men died or left. During his brief career at Jamestown, he spent a shocking amount on clothes and furnishings, displaying his status with a gilded sword, gold buttons and thread, gold trimmings for his hats, and a brass bed with featherbed. All of this was kept in a house built for him in Virginia by servants paid by his brother, who also supplied Percy regularly with biscuits, cheese, butter, and valuable trade goods. In 1608, the Northumberland accounts show a total expenditure of more than £58 for Percy's supplies. That number only increased in 1610, to more than £58 in clothing alone, with nearly £77 in other expenses, including provisions. The magnitude of these sums is clear when one considers that £5–6 would pay for passage to the New World, in exchange for which servants would sign indentures agreeing to work for a term of five years and sometimes more. Nevertheless, Percy sent a letter to his brother in the summer of 1611 acknowledging that "this last yere hath not bin a little Chardgable unto your Honnor," but hoping that his brother would "not think any thing prodigally by me wasted or spent which tendeth to my no little Advancement." To advance in Jamestown required fine clothing and, equally important, ample private supply:

True it is the place which I hold in this Colonie (the store affording no other meanes then a pound of meale a day and a little Oatemeale) cannot be defraied with smale expence, it

<sup>15</sup> Mary C. Fuller, "The First Southerners: Jamestown's Colonists as Exemplary Figures," in Richard Gray and Owen Robinson, eds., *A Companion to the Literature and Culture of the American South* (Malden, Mass., 2004), 31–33.

<sup>16</sup> Philip L. Barbour, "The Honorable George Percy: Premier Chronicler of the First Virginia Voyage," *Early American Literature* 6 (1971): 7–8; Mark Nicholls, "George Percy's 'Trew Relacyon': A Primary Source for the Jamestown Settlement," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 113 (2005): 214–216; Nicholls, "'As Happy a Fortune as I Desire': The Pursuit of Financial Security by the Younger Brothers of Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland," *Historical Research* 65 (1992): 297–298, 301–302, 312; Nicholls, "Percy, George (1580–1632/3)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21926> (accessed August 16, 2006).



standing upon my reputation (being Governour of James Towne) to keep a continuall and dayly Table for Gentlemen of fashion aboute me.<sup>17</sup>

Percy viewed a well-laid table as part of his office, just as a gilded sword was appropriate for the son and brother of an earl, and his words suggest that his social peers in the Chesapeake and in England understood his claims to status and office to rest on this basis.<sup>18</sup>

Wingfield's efforts to display and describe himself in the language of patriarchy echoed Percy's, though at considerably less expense, but there were important differences between the two. Acknowledging the difficult circumstances at Jamestown, Wingfield tried to present himself according to the humanist vision of a leader on occasion, and he blended humanist references into his manuscript as well. One passage from the "Discourse" encapsulates his strategy more clearly than any other: "It is further said I did much banquet, and Ryot: I never had but one Squirell roasted, whereof I gave part to Mr Ratcliff then sick."<sup>19</sup>

In Wingfield's rich statement, the patriarchal and humanist visions of a leader awkwardly converge on a meal of roast squirrel. Clearly not drawn from his private store, this meal was intended to signal status and frugality, reciprocity and forbearance. The same was true of Wingfield's account of it. Assuming it was in fact a squirrel that Wingfield was referring to (in other words, that he was not describing another animal as thin and stringy), he was notably frugal in allowing himself only one. Several sources claim that Virginia's squirrels were very tasty, and he would have been tempted to eat more than one for this reason alone. Wingfield's point was that he was not living luxuriously in the difficult conditions of early Jamestown. Instead, he had sacrificed along with the settlers he led, a claim to virtuous leadership clearly phrased in the language of civic humanism.<sup>20</sup>

By giving "part" of the squirrel "to Mr Ratcliff then sick," Wingfield presented himself once again in a patriarchal idiom, just as he had when giving pork and peas to a dying man (and then writing about it). In the latter case, his use of food was intended to reflect social separation and reciprocity. But when he carved a haunch or saddle of squirrel for John Ratcliffe, he delivered food from his own table, perhaps even his own plate, to another member of the settlement's elite, marking the very different relationship between president and councilor.

Wingfield also tried to combine the humanist and patriarchal languages of leadership in a negative sense when he described the actions of the president and council

<sup>17</sup> George Percy to the Earl of Northumberland, August 17, 1611, quoted in John W. Shirley, "George Percy at Jamestown, 1607–1612," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 57 (1949): 239.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 234–238. For Percy's appointment as president, see John Ratcliffe to Lord Salisbury, October 4, 1609, in Barbour, *The Jamestown Voyages*, 2: 284. Emanuel van Meteren, *Commentarien* (1610), *ibid.*, 2: 278, suggests that although Percy was in charge at Jamestown, he was largely ignored.

<sup>19</sup> Wingfield, "Discourse," 223. For a different interpretation of these events, see Trudy Eden, *The Early American Table: Food and Society in the New World* (DeKalb, Ill., 2008), 49–58.

<sup>20</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. "squirrel": 1.c. "Applied to other animals or to persons, usu. with contemptuous force." For claims that squirrels were tasty, see William Bullock, *Virginia Impartially examined, and left to public view, to be considered by all Judicious and honest men* (London, 1649), 4; Thomas Harriot, *A Briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (1590; repr., New York, 1972), 19; William Strachey, *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania* (1612), ed. Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund (London, 1953), 124; "A Briefe Relation of the Voyage unto Maryland, by Father Andrew White, 1634," in Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633–1684* (New York, 1910), 44. See also Fuller, "The First Southerners," 32.

that had deposed him, and here as well his focus was on food. According to Wingfield, the remaining councilors, Smith, Ratcliffe, and Martin, were of inferior social status and did not understand the need to demonstrate the fine nuances of hierarchy and reciprocity at meals, as he claimed to have. Instead, the hunger of this "triumvirate" was manifested as greed and gluttony, shading into tyranny. Wingfield wrote that the "Presidentes and the Councillors spittes haue night & daie bene endaungered to break their backes so laden with swanns, geese, duckes, &c," and "many tymes their flesh pottes haue swelled." His carefully chosen words here were vital to his meaning. The councilors were portrayed as gorging themselves on one of the quintessential status foods. By eating swans, they had clearly overstepped their social station, since swans were reserved for the very highest reaches of the social order. But more, Wingfield plainly referred to the seizure of power by Julius Caesar and the Triumvirate, which brought an end to the Roman Republic. Here again, humanist conceptions of the leader intersect with the distribution of food, though this time in a negative sense intended to denigrate Wingfield's rivals. The Virginia Company expected food to reveal a leader's capabilities or lack thereof, and the centrality of food in Wingfield's self-justifications and condemnations shows that he shared these assumptions.<sup>21</sup>

Even worse than these demonstrations of greed, gluttony, and social presumption, Wingfield continued, was the fact that "many hungry eies did behold [these feasts] to their great longing." In this image, the audience to the councilors' display of social standing and political authority was starving, making the council's claims to legitimacy hollow, if not cruel. Wingfield recognized the weight of the charge against him and again in this passage turned the argument back on his accusers, suggesting that they were devoid of charity and virtue, that their meal constituted "riot" whereas his was marked by charity and moderation. Captain John Smith himself presented similar charges against Wingfield's successors, claiming that John Ratcliffe, who was elected president in Wingfield's place, had "riotously consumed the store." The similarity in these accusations suggests that such accounts were a potent charge against a leader. Feasting oneself while the sick and weak starved was tyranny in its plainest form.<sup>22</sup>

Both Smith and Wingfield condemned leaders for failing in their most basic responsibility, and in particular for the moral failure represented by squandering the stores. But the two spoke very differently about the political role and moral obligations of Jamestown's lower orders. In Wingfield's account, ordinary settlers appear only as passive "hungry eies" whose mute condemnation underscored the illegitimacy of his rivals. According to patriarchal assumptions, society's proper functioning depended at bottom on leaders, who when they conducted themselves properly gave structure to what a later governor of Jamestown called the "wavering and insolent" lower orders. The political role of ordinary settlers, then, was to witness and affirm

<sup>21</sup> Wingfield, "Discourse," 223; Smith, *The Generall Historie*, 145, described seasonal waterfowl migrations at the time of Wingfield's demotion. Joyce Appleby, "Consumption in Early Modern Social Thought," in John Brewer and Roy Porter, eds., *Consumption and the World of Goods* (London, 1994), 166–168.

<sup>22</sup> Wingfield, "Discourse," 223; Smith, *The Generall Historie*, 169. Making a similar point about his stewardship of the common store, Wingfield wrote that he had bred "above 37" chickens while in the Chesapeake but ate only one, when he himself was sick. Ratcliffe, on the other hand, had before then "tasted of 4 or 5." Wingfield, "Discourse," 231.

the claims of their leaders. Though they might be expected to grumble or malingering a bit, the patriarchal vision assumed that, when placed under proper “government,” the lower orders of society would become part of an orderly and productive whole. When this turned out not to be the case, writers did not usually point the finger at leaders. Instead, problems at early Jamestown, as in other English settlements, were often attributed to “idleness” on the part of ordinary settlers. Puritan minister and Virginia Company investor William Crashaw, for example, described the few Virginia settlers who had survived the early years as “the scumme and skouring of the streetes” that the Company had “raked up out of the kennels” of London to send overseas. Crashaw’s harsh language echoes that of the Elizabethan Books of Orders and Poor Laws, which distinguished the deserving from the idle poor. The former were unable to work through no fault of their own and were entitled to relief according to the patriarchal vision of society; the latter were viewed as criminals for their refusal to abide by their most basic social obligation. Again speaking in terms of moral culpability, Crashaw blamed ordinary settlers for Jamestown’s troubles, and Wingfield shared the basic assumption that their role was, essentially, to do as they were told.<sup>23</sup>

In Smith’s writings, Jamestown’s ordinary settlers play a far more central and active role, and although he also blamed disorder at Jamestown on “idleness,” he meant the term differently. In Smith’s usage, “idleness” was the opposite of the *vita activa*, an abandonment of the active pursuit of the common good, and it applied to Jamestown’s gentlemen, not its ordinary settlers. Smith’s relationship with Wingfield and many other leading figures at Jamestown was famously difficult: he was threatened with execution during the journey to Virginia for some sort of mutinous speech and arrived in the Chesapeake in chains. When his appointment to the Virginia council was revealed, Wingfield, Percy, and other leading figures found it difficult to accept him as a member of the council and a peer. Smith recognized that his own claims were supported only by Jamestown’s ordinary settlers, and his language reflects that fact, but claims to authority could not ultimately rest on that foundation. As Wingfield had, Smith appealed to the Virginia Company, the ultimate authority, in writing, and like Wingfield’s, Smith’s appeal ultimately rested on food: on how and from whom he supplied the settlement, how he distributed those supplies, and what he reserved for himself. The core of Smith’s rhetorical strategy was that he provided food when others could not, and that he distributed the common stores without Percy’s and Wingfield’s obsessive regard to status. He linked these claims to humanist assumptions that during times of scarcity, a leader must not only provide food but also share his subordinates’ hunger.<sup>24</sup>

In addition, Smith recognized that claims to authority could not be confined to Jamestown proper, as Percy and Wingfield thought. To provide the settlement with food required operating on a much larger stage, the Chesapeake as a whole, and Smith’s claim to authority rested on his ability to operate in this larger, cross-cultural

<sup>23</sup> William Strachey, “A True Reportory of the Wreck and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates,” in Louis B. Wright, ed., *A Voyage to Virginia in 1609* (Charlottesville, Va., 1964), 51–52; William Crashaw, *A sermon preached in London before the right honorable the Lord Lawarre* (London, 1610), sig. F1r. Steve Hindle, “Exhortation and Entitlement: Negotiating Inequality in English Rural Communities, 1550–1650,” in Braddick and Walter, *Negotiating Power in Early Modern Society*, 102–122.

<sup>24</sup> Barbour, *The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith*, 109–120.

context. In this regard, both he and Wingfield were working from the same script, although they read it in different ways. In its "Instructions given by way of advice," the Virginia Company again drew lessons from past experiences, especially Roanoke, to guide Jamestown's councilors. To "avoid the Danger of famine," the council was instructed to "Endeavour to Store yourselves of the Country Corn," which meant establishing peaceful trade relations with native groups. Here again, each of Jamestown's leading figures interpreted the advice and instructions of the Virginia Company according to his understanding of a leader's role. Wingfield, it seems, rarely left the confines of Jamestown during his stay in Virginia, reporting that "the Salvages brought to the Towne such Corne and flesh as they could spare" in the first months. He no doubt presented himself to maximum effect when emissaries arrived from Powhatan, grandly welcoming and rewarding them with small gifts in return for the foods they brought.<sup>25</sup>

For the year following Wingfield's deposition, Smith served as Jamestown's cape merchant, charged with "adventuring abroad to make them provision." He took the "Instructions" to mean actively pursuing trade with the Indians for food; as Wingfield put it, after his removal from office "the Councillors (Master Smyth especially) traded up and downe the River with the Indyans for Corn, which releved the Collony well." From September 1608 until he was forced to leave Jamestown roughly a year later, Smith served as president, but his focus remained on traveling the forests and waterways of the Chesapeake to secure food supplies.<sup>26</sup>

The Virginia Company's "Instructions" suggested that securing supplies would be a simple matter of enticing the Indians with inexpensive beads, copper, metal tools, and other trade goods. Most of the early travel accounts seemed to support these assumptions, describing ample and apparently spontaneous offers of food on the part of individuals and groups the English encountered in the first weeks. These were uniformly interpreted as a sign of peaceful intentions and guileless goodwill, but the same accounts describe meals shared with native leaders very differently. Gabriel Archer's account of the first voyage of exploration up the James, for example, recounts a meal the exploring party shared with the *werowance* of Arrohattoc. The Indian leader "satt upon a matt of Reedes, with his people about him," and "caused [a mat] to be layd for Captain Newport," a gesture that marked Captain Christopher Newport's commensurate status among the English. Later, with two *werowances* present, Arrohattoc and Parahunt, the message was the same. The Indian leaders "satt by themselves aparte from all the rest . . . Many of his company satt on either syde: and the mattes for us were layde right over against the kynges."<sup>27</sup>

These meals were especially important because the English believed that Parahunt, *werowance* of the village named Powhatan, was Powhatan himself. Although it was gratifying that Newport, the leader of the English party and a member

<sup>25</sup> Virginia Company, *Instructions given by way of Advice*, in Barbour, *The Jamestown Voyages*, 1: 51–53, quote from 52; Martin H. Quitt, "Trade and Acculturation at Jamestown, 1607–1609: The Limits of Understanding," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 52 (1995): 233; Wingfield, "Discourse," 222.

<sup>26</sup> Wingfield, "Discourse," 222–223; Smith, *The Generall Historie*, 153, also 144–145, 154, 205; Smith, *A True Relation*, 35.

<sup>27</sup> Gabriel Archer, *A relatyon of the Discovery of our River*, in Barbour, *The Jamestown Voyages*, 1: 84, 85. For similar descriptions, see Percy, *Observations gathered out of a Discourse*, 135, 137, 140; and Smith, *A Map of Virginia* (London, 1612), in Barbour, *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith*, 1: 167–168.

of the Virginia council, was recognized as a man of commensurate status, Newport understood that these meals had conferred an obligation. Among English men of elite status, a return invitation was expected, since only social inferiors were confined solely to the role of guest. Therefore Newport "caused two peeces of porke to be sodd a shore with pease; to which he invyted King Pawatah." At this meal "King Pawatah . . . fedd familiarly, without sitting in his state as before." Prominent men on both sides presented themselves as preeminent, and each in turn expected that his guests would accept a subordinate position along with the invitation, as Parahunt did by abandoning his former displays of "state." Both sides were actively seeking common ground on these occasions, a message plainly understood despite the language barrier.<sup>28</sup>

As befitted the region's paramount chief, Powhatan conveyed a very different message, one of dominance and English dependency. Every time the English appeared before him, he made these messages perfectly clear. On his first visit to Powhatan's seat at Werowocomoco, Smith, at that time a captive, was given so much food that he feared he was being fattened for slaughter. When he was admitted into Powhatan's presence, the sight, he wrote, "drave me into admiration to see such state in a naked Salvage." Marked by liberal gifts of food and a magnificent display of "state," Powhatan's claim of preeminence was unmistakable.<sup>29</sup>

As Smith's fears that he was being fattened indicate, not all messages were so clearly received. One vital element of food exchanges at early Jamestown that has become clear only recently is the unprecedented drought the region endured during these years, adding very real questions about Powhatan's people's survival to his calculations about whether to supply Jamestown with food and how much to offer. The English also uniformly misinterpreted markers of gender roles and gendered labor. When English elites hosted a meal, only women of very high status would expect to share the table. Instead, women cooked, served, and cleaned up, signaling the gender inequality that was a vital element of a properly ordered patriarchal household. Percy wrote of a formal meal that "the chieftest" of his Indian hosts "sate all in a rank" on mats, while "the meanest sort brought us such dainties as they had, & of their bread." From other descriptions, it is clear that by "the meanest sort" Percy meant women, but the meanings of these occasions for Algonkians were likely quite different. According to Helen Rountree, the message for an Indian audience was that women had produced, prepared, and provided the food for the prominent men at such feasts. Their exclusion from the table, in this light, was less important.<sup>30</sup>

Although there were ample chances for misunderstanding, some meanings could not be denied. Powhatan was the paramount chief of the region, and as long as English leaders depended on him for food, it was impossible for them to avoid acknowledging that fact, although Percy and Wingfield tried as hard as they could. They

<sup>28</sup> Archer, *A relatyon of the Discovery of our River*, 1: 86–87.

<sup>29</sup> Smith, *A True Relation*, 53; Smith, *The Generall Historie*, 147–148.

<sup>30</sup> David W. Stahle, Malcolm K. Cleaveland, Dennis B. Blanton, Matthew D. Therrell, and David A. Gay, "The Lost Colony and Jamestown Droughts," *Science* 280 (1998): 564–567; Dennis B. Blanton, "Drought as a Factor in the Jamestown Colony, 1607–1612," *Historical Archaeology* 34 (2000): 74–81; Percy, *Observations gathered out of a Discourse*, 135; Helen C. Rountree, *Pocahontas, Powhatan, Opechancanough: Three Indian Lives Changed by Jamestown* (Charlottesville, Va., 2005), 13, 56, 64, 77–78, 116.



insisted on presenting themselves as magnificent, representing in their conduct and written accounts that because of the trade goods and weapons under the control of Jamestown's president, Indians and English alike recognized him as paramount. In refusing to visit Powhatan, these men were refusing to play the part Smith had in his first meeting, the inferior role of guest. For the same reason, Powhatan never visited Jamestown. In the fall of 1608, Smith told Powhatan that gifts from King James awaited him at Jamestown. Powhatan responded, "If your king have sent me presents, I also am a king, and this is my land: eight dayes I will stay to receive them. Your father [Newport] is to come to me, not I to him, nor yet to your fort, neither will I bite at such a bait." Powhatan knew as well as anyone that Jamestown's president might present himself as preeminent inside the fort, but sooner or later someone would have to appear before the paramount chief to ask for food.<sup>31</sup>

Since Jamestown's president would not visit Powhatan, the settlement needed an emissary, and two of the original councilors, Captains Newport and Smith, filled this role. Newport was Smith's only rival on the larger stage of the Chesapeake, but his efforts to assert authority and secure food supplies were a failure. Although he could not claim Percy's birth and wealth or Wingfield's office, he proved just as attentive to his own status. Because Newport traveled regularly between the Chesapeake and England, his appeals to the Virginia Company were delivered in person, and he wrote no self-justifications of his conduct. Further, his naval rank entitled him (in his own mind and apparently the Virginia Company's) to preeminence everywhere except at Jamestown itself, where he seems to have accepted a subordinate status to the settlement's president. Therefore, as he had when requesting Parahunt's invitation, Newport presented himself before Powhatan as an equal, echoing Powhatan's claims to the status of paramount chief. But Powhatan knew that English dependency on the maize under his control made such displays empty, and he clearly signaled this to the English emissaries. At one meeting, he claimed that he regarded "a Basket of Corne [as] more precious then a Basket of Copper; saying he could eate his Corne, but not the Copper." In other words, food is never simply a commodity: at bottom it is one of authority's most basic ingredients. However the English might have tried to represent the value of the commodities they offered in exchange, Powhatan's paramount status had its roots in his people's fields of maize.<sup>32</sup>

According to Smith, on another occasion when Newport proposed to trade for food, Powhatan emphatically demonstrated that Newport's efforts to echo the paramount chief's claim to preeminence could not be reconciled with the English need for supply. Powhatan said, "it is not agreeable to my greatnesse, in this pedling manner to trade for trifles; and I esteeme you also a great Werowance. Therefore lay me downe all your commodities together; what I like I will take, and in recompence give you what I thinke fitting their value." Powhatan suggested to Smith and Newport that a meeting between leaders was an opportunity to purchase respect and nothing else, that the Jamestown settlers "freely should give him, and he liberally would requite us." Again according to Smith, the result of Newport's efforts "to out brave this

<sup>31</sup> Smith, *The Generall Historie*, 183.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 194.

Salvage in ostentation of greatnesse” was to drive the price of corn so high that, Smith concluded, “I thinke it better cheape in Spaine.”<sup>33</sup>

By insisting on the “ostentation of greatnesse” characteristic of a man who acknowledged no superiors, Newport, Percy, and Wingfield ignored the sweeping implications of their supply problems. Unlike elites in England, Jamestown’s leaders did not control supplies of food produced by their inferiors. This was the most basic reason why Newport’s efforts to present himself before Powhatan as an equal failed. In clear contrast to his rivals, Smith understood the limitations faced by Jamestown’s president, and as a result he never tried to present himself in the grandiose way his rivals had, even when he himself was president. When he appeared before Powhatan, Smith presented himself as subordinate to Newport, whom he referred to as his “father.” Taking advantage of Newport’s frequent absences, Smith claimed that he was unable to echo Powhatan’s largesse. Inside the fort as well, Smith realized that the circumstances required a different approach. He abandoned Wingfield’s and Percy’s patriarchal displays, since it was impossible for any of them to reciprocate loyalty with adequate provisions. Reflecting on the difficulties in compelling Virginia’s settlers to work, he wrote: “Many did urge I might have forced them to it, having authority that extended so farre as death: but I say, having neither meat, drinke, lodging, pay, nor hope of any thing, or preferment . . . I know not what punishment could be greater than that they indured.” Smith succeeded where his rivals had failed, securing both adequate provisions for Jamestown and the loyalty of ordinary settlers, who could only have viewed his return from each of his voyages, his barge loaded with food, as a deliverance from hunger.<sup>34</sup>

The difference between Smith’s and Wingfield’s strategies is most clear in light of the way each man made use of his private supplies. In the spring of 1609, after rats had devoured the common stores and long before the Chesapeake Algonkians’ harvest would be ready, Jamestown’s hungry and fearful settlers were desperate, ready to trade all they had for food, when Smith announced, “all my English extraordinary provision that I have, you shall see me divide it amongst the sick.” For those well enough to work, “he that gathereth not every day as much as I doe,” Smith warned, would be banished from the settlement. Reserving nothing for himself, neither provisions nor the right to live from others’ labor, Smith was able to encourage the settlers to plant, gather, and preserve food. The circumstances demanded that he renounce any claim to a private store or an inner, select circle. Similarly, on one of the exploratory voyages Smith took up the Chesapeake, his men were afraid that their stores would run out and begged him to return. Smith continued the voyage by promising to share all their hardship: “for what is to come, of lodging, dyet, or whatsoever, I am contented you allot the worst part to my selfe.” The difference from Wingfield’s peas and salted pork or his haunch of squirrel, displays marked by an equal degree of ceremony and self-congratulation, could not be more stark. For Percy and Wingfield, private stores represented the ability to assert exclusivity and gentility, a social separation that gave Wingfield’s efforts at charity their meaning. Smith’s use of his private stores was exactly the reverse: he ostentatiously gave them

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 156.

<sup>34</sup> Captain John Smith, *Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England* (1631), in Barbour, *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith*, 3: 273.



away as a means of erasing the social distinctions between leaders and led to replace them with a different basis for his claim to authority.<sup>35</sup>

In 1609, a supply mission arrived, proclaiming that a new charter had been granted the Virginia Company and a new leader had been sent to take command. But since this man, Sir Thomas Gates, had been wrecked on Bermuda, Smith remained as president of the council and leader of Jamestown under the terms of the original charter. Regardless, the new arrivals (who included some of Smith's old adversaries) quickly moved to depose him. Recognizing that Smith's authority within the fort had its roots in his relationships outside it—with Powhatan, his subordinate *werowances*, and other native leaders—his rivals tried to replace him at the head of Jamestown's trading voyages. Smith understood their reasoning very well, writing of earlier disagreements that "some so envied his good successe, that they rather desired to hazzard a starving, then his paines should prove so much more effectuall then theirs." Smith's rivals tried to supplant him the way Newport had: by presenting themselves as Powhatan's equals. According to Smith, these men (including Newport and Ratcliffe) "so much envied his estimation among the Salvages . . . that they wrought it into the Salvages understandings (by their great bounty in giving foure times more for their commodities then Smith appointed) that their greatnesse and authoritie as much exceeded his, as their bountie and liberalitie."<sup>36</sup>

In their written appeals to the Virginia Company, Smith's rivals in 1609 made the same arguments that Wingfield had faced in 1607, namely that Smith's distribution of the stores demonstrated the illegitimacy of his claims to office. Gabriel Archer, a principal rival of Smith's, wrote that in order "to strengthen his authority, [Smith] accorded with the Mariners, and gave not any due respect to many worthy Gentlemen, that came in our Ships." Percy described Smith's methods in similar terms: "feareinge . . . thatt the seamen and thatt factyon mighte growe too stronge and be a meanes to depose him of his govermentt," Smith "Jugled with them by the way of feasteinges Expense of mutche powder and other unnecessary Tryumphes." In other words, Percy accused Smith of squandering the common stores in order "to Insinewate with his Reconcyled enemyes and for his owne vayne glory for the which we all after suffred." At the heart of this accusation lay two charges: Smith's misuse of the stores and his appeal to the lower orders at Jamestown at the expense of the "worthy Gentlemen." Word reached England that the disagreement stemmed from "dissention . . . about the distributing of the Vittles," but to Archer and Percy, Smith's crime was broader and more fundamental. Bypassing their claims to authority and their judgment of who was fit to rule, Smith successfully appealed to the settlement's lower orders.<sup>37</sup>

In Wingfield's eyes, it was his peers who legitimated a claim to authority, not ordinary settlers, and in fact a true leader should learn, as he claimed to have, "to

<sup>35</sup> Smith, *The Generall Historie*, 214, 166. Richard Pots, who presumably witnessed Smith's announcement, recalled that although Smith "had of his owne private provisions sent from England, sufficient; yet hee gave it all away to the weake and sicke." Smith, *The Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia* (1612), in Barbour, *The Complete Works of Captain John Smith*, 1: 274.

<sup>36</sup> Smith, *The Generall Historie*, 186, 154.

<sup>37</sup> Gabriel Archer, from Virginia, to an unknown friend, August 31, 1609, in Barbour, *The Jamestown Voyages*, 2: 282; Nicholls, "George Percy's 'Trew Relacyon,'" 244; John Beaulieu to William Trumbull, December 7, 1609, in Barbour, *The Jamestown Voyages*, 2: 288.

disperse the popular verdict of the vulgar.” Defending himself from the charge that he “did much banquet, and Ryot,” Wingfield stressed in his “Discourse” that he had been evenhanded and moderate in distributing the stores, insisting that he had not feasted himself and his favorites while others went without. The accusation against Smith was at bottom the same: he had squandered the stores in an effort to support his claim to leadership. The difference in the accusations—between tyranny and demagoguery—lay simply in who was invited to take part in the feasting.<sup>38</sup>

THE CONFLICTS AMONG Jamestown’s leaders and would-be leaders were in part rooted in personalities, but they had deeper roots in the very different visions each man presented of a leader’s conduct. The Virginia Company’s choice of such different men to lead the settlement, and the ongoing process of experimentation that continued after 1609, suggest that no one had a clear idea of what sort of expertise would ensure peace, stability, and profit. Because supply problems presented political questions and not simply practical ones, the struggles and negotiations confronted by Jamestown’s leaders were echoed in later colonial ventures. In the unfamiliar, fluid, and often fatal Atlantic world, English leaders grasped for the familiar, presenting and describing themselves according to patriarchal and humanist visions of a leader.

Therefore, the connections between legitimacy, leadership, and food were not at all unique to Jamestown. Across the early Atlantic world, food and authority were intertwined because the labor required to procure food, the decisions about how it should be distributed, and the circumstances under which it was consumed each manifested a vision of society. Unlike other forms of symbolic communication, the pageantry of authority had to be accompanied in the case of food with something edible, and not just on rare and carefully staged occasions. Percy knew that his gilded sword, gold-laced hats, and brass bed were meaningless at best absent his ability to offer a “continuall and dayly” supply of the human body’s basic caloric needs.

Since neither the meanings of food nor the body’s need for nutrition can be suspended, food combines the symbolic with the quotidian. It is this combination that makes it such a valuable lens. It brings into focus the contingency and negotiation that characterized the political culture of the early modern English Atlantic world, but it also captures the roles of ordinary settlers and native groups in the legitimation of political authority on a formal level, a point that Smith understood better than anyone.

Just as food roots interpretations of symbolic communication in the everyday bodily needs of ordinary people, it similarly grounds interpretations of textual claims to authority. Because all English voyages and settlement projects needed to attract private investment and because backers expected to hear and read reports of leading figures conducting themselves according to familiar norms, the rhetorical struggle among Jamestown’s leaders was shared by many other settlement projects. The choice of how to present and describe oneself was, as Wingfield’s case makes clear, largely a strategic appeal to a chosen audience. As part of this strategy, English leaders might refer to different images of a leader or combine these images in various

<sup>38</sup> Wingfield, “Discourse,” 1: 233.

ways. But food always lay at the center of textual claims to authority such as Wingfield's, here again rooting the written claims that a would-be leader could make in the stores that nourished his subordinates.

Percy's gilded sword and Wingfield's roast squirrel are memorable examples of the ways English leaders claimed authority in the Chesapeake in their conduct and in writing, but it is fitting that Powhatan should have the last word on this question. His words—or, more precisely, his signs—to Smith and Newport are a caution to scholars quick to accept textual claims of dominion or to assume that European technology was always awe-inspiring. Of all the symbols of leadership that filled written accounts, only Powhatan's corn could keep people alive. By reminding Smith and Newport of this, Powhatan made the point that no matter how well-dressed, well-fed, or well-born a leader might be, his claim to authority ultimately rested on the staff of life.

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## “If You Eat Their Food . . .”: Diets and Bodies in Early Colonial Spanish America

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REBECCA EARLE

IN JANUARY OF 1494, Christopher Columbus found himself in the disagreeable position of having to explain to the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella why so many of the European settlers on the Caribbean island of Hispaniola had fallen sick and died. The explanation was simple, but it had alarming implications for the nascent Spanish colony: Europeans did not thrive in the very different environment of the New World. The “change in water and air,” Columbus believed, was the principal cause of the dreadful ailments afflicting the small Spanish settlement. Fortunately, he explained, the mortality would cease once the settlers were provided with “the foods we are accustomed to in Spain.”<sup>1</sup> European food, Columbus insisted, would counteract the deleterious effects of the New World environment and make feasible the dream of colonization. He was not alone in this belief. Columbus’s assertion that European food was vital to the survival of such settlements forms part of a vast current of discourse that links diet to discussions of Spanish health, Indian bodies, and overseas colonization. Diet was in fact central to the colonial endeavor. As we shall see, food played a fundamental role in structuring the European categories of “Spaniard” and “Indian” that underpinned Spain’s colonial universe in the early modern era. Beyond this, attending to food’s place within that universe illuminates the profound but incompatible desires that characterized Spain’s colonial mission, which sought simultaneously to make Amerindians like Europeans and to keep them separate.

Many aspects of early modern colonial expansion proved unsettling for its European protagonists. The encounter with entirely new territories and peoples raised doubts about the reliability of existing knowledge and also posed theoretical and practical questions about the proper way for Europeans to interact with these new peoples and places. Far from being an enterprise based on an unquestioning assumption of European superiority, early modern colonialism was an anxious pursuit. This anxiety is captured most profoundly in the fear that living in an unfamiliar environment, and among unfamiliar peoples, might alter not only the customs but also the very bodies of settlers. Perhaps, as Columbus suspected, unmediated contact with these new lands would weaken settlers’ constitutions to such an extent that they

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<sup>1</sup> Christopher Columbus, “Memorial que para los Reyes Católicos dio el Almirante a don Antonio de Torres” (January 30, 1494), in Ignacio Anzoátegui, ed., *Los cuatro viajes del almirante y su testamento* (Madrid, 1971), 158. See Noble David Cook, “Sickness, Starvation and Death in Early Hispaniola,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32, no. 3 (2002): 349–386, for discussion of the ill-fated settlement.

died. Or perhaps it might instead transform the European body in less lethal but equally unwelcome ways, so that it ultimately ceased to be a European body at all.

Scholars have long recognized the challenges that unfamiliar climates, in particular, were believed to pose to the European body, and lately several attempts have been made to link such early modern concerns about colonial environments to the emergence of racial ideologies. The transformation of looser medieval concepts of difference into rigid nineteenth-century models of "race" has often been attributed to the impact of colonialism on European thinking, but scholars have generally viewed this transformation as a modern, rather than early modern, phenomenon.<sup>2</sup> Attempts to connect European anxieties about colonial environments in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with the evolution of racial ideologies appear to have revolutionized this chronology. For example, the historian Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra has proposed that sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish colonists (and their descendants) articulated an early form of embodied racial discourse in their efforts to explain the supposedly different impact of the New World climate on Europeans and Amerindians. He asserts that settlers posited a radical discontinuity between European and indigenous bodies because they could not otherwise account for the fact that Europeans appeared to thrive in the American environment while Amerindians sickened and died. European and indigenous bodies, he suggests, therefore began to be conceptualized as incommensurably different and fundamentally incomparable. Cañizares-Esguerra's attention to the significance of climate and indigenous health in the early colonial era has been mirrored in scholarship on England's North American colonies. Joyce Chaplin, in particular, has advanced similar arguments about the attitudes of English settlers in seventeenth-century Anglo-America. These scholars, in short, argue that "race"—a fixed, bodily condition—began to emerge in the early colonial era as a result of Europeans' encounter with the New World's climate and inhabitants.<sup>3</sup>

Such research highlights the dilemmas that overseas colonization posed to Europeans, and helpfully refocuses attention on the fact that early colonial actors ascribed great significance to the differences they perceived between their bodies and those of Amerindians. Nonetheless, it accords a disproportionate importance to cli-

<sup>2</sup> "It was the colonial encounters which produced a new category, race," writes Catherine Hall; "Introduction: Thinking the Postcolonial, Thinking the Empire," in Hall, ed., *Cultures of Empire: Colonizers in Britain and the Empire in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries—A Reader* (New York, 2000), 19. For a pithy review of the debate over colonialism and the origins of race, see Kathleen Wilson, *The Island Race: Englishness, Empire and Gender in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 2003), 11–15.

<sup>3</sup> Joyce Chaplin, "Natural Philosophy and an Early Racial Idiom in North America: Comparing English and Indian Bodies," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 54, no. 1 (1997): 229–252; Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, "New Worlds, New Stars: Patriotic Astrology and the Invention of Indian and Creole Bodies in Colonial Spanish America, 1600–1650," *American Historical Review* 104, no. 1 (February 1999): 33–68; Joyce Chaplin, *Subject Matter: Technology, the Body, and Science on the Anglo-American Frontier, 1500–1676* (Cambridge, 2001); and Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, Empire, and Nation: Explorations of the History of Science in the Iberian World* (Stanford, Calif., 2006). Other works according Spanish colonialism an important role in the formulation of European ideas about difference include Benjamin Braude, "The Sons of Noah and the Construction of Ethnic and Geographical Identities in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 54, no. 1 (1997): 103–142; James Sweet, "The Iberian Roots of American Racist Thought," *ibid.*, 143–166; and María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, Calif., 2008). See also Mary Floyd-Wilson, *English Ethnicity and Race in Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge, 2003).



mate as a challenge to the European body. Climate was but one of a number of forces believed by Europeans to affect health and character, and it does not assist our analysis of the early modern colonial experience to isolate climate from these other forces. In particular, we should not overlook the role of food. Food was in fact central to the early modern discourses about human difference that structured European efforts at understanding the Americas and their inhabitants.<sup>4</sup> When we attend to the place of food within these discourses, it becomes clear that fluidity, rather than fixity, was the hallmark of the early modern body, and that this fluidity had striking implications for the coherence of colonial ideology.

Food shaped the colonial body in a number of ways. To begin with, the right foods protected Europeans from the challenges posed by the New World and its environment. Spaniards believed that they would not suffer from the excessive damp and dangerous heavens of the Americas if they ate European food. For this reason, colonizers and settlers in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish America were consistently concerned about their ability to access European foodstuffs, and generations of chroniclers noted the deleterious effect of the indigenous diet on Europeans unwise enough to consume it. More fundamentally, food helped *create* the bodily differences that underpinned the European categories of Spaniard and Indian. Spanish bodies differed from indigenous bodies because the Spanish diet differed from the Amerindian diet, but these differences were by no means permanent. Bodies could be altered just as easily as could diets.

In other words, the role of diet is considered here not in the performance of European colonial identity, but rather in the construction and maintenance of the Spanish body. By probing the space that early modern Spaniards imagined to exist between their bodies and those of Amerindians, we can measure the distance that separated the one from the other and map the routes whereby one could begin to transform into the other, using a variety of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources. This chronological span captures the era in which the principles of humoralism governed European understandings of the body, which provide a coherence in regard to ideas about corporeality notwithstanding the many transformations undergone by Spanish and colonial society during this period.<sup>5</sup> The many sources that illuminate this topic, which range from medical handbooks and legal treatises to chronicles and official and private letters, were of course written to serve different purposes, and we should not assume that they form part of a coherent corpus of discourse as regards their ostensible subjects. Nonetheless, one feature they share is a vision of the human body as essentially porous, in active dialogue with its environment. Indeed, it is precisely through the analysis of a range of disparate sources that we have the best opportunity to uncover early modern body concepts. The

<sup>4</sup> My focus here is the attitudes of Spanish settlers, but there is every reason to believe that colonists from other parts of Europe held similar opinions. For suggestive analysis of the attitudes of settlers in British colonies, see Trudy Eden, "Food, Assimilation and the Malleability of the Human Body in Early Virginia," in Janet Lindman and Michele Tarter, eds., *A Center of Wonders: The Body in Early America* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2001), 29–42; and Susan Scott Parrish, *American Curiosity: Cultures of Natural History in the Colonial British Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2006), esp. 77–102.

<sup>5</sup> Humoralism's period of dominion is discussed in Nancy Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago, 1990); and Lawrence Conrad, Michael Neve, Vivian Nutton, Roy Porter, and Andrew Wear, *The Western Medical Tradition, 800 BC to AD 1800* (Cambridge, 1995).

broadier implications of these concepts can then be considered in light of the contradictory aims at the heart of early modern colonialism.

SPANIARDS WHO TRAVELED in the Indies in the early modern era quickly determined that Amerindian bodies differed from their own in all sorts of ways. Indians were somewhat darker-skinned and had distinctively straight hair, and the men generally lacked beards. In addition, they suffered less from stomach ailments, were generally timid, rarely went bald, and almost never developed gallstones. Spaniards, in contrast, were of a proud nature, possessed light skin and delightful beards, and were afflicted by numerous digestive disorders.<sup>6</sup> Such differences were evident to all: "it is clear," noted the German physician Nicholas Pol, "that the climate, bodies, complexions, etc. of the Spaniards are different from those possessed by the Indians."<sup>7</sup> Learned men generally categorized Indians as phlegmatic, according to the tenets of humoral theory. This made Amerindians similar to women, who were also believed to be phlegmatic, although some argued that Indians were instead melancholic.<sup>8</sup> In any event, everyone agreed that they were different from Spaniards, who were choleric.<sup>9</sup> The melancholy and phlegmatic Indians

<sup>6</sup> Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia general de las Indias* (1552; repr., Barcelona, 2006), 62, 131, 149, 337, 372–373 (chaps. 26, 68, 79, 193, 216); Juan de Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, ed. Guillermo Lohmann Villena (1567; repr., Paris, 1967), 16–17; Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España e islas de la Tierra Firme* (ca. 1570), ed. Angel Garibay, 2 vols. (Mexico, 1967), 1: 5 (prologue to vol. 1); Lope de Atienza, *Compendio historial del estado de los indios del Peru* (1583), published as an appendix to J. Jijón y Caamaño, ed., *La Religión del imperio de los Incas* (Quito, 1931), 58–60 (chap. 10); Juan de Cárdenas, *Problemas y secretos maravillosos de las Indias* (1591; repr., Madrid, 1945), 219 (book 3, chap. 11); Agustín Farfán, *Tractado breve de medicina* (1592; repr., Madrid, 1944), 1–3 (book 1, chap. 1); Baltasar Dorantes de Carranza, *Sumaria relación de las cosas de la Nueva España* (1604), ed. José María de Agreda y Sánchez (Mexico, 1970), 63; Gregorio García, *Origen de los indios del Nuevo Mundo*, ed. Franklin Pease (1607; repr., Mexico, 1981), 70–74; Juan de Torquemada, *Monarchia yndiana*, 3 vols. (Seville, 1615), 2: 609–614, 620–621 (book 14, chaps. 18, 19, 24); and Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (1653), in Cobo, *Obras*, ed. Francisco Mateos, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1956), 2: 10–14 (book 11, chaps. 2–3). Note: I have included the book, chapter, and part numbers for many of the primary sources in parentheses, to make it easier for others to locate this material.

<sup>7</sup> Nicholas Pol, *On the Method of Healing with the Indian Wood called Guaiac the Bodies of Germans who have Contracted the French Disease* (1517), in Max H. Fisch, ed., *Nicolaus Pol, Doctor, 1494* (New York, 1947), 59.

<sup>8</sup> For comparisons between Amerindians and women, see Laura Lewis, "The 'Weakness' of Women and the Feminization of the Indian in Colonial Mexico," *Colonial Latin American Review* 5, no. 1 (1996): 73–94.

<sup>9</sup> For the view that Amerindians were phlegmatic, see Francisco Hernández, *Antigüedades de la Nueva España* (ca. 1574), ed. Ascensión H. de León-Portilla (Madrid, 1986), 97 (book 1, chap. 23); Francisco Cervantes de Salazar, *Crónica de la Nueva España* (ca. 1560) (Madrid, 1914), 30 (book 1, chap. 16); "Relación de la ciudad de Guamanga y sus terminos" (1586), in Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, ed., *Relaciones geográficas de las Indias: Perú*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1965), 1: 185; Luis Heironymo de Ore, *Symbolo catholico indiano, en el qual se declaran los mysterios de la Fe* (Lima, 1598), 30r; García, *Origen de los indios del Nuevo Mundo*, 29–30, 131 (chaps. 3, 35); and Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana* (ca. 1596), ed. Joaquín García Icazbalceta (Mexico, 1971), 222, 438 (book 3, chap. 17; book 4, chap. 21). For Amerindians as melancholy, see Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España*, 1: 5 (prologue to vol. 1); Diego Cisneros, *Sitio, naturaleza y propiedades de la ciudad de México* (Mexico, 1618), 112r (chap. 17); Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, 16; and Atienza, *Compendio historial*, 132 (chap. 35). For Amerindians as phlegmatic and sanguine, see Henrico Martínez, *Reportorio de los tiempos e historia natural desta Nueva España* (1606; repr., Mexico, 1991), 262, 281; and Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 2: 15–16 (book 11, chap. 4). Bartolomé de las Casas, who argued for the Indians' superior nature, insisted that they were sanguine, "which is the most noble of all the four complexions," while Diego Andrés Rocha, who believed that they were descended from Spaniards, said that they, like their Iberian ancestors, were choleric. See Bartolomé de las Casas, *Apologética historia*



were therefore constitutionally quite unlike the choleric Spaniards. Why, however, were they so different?

Undoubtedly, one of the reasons Indians and Spaniards were so different was that they lived in very different environments. Early modern medical thinking accorded a central role to climate in shaping constitutions and bodies.<sup>10</sup> Climate, for example, was thought to play a key part in determining skin color. The Spanish Dominican Gregorio García, writing in the early seventeenth century, explained that Ethiopians had dark skin, although they were, like all men, the sons of Noah (who was presumed to have been white), because they lived in the heat of the torrid zone. "There is nothing new in men changing the color of their body, and their hair, in conformity with the climate of the region where they live," he observed.<sup>11</sup> In addition to provoking changes in skin and hair color, climate was also believed to affect individual health. As a consequence, educated Spaniards living in the Americas were highly attuned to the potential impact of the air, stars, and temperature, which were liable to provoke all sorts of undesirable transformations. This fear was well expressed by the Spanish physician Francisco Hernández, who in the 1570s served as New Spain's *protomédico*, or chief medical officer. "Let us hope that the men who are born [in Europe] and who begin to occupy those regions, whether their parents are Spanish or of different nations, do not *in obedience to the heavens* degenerate to the point of adopting the customs of the Indians," he noted in his study of New World *materia medica*.<sup>12</sup>

The clearest evidence for the deleterious impact of the American climate was provided by Amerindians themselves. Virtually all European writers of the time believed that Amerindians had at some point in the past migrated to the Americas from the Old World. The precise place of origin and the mode of transport remained in dispute, but Christian teaching made it clear that all men were descended from a common ancestor. Hence it was important to explain why people who had originated in the Old World now differed so much from the Spanish in both behavior and appearance. For example, Spaniards asked themselves, why did Amerindian men generally lack beards? In an extensive discussion of this question, Gregorio García hypothesized that the hot, moist climate of the New World impeded the growth of

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sumaria (ca. 1552), in Las Casas, *Obras escogidas*, ed. Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso, 5 vols. (Madrid, 1958), 3: 124 (chap. 37); and Diego Andrés Rocha, *El origen de los indios*, ed. José Alcina Franch (1681; repr., Madrid, 1988), 215. For the Spanish complexion, see Cárdenas, *Problemas y secretos maravillosos de las Indias*, 175, 179 (book 3, chaps. 1–2); Cisneros, *Sitio, naturaleza y propiedades*, 112v (chap. 17); Martínez, *Reportorio de los tiempos*, 262, 281; Ore, *Symbolo catholico indiano*, 30r; Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, 222, 438 (book 3, chap. 17; book 4, chap. 21); and Agustín de Vetancurt, *Teatro mexicano* (1698; repr., Mexico, 1971), 12 (tratado 1, chap. 6).

<sup>10</sup> Clarence Glacken, *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley, Calif., 1967); Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine*; and Carmen Peña and Fernando Girón, *La prevención de la enfermedad en la España bajo medieval* (Granada, 2006). Early modern understandings of climate derived fundamentally from the writings of ancient scholars. See in particular Hippocrates, "On Airs, Waters and Places," in *The Genuine Works of Hippocrates*, trans. Francis Adams (London, 1849), <http://classics.mit.edu/Hippocrates/airwatpl.html>; Galen, *Galen on Food and Diet*, ed. Mark Grant (New York, 2000); and Aristotle, *Problems*, trans. W. S. Hett (London, 1961).

<sup>11</sup> García, *Origen de los indios del Nuevo Mundo*, 69.

<sup>12</sup> Hernández, *Antigüedades de la Nueva España*, 97 (book 1, chap. 23); emphasis added. Or see Baltasar Álamos de Barrientos, *Discurso político al rey Felipe III al comienzo de su reinado*, ed. Modesto Santos (Madrid, 1990), 16.

facial hair. This raised the terrifying prospect that the Spanish, too, might lose their prized beards as a result of living in the same environment. (Beards were considered a signal mark of manhood by early modern Spaniards. Writers insisted that they were a gift from God to beautify and adorn the male face.)<sup>13</sup>

Yet help was at hand. García explained that this alarming possibility was in fact remote. The Spanish were unlikely to lose their beards because the "temperance and virtue that the Spaniards born in the Indies inherited from their fathers and grandfathers" were continually reinforced through the consumption of Spanish food. Their constitution, he explained, was protected by "good foods and sustenance such as lamb, chicken, turkey, and good beef, [wheat] bread, and wine, and other nourishing foods."<sup>14</sup> This long list consists almost entirely of Old World foods that had been lacking in the New World before the arrival of Europeans. Indians therefore could not possibly have protected their beards from the destructive effects of the American climate, all the more so given that the foods that were available were singularly inadequate, consisting as they did of cassava, potatoes, sweet potatoes, and other foods "of very little nourishment."<sup>15</sup> It was through eating this inadequate food, as much as through the impact of the climate, that the Indians had lost their Old World temperament. The result was the disappearance of their beards. Climate was thus important in shaping bodies, but so too was diet. The Spanish chronicler Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, who after many years' residence in the Caribbean composed a lengthy "official" history of the New World in the mid-sixteenth century, explained this clearly when he listed the challenges posed to novice conquistadors. On arriving in the Americas, he wrote, they would find themselves obliged to "fight in such different airs and in such strange regions, and with such different foods."<sup>16</sup> Food could not be separated from the environment. Colonial writers throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries agreed that "those who come from other climates through [eating] new foods generate new blood, which produces new humors, [and] the new humors [create] new abilities and conditions."<sup>17</sup> A change in food, like a change in climate, was liable to provoke a change in both body and character. Food, in other words, helped distinguish Spaniard from Indian, but it could just as easily turn proud, bearded Spaniards into timid, beardless Indians. Such corporeal differences were real, but impermanent.

These attitudes reveal the widespread dissemination of an understanding of the human body based fundamentally on the principles of humoral theory. Learned thinking in the early modern period held that good health required a balance of the

<sup>13</sup> Cárdenas, *Problemas y secretos maravillosos de las Indias*, 188 (book 3, chap. 4); Atienza, *Compendio historial*, 59, 133 (chaps. 10, 35); and Londa Schiebinger, *Nature's Body: Sexual Politics and the Making of Modern Science* (London, 1994), 120–125. Indigenous people, too, seem to have viewed the beard as a distinctive Spanish trait. See, for example, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, *History of How the Spaniards Arrived in Peru* (1570), ed. and trans. Catherine Julien (Indianapolis, 2006), 10, 18 (chap. 2).

<sup>14</sup> García, *Origen de los indios del Nuevo Mundo*, 70.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, ed. Juan Pérez de Tudela Bueso, 5 vols. (1535–1557; repr., Madrid, 1959), 2: 358 (book 23, chap. 3).

<sup>17</sup> Vetancurt, *Teatro mexicano*, 11 (tratado 1, chap. 6). This is a paraphrase of Martínez's 1606 treatise, which Vetancurt cites as a source. Or see Juan Huarte, *Examen de Ingenios; or, The Examination of Mens Wits* (London, 1594), 21–22; Miguel de Çepeda Santa Cruz, December 9, 1626, Santa Fe, Archivo General de la Nación, Bogotá, Colonia Médicos y Abogados 11, 853r; and Parrish, *American Curiosity*, 79. I am grateful to Linda Newson for the reference to Çepeda.

four humors that governed the body: blood, phlegm, black bile, and yellow bile, each of which was associated with relative degrees of heat, cold, dryness, and moisture. Individuals possessed a particular humoral makeup that helped determine their “complexion,” a term that referred equally to their character and their bodily qualities. Each person was born with a particular complexion, but a variety of external forces could alter one’s humoral balance. Climate (“air”) was one of them; food was another. These, together with levels of exercise, sleep and wakefulness, evacuation (which included such things as bloodletting), and the emotions, constituted the “six non-natural things” whose impact on human health and character most early modern scholars regarded as profound.<sup>18</sup> This significance of the six non-naturals was explained clearly by the German cosmographer Henrico Martínez, who spent a number of years in Mexico City in the late sixteenth century. In his 1606 *Reportorio de los tiempos e historia natural desta Nueva España*, Martínez asked why it was that people living under the same stars might have different complexions. The answer, he explained, was that complexion was determined by many factors, including “the diversity of the foods with which people sustain themselves,” different exercise regimes, and different emotional states, not to mention the fact that it tended to alter during the course of an individual’s life. These factors together explained the great variety in complexions and characters within a single locale.<sup>19</sup>

Food, in other words, played an important role in maintaining a healthy complexion and in correcting imbalances. Phlegmatic people, who were excessively cold and damp, could improve their condition by eating hot, dry foods such as black pepper. Melancholics (cold and dry, and governed by black bile) were advised to eat hot, moist foods such as sugar. A change in diet, like a change in environment, could transform an individual complexion. Such transformations, however, were fraught with danger. Giovanni de Medici, for instance, was held to have expired in 1463 as a direct result of drinking excessive quantities of cold water, which induced a phlegmatic complexion.<sup>20</sup> Only with great care should people use diet—or indeed any other non-natural intervention—to alter their basic complexion, thereby acquiring a “second nature.”

The human body was thus in a state of constant flux; the complexion needed to

<sup>18</sup> For an introduction to humoral theory and its links to diet, see Galen, *Galen on Food and Diet*; Ken Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance* (Berkeley, Calif., 2002); and Peña and Girón, *La prevención de la enfermedad*. For the influence of humoralism in Spain and its colonies, see J. M. López Piñero, *Ciencia y técnica en la sociedad española de los siglos XVI y XVII* (Barcelona, 1979); Luis Grangel, *La medicina española renacentista* (Salamanca, 1980); George Foster, *Hippocrates’ Latin American Legacy: Humoral Medicine in the New World* (Amsterdam, 1994); Enrique González González, “La enseñanza médica en la ciudad de México durante el siglo XVI,” in Juan Comas, Enrique González, Alfredo López Austin, Germán Somolinos, and Carlos Viesca, *El mestizaje cultural y la medicina novohispana del siglo XVI* (Valencia, 1995); Luis García Ballester, *La búsqueda de la salud: Sanadores y enfermos en la España medieval* (Barcelona, 2001); and Linda Newson, “Medical Practice in Early Colonial Spanish America: A Prospectus,” *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 25, no. 3 (2006): 377–386.

<sup>19</sup> Martínez, *Reportorio de los tiempos*, 303; Cárdenas, *Problemas y secretos maravillosos de las Indias*, 179 (book 3, chap. 2); and Cisneros, *Sitio, naturaleza y propiedades*, 46r, 52r, 58v, 77r–85v, 108v, 114r (chaps. 9, 11, 15–17). For other New World medical texts based on the tenets of humoral theory, see Alonso López [de Hinojoso], *Summa, y recopilación de chirugía, con un arte para sa[n]grar muy útil y provechosa* (Mexico, 1578); Farfán, *Tractado breve de medicina*; and Gregorio López, *Tesoro de medicina para diversos enfermedades* (1673; repr., Madrid, 1708). Las Casas offered an extensive discussion of humoral theory, including the importance of diet, in his *Apologética historia sumaria*, 3: 72–140, esp. 73, 86, 105–106 (chaps. 23–41).

<sup>20</sup> Albala, *Eating Right in the Renaissance*, 50–51.

be maintained through an individualized regime of diet, exercise, purging, and rest. Moreover, because of the influence of food and air on the human constitution, bodies, far from being hermetically sealed off from the outside world, were continually open to the impact of their external environment. "All bodies are Transpirable and Trans-fluxible, that is, so open to the ayre as that it may easily passe and repasse through them," noted the English medical writer Helkiah Crooke in 1615. Indeed, as Gail Kern Paster has observed in her study of humoralism in early modern England, "solubility" was the "sine qua non of bodily health."<sup>21</sup> This solubility, however, was capable of provoking quite dramatic transformations, such as had occurred when the ancestors of the Amerindians first migrated to the Indies. Humoral bodies—and for early modern Europeans, all bodies were humoral—were thus inherently unstable and mutable.

Travel to new environments—whether to a different city or a different continent—which subjected the body to unfamiliar climates and constellations and to unusual foods, therefore required particularly careful attention. Even travel within Europe posed serious challenges to individual health. Sixteenth-century English travelers in Spain fretted about the impact of alien airs and foods in much the same manner as did Spanish settlers in the Caribbean.<sup>22</sup> Any change in location, in other words, could easily place an individual's health at risk. It is little wonder that Spanish settlers in the Indies worried about their diet.

Humoral theory thus provided a model for explaining why Indian bodies and the bodies of Spaniards resident in the Indies were different, despite the common environment. They differed because they lived under different exercise regimes (Indians were generally acknowledged to be more active), and, critically, because they ate different foods.<sup>23</sup> This view was offered as an ad hoc explanation for the Indian character from the earliest days of the conquest. The inhabitants of the Caribbean, noted the Italian Michele da Cuneo, who accompanied Columbus on his second voyage, were "cold people, not very lustful, which is perhaps a result of their poor

<sup>21</sup> Helkiah Crooke, *Mikrokosmographia: A Description of the Body of Man* (London, 1615), 175; and Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1993), 9.

<sup>22</sup> J. N. Hillgarth, *The Mirror of Spain, 1500–1700: The Formation of a Myth* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 2000), 13, 16.

<sup>23</sup> The only example I have found in which the different humoral makeup of Indians and Spaniards is not ascribed at least in part to the consumption of different foodstuffs is Cobo. He noted that although Spaniards and Indians lived together in the same environment and used "the same water and almost the same foods," there were great differences between them. He nonetheless concluded that it was impossible to determine whether Amerindians' character and appearance was the result of "their natural complexion, or their food and drink"; *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 2: 13, 16 (book 11, chaps. 3–4). Juan de Cárdenas appears similarly to discount the importance of food in shaping complexion in one passage of his *Problemas y secretos maravillosos de las Indias*, where he asserts that Amerindians and Europeans "use the same waters and even the same foods." In fact, as this claim dramatically contradicts his repeated insistence that food was one of the key features shaping complexion, it is clear that in this instance Cárdenas was aiming to focus attention on the very specific argument that he posited to explain Amerindian men's lack of beards; *ibid.*, 185 (book 3, chap. 4). For the centrality of diet, together with exercise and the frequency of sexual acts, in shaping complexion elsewhere in Cárdenas, see *ibid.*, 179, 184, 210, 219 (book 3, chaps. 1, 2, 3, 9, 11). Some writers stated that it was impossible for mortals to understand why color varied so much among people, concluding that it was a mysterious act of God. See, for example, López de Gómara, *Historia general de las Indias*, 372–373 (chap. 216); Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 2: 11 (book 11, chap. 1); and Torquemada, *Monarchia yndiana*, 2: 610–613 (book 14, chaps. 18–19). Thanks to Christián Roa for the reference to López de Gómara.



diet.”<sup>24</sup> The importance of diet, alongside climate, in differentiating Spaniards from Indians was explained with great clarity by Diego Andrés Rocha in his 1681 treatise on the “origin of the Indians.” Rocha, a Spaniard who taught law at the Peruvian University of San Marcos and also served on the Audiencia de Lima, advanced the view that Amerindians were descended from ancient Spaniards who had traveled to the New World in the remote past. Given their common origin, Rocha needed to explain why it was that Amerindians now differed so dramatically from Spaniards. He argued that this was due to “the variation in places, climates, airs and foods,” which, he wrote,

caused this change in color, size, gestures, and faces among Americans, who did not conserve the color of the first Spaniards who came to these Indies . . . because their ancestors enjoyed different climates, different waters, different foods, which at first were not very nourishing, and it was a great achievement that they did not die of hunger until such time as they managed to cultivate fruits and other forms of food, and this is what caused the variation among peoples and in color.<sup>25</sup>

For Rocha, Amerindians thus provided living proof not merely that people from the Old World might undergo dramatic transformations in the New World, but that Spaniards, in particular, could turn into Indians.

Rocha stressed that alterations provoked solely by a change in climate occurred extremely slowly. Thus the ancient Spaniards’ transformation into “toasted and discolored” Indians was not caused simply by the new climate, but rather by “the lack of protection from the weather, bad foods, and over a long period.” For this reason alone, creoles—people of European heritage born in the Indies—remained white despite their lengthy residence in the New World. In any event, Rocha observed, their European complexion was continually reinforced because “they are all raised with much care and protection and with good foods, which was not the case with the Indians and those who first came to this America.”<sup>26</sup> Good food trumped climate.

A change in climate could thus be managed through careful attention to diet, but the converse could not be said for a change in diet. The latter, Rocha stressed, could have devastating consequences for the individual complexion, and for this reason it was essential for creoles and Europeans living in the Indies to eat appropriately. Eating the wrong food and living unprotected in the American environment had turned ancient Spaniards into Indians, and contemporary Spaniards should take care not to repeat the mistakes of their ancestors. “Here we have seen very white men from Spain,” Rocha wrote, “who, on withdrawing into the hills and eating maize and other Indian dainties, return so toasted that they resemble Indians.”<sup>27</sup> As Rocha explained, food was vital to maintaining the distance between Spaniards (and cre-

<sup>24</sup> Michele da Cuneo, “News of the Islands of the Hesperian Ocean” (1495), in Geoffrey Symcox, ed., *Italian Reports on America, 1493–1522* (Turnhout, 2002), 58. Cuneo thus provides an early example of the view that Indians were either phlegmatic or melancholic, the complexions associated with cold.

<sup>25</sup> Rocha, *El origen de los indios*, 212. Or see Cárdenas, *Problemas y secretos maravillosos de las Indias*, 179, 184, 210, 219 (book 3, chaps. 2, 3, 9, 11); and García, *Origen de los indios del Nuevo Mundo*, 68–78.

<sup>26</sup> Rocha, *El origen de los indios*, 213–214. Conversely, because creoles ate virtually the same diet as Spaniards, they had identical humoral makeups, in the view of the Spanish doctor Diego Cisneros; Cisneros, *Sitio, naturaleza y propiedades*, 114v–115r (chap. 17).

<sup>27</sup> Rocha, *El origen de los indios*, 212.

oles) and Indians. Without access to European food, Spaniards would sooner or later turn into Indians. "Race," in other words, was in part a question of digestion.

THESE WERE NOT PURELY theoretical concerns of interest solely to medically trained writers. European explorers constantly complained that they fell ill when they could not eat familiar foods, and conversely asserted that only the restoration of their usual diet would heal them. Recall Columbus's 1494 letter to the Catholic monarchs. The admiral's son Ferdinand similarly insisted that the Spanish settlers in the Caribbean were "made ill by the climate and diet of that country."<sup>28</sup> Such views were widely shared by other colonial writers. In his own discussion of the disastrous settlement on Hispaniola, Fernández de Oviedo agreed that the high European death toll was due primarily to the change in diet. He summed up the dangerous features of the New World as follows:

beyond the incongruity that the heavens there have with those of Europe (where we were born), and the influence of the differences in the airs and vapors and nature of the land, we found no foods in these parts that were like those that our fathers gave us: the bread—of roots, the fruits—wild or unknown and unsuitable for our stomachs, the water—of a different flavor, the meats—there were none on [Hispaniola], beyond those mute rodents or a few other animals, and all very different from those of Spain.<sup>29</sup>

Unlike medically trained writers, Fernández de Oviedo did not frame his analysis with references to Galen or Hippocrates.<sup>30</sup> Rather, he presented his observations as the outcome of firsthand experience in the New World, which had taught him that the air, water, and food of the Americas were not suited to European bodies. Indeed, sixteenth-century Europeans consistently claimed that direct experience demonstrated that the indigenous diet was unhealthy and dangerous (at least for Europeans).

These claims were made despite the fact that maize and other New World starches clearly formed the bulk of the diet of most settlers. Explorers often reported without comment that they provisioned themselves with maize and other New World

<sup>28</sup> Fernando Columbus, *Life of the Admiral Christopher Columbus*, trans. Benjamin Keen (New Brunswick, N.J., 1959), 122.

<sup>29</sup> Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural*, 1: 49, 134 (book 2, chap. 13; book 5, chap. 8). For similar phrasing, see Peter Martyr D'Anghera, *De Orbe Novo: The Eight Decades of Peter Martyr D'Anghera*, trans. Francis Augustus MacNutt, 2 vols. (New York, 1912), 1: decade 3, book 4, <http://www.gutenberg.org/zipcat.php/12425/12425-h/12425-h.htm>; and López de Gómara, *Historia general de las Indias*, 57 (chap. 22).

<sup>30</sup> For other criticisms of the dangerous effects of New World foods on Europeans that do not make specific reference to medical teaching, see Juan de Estrada and Fernando de Niebla, "Relación de Zapotitlán" (1579), in René Acuña, ed., *Relaciones geográficas del siglo XVI: Guatemala* (Mexico, 1982), 42; Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella, *Rebelión de Pizarro en el Perú y vida de D. Pedro Gasca* (ca. 1593), 2 vols. (Madrid, 1889), 1: 228 (book 2, chap. 5); and Bernardo de Vargas Machuca, "Milicia indiana," in Vargas Machuca, *Milicia y descripción de las Indias*, 2 vols. (1599; repr., Madrid, 1892), 1: 115 (book 2). For texts by medically trained writers that attribute illness among Europeans in part to the unfamiliar diet, see Martínez, *Reportorio de los tiempos*, 285–286; Cisneros, *Sitio, naturaleza y propiedades*, 114 (chap. 17); Francisco Nuñez de Oria, *Regimiento y aviso de sanidad, que trata de todos los géneros de alimentos y del regimiento della* (Medina del Campo, 1586), 7v, 42r–v; and Cárdenas, *Problemas y secretos maravillosos de las Indias*, 184 (book 3, chap. 3). See also Martyr, *De Orbe Novo*, 1: decade 1, book 10; decade 2, book 4.

staples seized from locals; indeed, failure to provide expeditionary parties with food was accepted as a legitimate reason for attacking an indigenous village. Beyond this, there is a wealth of evidence that from the earliest days of settlement, Spaniards drank atole (a maize porridge), ate tortillas, and consumed other indigenous starches such as chuño, or freeze-dried potato, although unlike Amerindians, they sometimes flavored it with sugar.<sup>31</sup> Archaeological evidence provides another perspective. Studies of early Spanish settlements in Florida, for example, reveal the remains of a range of indigenous foodstuffs, including maize and squash.<sup>32</sup>

Nonetheless, when illness struck, settlers immediately blamed the New World diet. For instance, the diary of Felipe de Hutten, a German who participated in the conquest of Venezuela in the 1530s, indicates that his party relied on maize seized from locals for their food, but when a number of his companions fell ill, he recorded bitterly that maize and cassava were “damaging not only to the sick, but also to the healthy who are not accustomed to such food.”<sup>33</sup> Medical writers in Spain presumably drew on the reports of such men for their own pronouncements about the dangers posed by New World foods. Francisco Nuñez de Oria, for example, recorded in his 1586 dietary manual that “the root called cassava, from which the Indians make bread, is mortal poison to those from these parts who navigate over there.”<sup>34</sup> Similar concerns afflicted settlers in England’s New World colonies, who likewise worried

<sup>31</sup> See José de Acosta, *De procuranda indorum salute*, trans. L. Pereña, V. Abril, C. Baciero, A. García, D. Ramos, J. Barrientos, and F. Maseda, 2 vols. (1588; repr., Madrid, 1984), 1: 355 (book 2, chap. 15), on legitimate causes for waging war. For varied discussion of the consumption of New World starches, see Martyr, *De Orbe Novo*, 1: decade 1, book 1; decade 2, books 1 and 3; decade 3, books 2 and 4; Martín Fernández de Enciso, *Suma de geographia que trata de todas las partes y provincias del mundo: En especial de las Indias* (Seville, 1530), 72r; Nicolás Federman, *Historia indiana*, trans. Juan Friede (1557; repr., Madrid, 1958), 40, 43, 118, 121; Bartolomé de las Casas, *Historia de las Indias* (ca. 1559), ed. André Saint-Lu, 3 vols. (Caracas, 1983), 1: 454 (chap. 111); López de Gómara, *Historia general de las Indias*, 116 (chap. 61); “Relación general de las poblaciones españoles del Perú” (ca. 1572), in Jiménez de la Espada, *Relaciones geográficas de las Indias: Perú*, 1: 127; Bernardo de Vargas Machuca, “Descripción breve de todas las Indias occidentales,” in Vargas Machuca, *Milicia y descripción de las Indias*, 1: 156 (book 2); Antonio Leon Pinelo, *Question moral si el chocolate quebranta el ayuno elesiástico* (Madrid, 1638), 57, 63 (pt. 2, chaps. 9–10); Thomas Gage, *The English-American: A New Survey of the West Indies, 1648*, ed. A. P. Newton (Guatemala City, 1946), 166, 197–198; Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, *Itinerario para parochos de indios en que se tratan las materias mas particulares, tocantes a ellos, para su buena administración* (Madrid, 1668), 454 (book 4, tratado 5, sess. 1); Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *Voyage du tour du monde* (1699), Nouv. éd. augmentée sur la dernière de l’italien, trans. M.L.N., 6 vols. (Paris, 1776), 6: 112 (vol. 6, book 1, chap. 7); and Jeffrey Pilcher, *¡Que vivan los tamales! Food and the Making of Mexican Identity* (Albuquerque, 1998).

<sup>32</sup> Kathleen Deagan, *Spanish St. Augustine: The Archaeology of a Colonial Creole Community* (New York, 1983), 151–185; Elizabeth J. Reitz and C. Margaret Scarry, *Reconstructing Historic Subsistence with an Example from Sixteenth-Century Spanish Florida*, ed. Donna J. Seifert (Glassboro, N.J., 1985); Elizabeth Reitz and Bonnie McEwan, “Animals, Environment and the Spanish Diet at Puerto Real,” in Kathleen A. Deagan, ed., *Puerto Real: The Archaeology of a Sixteenth-Century Spanish Town in Hispaniola* (Gainesville, Fla., 1995), 287–333; and Enrique Rodríguez-Alegría, “Eating Like an Indian: Negotiating Social Relations in the Spanish Colonies,” *Current Anthropology* 46, no. 4 (2005): 551–573. I am grateful to several AHR referees for alerting me to Rodríguez-Alegría’s research.

<sup>33</sup> Felipe de Hutten, “Diario,” in Joaquín Gabaldón Márquez, ed., *Descubrimiento y conquista de Venezuela: Textos históricos contemporáneos y documentos fundamentales*, 2 vols. (Caracas, 1962), 2: 356, 367.

<sup>34</sup> Nuñez de Oria, *Regimiento y aviso de sanidad*, 7v, 42r–v. Such concerns were not prompted by anxieties about the poisonous juice contained in bitter cassava, for Europeans were familiar with the process whereby this substance was extracted. Writers often stressed that once bitter cassava had been processed, it was perfectly safe, at least for Amerindians. See, for example, Fernández de Enciso, *Suma de geographia*, liii; and Juan Sánchez Valdés de la Plata, *Corónica y historia general del hombre* (Madrid, 1598), 124 (book 3, chap. 2).



that American foodstuffs would induce illness despite the fact that they relied upon them for nourishment.<sup>35</sup>

Even when it did not induce illness, reliance on a wholly indigenous diet was apt to provoke profound changes in the individual constitution, as was revealed by the experiences of the Spaniard Jerónimo de Aguilar. Aguilar had been shipwrecked off the Yucatan Peninsula in 1511 and lived with local Maya Indians until his rescue by Hernán Cortés in 1519. Following his return to Spanish society, he was offered European food, but to the surprise of his rescuers, he ate only sparingly. When asked why he was so moderate, he explained that "after so much time he was accustomed to the food of the Indians, and his stomach would regard Christian food as foreign."<sup>36</sup> Long residence among the Indians had left his stomach unable to tolerate a normal Christian diet. His digestive system had gone native; in humoral terms, he had acquired a "second nature," and as a result, his body was not quite as Christian as it had been prior to his shipwreck. He had begun to turn into an Indian. A diet based on New World foods was thus viewed with suspicion both by medically trained Europeans, who feared its impact on the individual complexion, and by less learned individuals, who, whatever their actual diet, insisted that lived experience demonstrated the sad consequences of relying on American foodstuffs.

For this reason, Spaniards went to great lengths to obtain health-giving Old World foods, in particular the Iberian trinity of wheat bread, wine, and olive oil, together with meats such as lamb, beef, and pork.<sup>37</sup> Wheat bread and wine were central to the ideal Iberian diet, and also played an important role in both medical and religious thinking. Wheat bread occupied a significant place within humoral medicine, as it was generally held to be the most nutritious food. Wine, in turn, was regarded as supremely healthy, provided that it was drunk in moderation. Beyond this, wheat bread and wine played a central role in the Catholic ritual of communion. From the Middle Ages, Catholic doctrine required that communion be celebrated using only wheat bread and grape wine. Thomas Aquinas stated clearly in his thirteenth-century *Summa Theologica* that "the proper matter for this sacrament is wheaten bread . . . [and] only wine from the grape." He explicitly ruled out the use of other grains such as barley, notwithstanding their frequent use in ordinary breads. Pomegranate or mulberry wine was similarly disqualified, despite the fact that "vines do not grow in some countries."<sup>38</sup> The Catholic Church's position on the composition of the Eucharist was thus clear: only wheat bread and grape wine had the potential

<sup>35</sup> Chaplin, *Subject Matter*, 134, 149–150, 153, 211–212, 220.

<sup>36</sup> Cervantes de Salazar, *Crónica de la Nueva España*, 114 (book 2, chap. 26). Thanks to Deborah Toner for this reference.

<sup>37</sup> For the early modern Iberian diet, see *Libro de medicina llamado tesoro de los pobres con un regimiento de sanidad* (Seville, 1547), xxvi; Luis Lobera de Avila, *Vergel de sanidad que por otro nombre se llamaba banquete de caballeros y orden de vivir* (Alcalá de Henares, 1542), esp. lviii–lxx; Nuñez de Oria, *Regimiento y aviso de sanidad*, 229v–236r; Pedro de Mercado, *Diálogos de philosophia natural y moral* (Granada, 1574), dialogue 4; Trevor Dadson, "The Road to Villarrubia: The Journey into Exile of the Duke of Híjar, March 1644," in Trevor Dadson, R. J. Oakley, and P. A. Odbur de Baubeta, eds., *New Frontiers in Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Scholarship: Como se fue el Maestro* (Lewiston, N.Y., 1994); Maria Angeles Pérez Samper, *La alimentación en la España del siglo de oro: Domingo Hernández de Maceras, "Libro del arte de cocina"* (Huesca, 1998), 69–83; and Rafael Chabrán, "Medieval Spain," in Melitta Weiss Adamson, ed., *Regional Cuisines of Medieval Europe: A Book of Essays* (New York, 2002), 125–152.

<sup>38</sup> Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, third part, question 74, <http://www.newadvent.org/summa/4074.htm>; and Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991),

to become the body and blood of Christ. Moreover, in the Iberian Peninsula, wine possessed an additional Catholic resonance, for Islamic teaching forbade the consumption of any form of alcohol. Wheat bread and wine therefore served as powerful symbols of the Catholic civilization that colonists aspired to represent.

These foods—along with a host of lesser ingredients, such as the chickpeas, melons, and radishes that Columbus carried with him on his second voyage—were thus important to the success of Spain's colonizing mission in several ways. Medical thinking maintained that European foods were what prevented Spaniards from degenerating into Indians, and individual explorers and settlers insisted—often in the face of considerable contrary evidence—that they sickened when deprived of their familiar diet. For these reasons, Columbus had requested that his men be provisioned with supplies from Spain. He recognized, however, that the importation of European food would not provide a permanent solution.<sup>39</sup> Settlers needed to cultivate these items themselves if the colonial outposts were to survive. Attempts to grow wheat and other European staples were accordingly made from the 1490s, and European livestock were introduced in both the Caribbean and the American mainland from the earliest days of Spanish settlement.<sup>40</sup> Crown officials were very concerned to determine which Old World plants grew well in the New World, and in particular whether “wheat, barley, wine and oil can be cultivated.”<sup>41</sup> Geographical surveys reported explicitly on this matter, and many writers detailed the Old World crops that did and did not thrive in particular regions. Cuneo, who had attributed the Caribbean islanders' phlegmatic nature to their poor diet, thus reported assiduously to his sponsors that “for your information, we brought with us from Spain some of every kind of seed, and we planted them all, and determined which do well and which do poorly.”<sup>42</sup>

Although individual reports in fact reveal considerable variation in the actual

37–49. For the relationship between earthly and heavenly bread, see Carolyn Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), 31–69.

<sup>39</sup> In his letter to the Spanish monarchs, Columbus noted that European food should last “until wheat and barley and vines should become established here.” Columbus, “Memorial,” 158.

<sup>40</sup> For the introduction of Old World crops into the New World, see Charles Gibson, *The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519–1810* (Stanford, Calif., 1964), 323–325; Alfred Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Conn., 1972); Justo L. del Río Moreno and Lorenzo López y Sebastián, “El trigo en la ciudad de México: Industria y comercio de un cultivo importado (1521–1564),” *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 22 (1996): 33–34; Prudence Rice, “Wine and Brandy Production in Colonial Peru: A Historical and Archaeological Investigation,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 27, no. 3 (1997): 455–479; and William W. Dunmire, *Gardens of New Spain: How Mediterranean Plants and Foods Changed America* (Austin, Tex., 2004).

<sup>41</sup> This was question 25 in the questionnaire sent to colonial officials by the Spanish crown in 1577, and again in 1584; see, for example, Estrada and Niebla, “Relación de Zapotitlán,” 29; and Antonio Barrera-Osorio, *Experiencing Nature: The Spanish American Empires and the Early Scientific Revolution* (Austin, Tex., 2006), 24–25. See also “Relación de Gil González Dávila” (1518), in *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonización de las posesiones españolas en América*, 42 vols., vol. 1, ed. Joaquín Pacheco, Francisco de Cárdenas, and Luís Torres de Mendoza (Madrid, 1864), 341–342; and “Mercedes y libertades concedidas a los labradores que pasaron a las Indias” (1518), in Manuel Serrano y Sanz, ed., *Orígenes de la dominación española en América: Estudios históricos* (Madrid, 1918), 1: 580–582 (docs. 61–62).

<sup>42</sup> Cuneo, “News of the Islands of the Hesperian Ocean,” 55. See also “Relación de Querétaro” (1582), in René Acuña, ed., *Relaciones geográficas del siglo XVI: Michoacán* (Mexico, 1987), 242–243; Elinor Melville, *A Plague of Sheep: Environmental Consequences of the Conquest of Mexico* (Cambridge, 1997), 32–33; and Raquel Álvarez Peláez, *La conquista de la naturaleza americana* (Madrid, 1993), 425.

success of these agricultural ventures, a consensus quickly emerged that European crops flourished in the New World.<sup>43</sup> "We are very certain, as experience has shown, that both wheat and wine will grow well in this land," insisted Columbus two years after his landfall in the Caribbean, although this statement cannot have been based on much actual evidence.<sup>44</sup> Writers in both Mexico and Peru regularly recorded wheat yields of more than a hundred measures for every one sown at a time when typical Spanish yields were about five to one.<sup>45</sup> "The Spaniards," recorded an Italian chronicler, "report amazing things about the fertility of [Hispaniola], which I can hardly repeat without blushing: they say that radishes, lettuce, and cabbages mature within fifteen days of planting, that melons and squash mature within thirty-six days, that vines produce grapes in a year, and that wheat (they were determined to try everything), planted in early February, had ripened by mid-March."<sup>46</sup>

Such implausible claims point to the significance of Europeans' attempts to introduce their crops into the New World, for the ability of Old World plants to flourish in the New World closely mirrored the ability of Old World people to flourish there. Of course, Spaniards needed to eat nourishing Old World foods if they were to retain

<sup>43</sup> For accounts describing only partial success in cultivating Old World crops, see, for example, "Relación de la Isla Española enviada al Rey d. Felipe II por el licenciado Echagoian" (1560), in *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos*, 1: 12; Francisco de Viana, Lucas Gallego, and Guillén Cadena, "Relación de la provincia y tierra de la Verapaz" (1574), in Acuña, *Relaciones geográficas del siglo XVI: Guatemala*, 207, 221; and the varied reports in Jiménez de la Espada, *Relaciones geográficas de las Indias: Perú*, vol. 1.

<sup>44</sup> Columbus, "Memorial," 158.

<sup>45</sup> For Spain, see David E. Vassberg, *Land and Society in Golden Age Castile* (Cambridge, 1984), 201–202; and Abel Alves, "Of Peanuts and Bread: Images of the Raw and the Refined in the Sixteenth-Century Conquest of Spain," in Francisco Javier Cevallos-Candau, Jeffrey Cole, Nina Scott, and Nicomedes Suárez-Araúz, eds., *Coded Encounters: Writing, Gender, and Ethnicity in Colonial Latin America* (Amherst, Mass., 1994), 62. For extravagant New World yields, see Toribio de Motolinía, *Historia de los Indios de la Nueva España* (1541), chap. 18, in Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de México*, vol. 1 (Mexico, 1858), <http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/servlet/SirveObras/68048408217915506322202/index.htm>; Las Casas, *Apologética historia sumaria*, 3: 62–63 (chap. 20); Agustín de Zárate, *A History of the Discovery and Conquest of Peru*, trans. Thomas Nicholas (1581; repr., London, 1977), 30; Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Perú* (ca. 1612), ed. Manuel Ballesteros (Madrid, 1986), 463 (book 3, chap. 2); and Buenaventura de Salinas y Córdova, *Memorial de las historias del Nuevo Mundo Pirú*, ed. Luis Valcárcel (1630; repr., Lima, 1957), 247 (discurso 2).

<sup>46</sup> Marcantonio Coccio (Sabellico), "Book One . . . of the Account of the Happenings in the Unknown Regions" (1500), in Symcox, *Italian Reports on America*, 69. For other enthusiastic reports, see Alessandro Geraldini, "Itinerary to the Regions Located below the Equator," *ibid.*, 127–128; Martyr, *De Orbe Novo*, 1: decade 1, book 1; decade 1, book 3; decade 2, book 9; decade 3, book 7; "Mercedes y libertades concedidas," 580–581 (doc. 61); López de Gómara, *Historia general de las Indias*, 56, 166, 341–342, 361 (chaps. 20, 89, 195, 208); Las Casas, *Apologética historia sumaria*, 3: 9, 14, 19–20, 23, 32, 61–63 (chaps. 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 20); Cervantes de Salazar, *Crónica de la Nueva España*, 14 (book 1, chaps. 5–6); Tomás López Medel, *De los tres elementos: Tratado sobre la naturaleza y el hombre en el nuevo mundo*, ed. Berta Ares Queija (ca. 1570; repr., Madrid, 1990), 13, 136, 143–145, 167, 183; Nuñez de Oría, *Regimiento y aviso de sanidad*, 40r–v; Dorantes de Carranza, *Sumaria relación*, 49–50, 60, 74, 77; and Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 1: 6, 375–420 (prologue, book 10, chap. 1). Individuals who admitted that wheat and grapes did not prosper in a particular region often went to some effort to explain that this was simply because they had not been cultivated correctly. See, for example, "Relación de la Isla Española enviada," 1: 13, 17; or Dorantes de Carranza, *Sumaria relación*, 49–50. Many writers also noted the ease with which livestock multiplied; Martyr, *De Orbe Novo*, 1: decade 3, book 7; Fernández de Enciso, *Suma de geographia*, lii; Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural*, 1: 79, 221; 2: 38–39, 71 (book 3, chap. 11; book 6, chap. 51; book 12, chap. 9; book 14, chap. 3); López de Gómara, *Historia general de las Indias*, 73 (chap. 35); "Relación de la Isla Española enviada," 1: 17; José de Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, trans. Frances López-Morillas (1590; repr., Durham, N.C., 2002), 230 (book 4, chap. 33); Dorantes de Carranza, *Sumaria relación*, 50; Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 1: 377 (book 10, chap. 1); and, for a discussion of "ungulate eruption," Melville, *A Plague of Sheep*.

their health and their Spanish complexion. It was this pressing need for European foods that led settlers in the Indies, as elsewhere, to attempt to "Europeanize" the colonial landscape, to use Alfred Crosby's terminology, by introducing Old World plants and animals.<sup>47</sup> In addition, because Old World plants responded to the same climatic forces as did Spaniards, they functioned as a litmus test for the Spanish colonial venture: If they thrived, Spaniards were also likely to thrive. Conversely, if they failed, then it was unclear whether overseas settlement could endure.<sup>48</sup>

It was for this reason that Spaniards emphasized the ease with which Old World plants grew in the Indies. Indeed, they explicitly associated their successful cultivation of Iberian crops with the providential nature of the discovery and colonization of the Americas. The abundance and fertility of Old World crops indicated clearly that divine forces looked favorably on Spain's presence in the New World. "In what other land," asked Fernández de Oviedo,

has one heard or known that in such a short period, and in lands so far from our Europe, so much livestock and produce—introduced here from across such wide seas—should be produced, and in such abundance as is seen by our own eyes in these Indies? These lands have received [these crops] not as a stepmother, but as the truest mother, truer even than the one who sent them, for some of them grow better here than in Spain.<sup>49</sup>

Such abundance was used by some writers to adduce that the New World was in fact the location of the Garden of Eden. This fertility, which meant that "whatever fruits are brought from Spain, and as many as are taken from Europe . . . grow with such abundance throughout the year," together with the benign climate, proved beyond doubt, in the opinion of the creole writer Agustín de Vetancurt, "that the Terrestrial Paradise is hidden in some part of this region." Other writers, beginning with Columbus, entertained similar suppositions.<sup>50</sup> The Americas, an earthly paradise, welcomed the Spanish by providing them with abundant supplies of their own foodstuffs,

<sup>47</sup> Alfred Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (Cambridge, 1986).

<sup>48</sup> For the parallels between plants and people, see Bartolomé de las Casas, "Relaciones que hicieron algunos religiosos sobre los excesos que había en Indias y varios memoriales" (1517), in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, vol. 7, ed. Luís Torres de Mendoza (Madrid, 1867), 18; and Las Casas, *Apologética historia sumaria*, 3: 77–78 (chap. 24). Animals, too, were affected by changes in diet and climate; Martyr discussed an opossum that died as a result of "the change of climate and food" after being brought to Europe. Martyr, *De Orbe Novo*, 1: decade 1, book 9.

<sup>49</sup> Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural*, 1: 8, 71, 79, 80; 2: 107, 115, 184 (book 1, dedication; book 3, chaps. 8, 11; book 16, chap. 16; book 17, chaps. 3, 4; book 18, chap. 1). Or see Hernández, *Antigüedades de la Nueva España*, 96–97 (book 1, chap. 23); and Juan de Solórzano Pereira, *Política indiana*, 5 vols. (1647; repr., Madrid, 1930), 1: 15–18 (book 1, chap. 4, no. 44).

<sup>50</sup> Vetancurt, *Teatro mexicano*, 17, 42, 44 (tratado 2, introduction, chap. 8). Vetancurt paraphrases Buenaventura de Salinas y Cordova, *Memorial, informe y manifiesto* (Madrid?, ca. 1646), 17v (see also 18r). See also Christopher Columbus, "Carta a los reyes católicos" (October 18, 1498), in Anzoátegui, *Los cuatro viajes del almirante*, 183–186; Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 1: 385 (book 1, chap. 90); Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 1: 86 (book 2, chap. 14); Antonio de León Pinelo, *El paraíso en el Nuevo Mundo: Comentario apologético, historia natural y peregrina de las Indias Occidentales, Islas de Tierra Firme del Mar Oceano*, ed. Raul Porras Barenéchea (ca. 1656; repr., Lima, 1943); John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1970), 19, 49, 69–77; and Cañizares-Esguerra, "New Worlds, New Stars," 33–34. Europeans' ecstatic response to the perceived fertility of the New World surely reflects in part concerns about the declining fertility of western Europe. See Richard Grove, *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens, and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600–1860* (Cambridge, 1995), 16–72. I am grateful to Emma Spary for this observation.



so as to ensure their health and well-being. Settlers could thus retain their Spanish complexion whatever the rigors of the climate.

Indeed, the very climate was said to be undergoing a process of transformation to make it more suitable for European bodies. Fernández de Oviedo reported that since Europeans had arrived in the Americas, the climate in the areas of Spanish settlement was becoming milder. In his view, this was because the European presence moderated and improved the environment. "I have discussed this issue with some learned men," he reported. Their opinion was that "the region and its rudeness are being dominated and tamed by Spanish dominion, just as occurs with the Indians and natives and animals and all the rest of this land."<sup>51</sup> Not only were Europeans protected against the dangerous effects of the American climate by the fecundity of Old World crops, but the climate itself was becoming less hostile. Clearly, nature smiled on Spain's colonial ambitions.

WHAT, HOWEVER, OF THE many new foods that greeted Europeans on their arrival in the Americas? Settlers suspected that they fell ill when they relied on a diet of New World staples, but was any encounter with these new foodstuffs invariably detrimental to the European body? Certainly Europeans looked with disdain on many of the things eaten by Amerindians, and on occasion drew explicit comparisons between the incivility of the food and that of the people who ate it. The fruit of the mangrove tree was in Fernández de Oviedo's view "a bestial food fit for savage people."<sup>52</sup> The consumption of insects attracted particular scorn. "They eat hedgehogs, weasels, bats, locusts, spiders, worms, caterpillars, bees, and ticks, raw, cooked, and fried. Nothing living escapes their gullet, and what is all the more amazing is that they eat such bugs and dirty animals when they have good bread and wine, fruit, fish and meat," remarked the chronicler Francisco López de Gómara in 1552, after the Spanish had introduced their superior foodstuffs.<sup>53</sup> As Anthony Pagden observed, the inability to distinguish between the edible and the inedible was a sure sign of barbarism.<sup>54</sup> Cannibalism was of course the clearest example of such a category mistake.<sup>55</sup>

Such hostility, however, does not typify European responses to all New World foods, and a number of items met with a very positive reception. Pineapples were universally admired, chile peppers were approved for those with strong stomachs, and by the late sixteenth century, cacao, in the form of chocolate, was widely consumed. Indeed, it was Spaniards who introduced tomatoes to South America and chiles to Florida. A variety of New World meats were similarly praised by settlers

<sup>51</sup> Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural*, 1: 206 (book 6, chap. 46).

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 1: 235, 286 (book 7, chap. 5; book 9, chap. 6); López de Gómara, *Historia general de las Indias*, 374 (chap. 217); and Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge, 1982), 87, 218 n. 180.

<sup>53</sup> López de Gómara, *Historia general de las Indias*, 151 (chap. 79); and "Interrogatorio Jeronimiano" (1517), in Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi, ed., *Los dominicos y las encomiendas de indios de la isla Española* (Santo Domingo, 1971), 279, 302.

<sup>54</sup> Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*, 87–89. See also Nuñez de Oria, *Regimiento y aviso de sanidad*, 7r.

<sup>55</sup> The Spanish Jesuit Bernabé Cobo, who lived for many years in Peru, observed that Indians "eat all living things, plants and animals, from the most noble, which is man, to the world's most disgusting bug or dirty thing." Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 2: 20 (book 11, chap. 6).

and chroniclers. Colonial officials carefully recorded which New World foods were safe for Europeans to consume. Avocado, for example, was reported to be a “very good fruit and healthy for Spaniards to eat.”<sup>56</sup> Medical writers, in turn, classified these new foodstuffs according to the tenets of humoral theory, although they often disagreed with each other in their conclusions.<sup>57</sup> Beyond this, despite the suspicion with which maize and other New World starches were viewed, it was impossible for most settlers to avoid them completely. Chroniclers and travelers noted the widespread consumption of “*atole*, *pinole*, scalded plantains, butter of the *cacao*, puddings made of Indian maize, with a bit of fowl or fresh pork in them seasoned with much red biting chilli,” and other local delicacies, by Spanish and creole settlers alike.<sup>58</sup> Spaniards not only ate these foods in the Indies, but also in a number of cases introduced them into the Peninsula, so that by the end of the sixteenth century, chiles, tomatoes, and maize were a familiar sight in Spain itself.<sup>59</sup>

Given the important role that New World foods played in the diet of most settlers, it is not surprising that writers sometimes found positive things to say not only about pineapples but also about maize or cassava. The Franciscan bishop of Yucatán, Di-

<sup>56</sup> “Relación de Querétaro,” 243. Fernández de Oviedo agreed; *Historia general y natural*, 1: 297 (book 9, chap. 23). For pineapples, *ibid.*, 1: 239–243 (book 7, chap. 14); Nicolás Monardes, *Joyfull News out of the New Founde World* (London, 1577), 90; López Medel, *De los tres elementos*, 157; and Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 204. For chiles, see Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural*, 1: 235 (book 7, chap. 7); Las Casas, *Apologética historia sumaria*, 3: 37, 118 (chaps. 10, 35); Cervantes de Salazar, *Crónica de la Nueva España*, 15 (book 1, chap. 6); and Nuñez de Oria, *Regimiento y aviso de sanidad*, 308v. For chocolate, see Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural*, 1: 267 (book 8, chap. 30); Cervantes de Salazar, *Crónica de la Nueva España*, 13 (book 1, chap. 5); López Medel, *De los tres elementos*, 153; Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 210 (book 4, chap. 22); Sophie D. Coe and Michael D. Coe, *The True History of Chocolate* (London, 1996); Ross Jamieson, “The Essence of Commodification: Caffeine Dependencies in the Early Modern World,” *Journal of Social History* 35, no. 2 (2001): 269–294; and Marcy Norton, *Sacred Gifts, Profane Pleasures: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Atlantic World* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2008). For meats, see Fernández de Enciso, *Suma de geographía*, lii–liii; López de Gómara, *Historia general de las Indias*, 95 (chap. 51); Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural*, 2: 32–35, 52–53, 58–59, 63–64, 122, 187, 248, 396 (book 12, chaps. 7, 28, 30, 31; book 13, chaps. 3, 4, 8, 9; book 17, chap. 9; book 18, chap. 2; book 20, chap. 8; book 24, chap. 3); Las Casas, *Apologética historia sumaria*, 3: 35 (chap. 10); Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, 89; López Medel, *De los tres elementos*, 93, 178, 182, 187; Diego de Landa, *Relación de las cosas de Yucatan*, ed. Angel María Garibay (1574; repr., Mexico, 1973), 123; “Descripción de la tierra del repartimiento de San Francisco de Atunrucana y Laramanti” (1586), in Jiménez de la Espada, *Relaciones geográficas de las Indias: Perú*, 1: 234; and Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 243–244 (book 4, chaps. 40–41). For the colonial dissemination of New World foods across the hemisphere, see also Reitz and Scarry, *Reconstructing Historic Subsistence*, 64; and Janet Long-Solís, “El tomate: De hierba silvestre de las Américas a denominador común en las cocinas mediterráneas,” in Antonio Garrido Aranda, ed., *Cultura alimentaria de España y América* (Huesca, 1995), 215–223.

<sup>57</sup> See, for example, Hernández, *The Mexican Treasury: The Writings of Dr. Francisco Hernández*, ed. and trans. Simon Varey, Rafael Chabrán, and Cynthia Chamberlain (Stanford, Calif., 2000), 107–116; Monardes, *Joyfull News out of the New Founde World*; and López, *Tesoro de medicina*.

<sup>58</sup> Gage, *The English-American*, 197–198. Pinole is a mixture of maize and cacao. See also fn. 31.

<sup>59</sup> For maize and chile, see Hernández, *The Mexican Treasury*, 109, 111; Las Casas, *Apologética historia sumaria*, 3: 37 (chap. 10); Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 206 (book 4, chap. 20); Gregorio de los Ríos, *Agricultura de jardines* (1592; repr., Madrid, 1951), 60; Monardes, *Joyfull News out of the New Founde World*, 20, 104; John Gerard, *The Herbal; or, General History of Plants: The Complete 1633 Edition as Revised and Enlarged by Thomas Johnson* (New York, 1975), 346; Antonio Regueiro y González-Barros, “La flora americana en la España del siglo XVI,” in Francisco de Solano and Fermín del Pino, eds., *América y la España del siglo XVI*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1982), 1: 209; José Pardo Tomás and María Luz López Terrada, *Las primeras noticias sobre plantas americanas en las relaciones de viajes y crónicas de Indias (1493–1533)* (Valencia, 1993), 145–146; and Antonio Garrido Aranda, “La revolución alimentaria del siglo XVI en América y Europa,” in Garrido Aranda, ed., *Los sabores de España y América* (Huesca, 1999), 207–208.



ego de Landa, for instance, noted that maize bread was "good and healthy, except that it is bad to eat cold."<sup>60</sup> In like fashion, the *protomédico* Francisco Hernández praised maize as a healthy and useful food.<sup>61</sup> Nonetheless, even the most enthusiastic proponents of the indigenous diet vacillated in their endorsements. The Dominican friar Bartolomé de las Casas stated on one page of his sixteenth-century *Historia de las Indias* that "Indian bread" was healthier than wheat bread, and on another that it made settlers ill.<sup>62</sup> And despite his assertions that maize was healthy and useful, Hernández maintained that it "generated profuse bile [and] blood," and for this reason was probably behind the devastating epidemic of *cocoliztli* that struck Mexico City in 1576.<sup>63</sup> As for pineapples and avocados, chroniclers insisted that they were healthful only when eaten in limited quantities.<sup>64</sup>

Europeans thus fluctuated in their views about how much of the new American environment they could incorporate into their own bodies, and by extension into their culture. This uncertainty is revealed particularly clearly in their inconsistent attempts at categorizing maize and other New World carbohydrates such as cassava and potatoes. On the one hand, the Spanish quickly decided that these substances played a role in indigenous cultures equivalent to that played by wheat bread in their own. Maize, wrote the sixteenth-century Jesuit chronicler José de Acosta, was the "bread of the Indies."<sup>65</sup> Many writers referred to maize as "Indian wheat," and similarly described foods made from maize, cassava, and sweet potato as "bread," regardless of the form in which they were prepared.<sup>66</sup> Such comparisons are partic-

<sup>60</sup> Landa, *Relación de las cosas de Yucatan*, 37 (quote); Fernández de Enciso, *Suma de geographia*, 72r; Monardes, *Joyfull News out of the New Founde World*, 104; Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 198 (book 4, chap. 16); and Francisco Antonio de Fuentes y Guzmán, *Historia de Guatemala o Recordación Florida* (1690), ed. Justo Zaragoza, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1882), 1: 305–307 (book 9, chap. 1).

<sup>61</sup> Hernández, *The Mexican Treasury*, 113, 111.

<sup>62</sup> Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 1: 610, 613 (chaps. 154–155).

<sup>63</sup> Francisco Hernández, "On the Illness in New Spain in the Year 1576, Called Cocoliztli by the Indians," in Hernández, *The Mexican Treasury*, 84.

<sup>64</sup> For concern about the consumption of New World fruits, see Martyr, *De Orbe Novo*, 1: decade 2, book 1; Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural*, 1: 242, 273 (book 7, chap. 14; book 8, chap. 32); Cervantes de Salazar, *Crónica de la Nueva España*, 12–13 (book 1, chap. 5); and "Relación de la Isla Española enviada," 1: 14. See also Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural*, 1: 234 (book 7, chap. 3); Las Casas, *Apologética historia sumaria*, 3: 39 (chap. 10); and Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 197–198 (book 4, chap. 16).

<sup>65</sup> Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 151, 197–198, 200, 202, 397 (book 3, chap. 22; book 4, chaps. 16–17; book 7, chap. 9). Sophie D. Coe observed that "the arriving Europeans instantly identified maize as the equivalent to their own principal carbohydrate staple, wheat, and classified it as *pan*, or bread, with all the religious and social connotations that that word implied"; Coe, *America's First Cuisines* (Austin, Tex., 1994), 9. This is an oversimplification, as I argue below.

<sup>66</sup> Columbus, "Diary of the First Voyage," December 13, 21, 26, 1492, January 15, 1493, in Anzoátegui, *Los cuatro viajes del almirante*, 87, 99, 110, 130; Cuneo, "News of the Islands of the Hesperian Ocean," in Symcox, ed., *Italian Reports on America*, 55; Giovanni de'Strozzi, "Faith, Superstitions and Customs of the Island of Hispaniola," *ibid.*, 65; Agostino Giustiniani, "Psalter" (1516), *ibid.*, 78; and Alessandro Zorzi, "Various Information about the Voyages," *ibid.*, 108; Martyr, *De Orbe Novo*, 1: decade 1, book 1; decade 3, book 5; Fernández de Enciso, *Suma de geographia*, l–liii; Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural*, 1: 48, 112, 119, 225–226, 228, 230–233, 243, 277; 2: 15, 39, 88, 222, 225 (book 2, chap. 13; book 5, chaps. 1, 3; book 7, preface, chaps. 1, 2, 14; book 8, chap. 40; book 10, chap. 7; book 12, chap. 10; book 16, chap. 1; book 20, chap. 1); Las Casas, *Apologética historia sumaria*, 3: 14–17, 35–39, 41–42 (chaps. 3, 4, 10, 11); López de Gómara, *Historia general de las Indias*, 143, 341, 370–372 (chaps. 74, 195, 215); Cervantes de Salazar, *Crónica de la Nueva España*, 14 (book 1, chap. 6); López Medel, *De los tres elementos*, 150; Hernández, *Antigüedades de la Nueva España*, 97 (book 1, chap. 23); "Relación de Querétaro," 243; "Descripción y relación de la ciudad de La Paz" (1586), in Jiménez de la Espada, *Relaciones geográficas de las Indias: Perú*, 1: 344; Dorantes de Carranza, *Sumaria relación*, 67–73; and

ularly significant because of the central place that wheat bread occupied in Catholicism through its role in the communion service: bread is the substance that becomes the body of Christ. Acosta's comments on the similarities between New and Old World breads highlight the religious implications very well. "The creator," he noted, "scattered his largesse everywhere; to this hemisphere he gave wheat, which is the chief nourishment of man, and to the hemisphere of the Indies he gave maize, which holds second place after wheat for the sustenance of men and animals."<sup>67</sup> The identification of wheat with maize extended to the language of Christian prayer. "May You give us now our daily tortillas," reads a Nahuatl translation of the Lord's Prayer from 1634.<sup>68</sup>

On the other hand, perhaps the most characteristic feature of maize and other New World starches was precisely that they were *not* wheat. Maize, that foodstuff that harmed "not only the sick but also the healthy," was not merely dangerous when eaten in any quantity; it had also been declared incapable of transformation into the body of Christ. New World catechisms followed European practice in stressing the necessity of using wheat flour (and grape wine) in the communion service. Thus a 1687 Venezuelan catechism offered a clear answer to the question "Of what material is the Eucharist consecrated?" The response was "of *true* bread, made with wheat flour and water, and of *true* wine from grapes."<sup>69</sup> The vacillation between the views that maize was bread and that it was not bread can be seen in the linguistic inconstancy of Acosta's comment that his chronicle would show "*what sort of bread there is in the Indies and what they use in place of bread.*"<sup>70</sup>

It is tempting to construct a parallel between European uncertainty over whether maize was or was not bread and the larger question of whether or not the Indians were men. The news that a previously unknown people had been found in the Americas prompted an intense debate in Europe about the nature of the Indians, and more specifically their capacity to become Christians. The question was ostensibly settled in 1537 when Pope Paul III issued a bull declaring that "the Indians are truly men and that they are not only capable of understanding the Catholic Faith but, according to our information, they desire exceedingly to receive it."<sup>71</sup> Nonetheless, disputes

Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 1: 69, 76–77, 159–160; 2: 21 (book 2, chaps. 8, 11; book 4, chap. 3; book 11, chap. 6).

<sup>67</sup> Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 20 (book 1, chap. 2). Or see Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 1: 159 (book 4, chap. 3).

<sup>68</sup> Bartolomé de Alva, *A Guide to Confession Large and Small in the Mexican Language*, 1634, ed. Barry Sell and John F. Schwaller (Norman, Okla., 1999), 162; and Francisco de Pareja, *Doctrina cristiana muy útil y necesaria, México*, 1578, ed. Luis Resines (Salamanca, 1990), 4v.

<sup>69</sup> José Rafael Lovera, "Intercambios y transformaciones alimentarias en Venezuela colonial: Diversidad de panes y de gente," in Janet Long, ed., *Conquista y comida: Consecuencias del encuentro de dos mundos* (Mexico City, 1997), 67; emphasis added. A Peruvian catechism similarly admonished indigenous parishioners that they should under no circumstances confuse the host with a simple "maize cake or arepa"; Concilio Provincial, *Tercero catecismo y exposición de la doctrina cristiana* (Lima, 1585), 75v. Or see Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, *Itinerario para parrocos de indios en que se tratan las materias mas particulares, tocantes a ellos, para su buena administración* (Madrid, 1668), 346–355 (book 3, tratado 6).

<sup>70</sup> Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 197 (book 4, chap. 16); emphasis added. For comparable inconsistency, see Cuneo, "News of the Islands of the Hesperian Ocean," 57, 60.

<sup>71</sup> Paul III, "Sublimis Dei," May 29, 1537, Papal Encyclicals Online, <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Paul03/p3subli.htm>. The Dominican friar Antonio de Montesinos raised this matter with particular drama in a 1511 Christmas Day sermon in which he denounced Spanish mistreatment of the indigenous

about the character of the Indians continued for decades; the humanist scholar Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, for example, attracted considerable support for his thesis that the Amerindians were natural slaves of the sort described by Aristotle. They were, he maintained, "*homunculi* in whom you will scarcely find even vestiges of humanity."<sup>72</sup> Writers in the mid-seventeenth century were still discussing whether Amerindians were "men in our shape" or some other sort of being.<sup>73</sup>

Bread or not bread; men or not men? We would not be alone in positing a connection between these foods and the people who ate them, for colonial culture itself equated eaters and eaten. "Indians aren't people and cassava isn't bread," runs an aphorism from colonial Venezuela.<sup>74</sup> Perhaps these Indian breads *were* in essence identical to Old World breads. In the late sixteenth century, certain New World churchmen disputed the doctrine that only wheat flour could be used in communion wafers, arguing that maize, too, could serve as the basis for the host.<sup>75</sup> Perhaps maize could become a communion wafer, and perhaps Indians had the same potential to become Christians as did Europeans. Or perhaps the Indians were fundamentally other, incapable of incorporation into the European world, just as the ersatz "breads" of native culture could never be transformed into the true body of Christ.

Such parallels between the introduction of European foods and European religion shaped the imaginations of colonial actors in the early modern era. The evangelization of the New World was often compared to agricultural practices: Christianizing the Indians was akin to uprooting the weeds that had flourished prior to the arrival of Europeans and replacing them with wholesome European crops. "Never," wrote the Dominican priest Diego Durán in the 1570s, "will we succeed in teaching these Indians to know the true God if we do not first eradicate and totally remove from their memory their superstitions, ceremonies, and false cults to the false gods whom they worship, just as it is not possible to grow a good field of wheat in mountainous and shrubby soil if you have not first completely removed all the roots and growths that it naturally produces."<sup>76</sup> These injunctions were of course both metaphorical and literal. Europeans were constantly enjoined by the crown not only to catechize the Indians but also to plant wheat and vines wherever possible.

Yet what were the Indians supposed to eat? If their roots were to be replaced with fields of wheat, what then would they consume? In fact, many settlers advocated that Indians adopt the dietary habits of Europeans. For example, in 1551, an official

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population and asked, "Are they not men? Do they not have rational souls?" Las Casas, *Historia de las Indias*, 3: 13–14 (book 3, chap. 4). See Lewis Hanke, *Aristotle and the American Indians: A Study in Race Prejudice in the Modern World* (London, 1959); and Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*.

<sup>72</sup> Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, *Demócrates segundo o De las justas causas de la guerra contra los indios* (1548), ed. Angel Losada (Madrid, 1951), 35, 38, 63; and Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Boston, 1965), 122.

<sup>73</sup> See, for example, Peña Montenegro, *Itinerario para parochos de indios*, 273–279, quote from 277 (book 3, tratado 1).

<sup>74</sup> Lovera, "Intercambios y transformaciones alimentarias," 65.

<sup>75</sup> López Medel, *De los tres elementos*, 156.

<sup>76</sup> Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España*, 1: 3 (prologue to vol. 1). For a seamless transition from the need to evangelize to the need to cultivate European crops, see "Mercedes y libertades concedidas," 580 (doc. 61). Bartolomé de las Casas captured well the multivalent importance of wheat cultivation when he reported with satisfaction that wheat grown in Hispaniola had been used by fellow Dominicans to prepare not only bread but also "very good hosts"; Las Casas, *Apologética historia sumaria*, 3: 12 (chap. 2).

stationed in Guatemala wrote to the Spanish monarchs to describe the ambitions of the small colonial outpost that he headed. His intention, he explained, was to encourage the Indians to adopt "our customs in eating, drinking, dressing, cleanliness and personal conduct . . . and finally our language."<sup>77</sup> The Franciscan friar Bernardino de Sahagún, who in the mid-sixteenth century compiled a vast encyclopedia of life in pre-conquest Mexico, was similarly explicit in his view that Indians should emulate European consumption practices. In a sermon delivered in Nahuatl to an indigenous audience, Sahagún proclaimed that Indians should eat

that which the Castilian people eat, because it is good food, that with which they are raised, they are strong and pure and wise . . . *You will become the same way if you eat their food*, and if you are careful with your bodies as they are. Raise Castilian maize [wheat] so that you may eat Castilian tortillas [wheat bread]. Raise sheep, pigs, cattle, for their flesh is good. May you not eat the flesh of dogs, mice, skunks, etc. For it is not edible. You will not eat what the Castilian people do not eat, for they know well what is edible.<sup>78</sup>

The consequences that would accrue from a European diet are here set forth explicitly. Indians would become like the Spanish were they to eat their foods.

Similar assertions were made by another sixteenth-century writer, who commented that as a result of eating a specifically European diet and sheltering from the elements, the indigenous inhabitants of the Mexican village of Citlaltepec had begun to acquire a European constitution. "Their complexion has almost been converted into ours, because they have been given beef and pork and lamb to eat, and wine to drink, and they now live under roofs," he wrote.<sup>79</sup> Just as a diet of inadequate New World foods had transformed the Indians into the pusillanimous, phlegmatic beings they now were, so a return to nourishing European foods would restore the healthful European complexion they had lost over the centuries. The Spanish jurist Juan de Solórzano Pereira explained clearly the connection between diet and the current condition of the Indians in his 1639 justification of Spain's American empire, *De Indiarum Jure*. The Indians, he noted, were savage not "from birth or lineage or from the air of their native place," but rather from "a depraved education over a long span of time and from the practice, harshness and lack of instructions in their way of life and from the *poor quality of the food they consume*."<sup>80</sup> Indians should thus be

<sup>77</sup> Carta de Tomás López a los reyes de Bohemia, Guatemala, June 9, 1550, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Audiencia de Guatemala 9A, N.68, R.17, fols. 5, 9.

<sup>78</sup> Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, *Siguense unos sermones de dominicas y de santos en lengua mexicana* (1563), cited in Louise M. Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth: Nahuatl-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Tucson, 1989), 166, emphasis added; and Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*, 177. The Spanish regularly noted that one of the benefits Amerindians derived from the conquest, in addition to salvation, was access to European food. For example, a 1573 *ordenanza* stated that Europeans should remind Indians that colonization was beneficial to the Indians themselves because through it they had learned "the use of bread and wine and oil and many other foods." "Ordenanzas de su magestad hechas para los nuevos descubrimientos, conquistas y pacificaciones," July 13, 1573, in *Colección de documentos inéditos*, vol. 16, ed. Torres de Mendoza (Madrid, 1871), 183. Or see Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda's claim that the introduction of wheat and other Old World foodstuffs amply compensated the Indians for any losses suffered as a result of the conquest; Sepúlveda, *Demócrates segundo*, 78. This assertion is repeated in Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 1: 376 (book 10, chap. 1).

<sup>79</sup> The author of the report ascribed this view to the local Indians themselves. "Descripción del pueblo de Citlaltepec" (1579), in René Acuña, ed., *Relaciones geográficas del siglo XVI: México*, 3 vols. (Mexico, 1986), 2: 200; and Álvarez Peláez, *La conquista de la naturaleza americana*, 348. Thanks to Helen Cowie for this reference.

<sup>80</sup> Juan de Solórzano Pereira, *De Indiarum Jure* (1639), cited in James Muldoon, *The Americas in the*



encouraged to adopt the healthy diet of Europeans, for this in itself would improve their level of civility.

This seemingly logical suggestion, however, contradicted basic elements of the same humoral theory that underpinned it. Indians were advised to adopt a European diet so as to acquire (or restore) a European complexion, yet medical thinking insisted that a change of diet could have devastating consequences for an individual's constitution. After all, changes in diet were blamed for illness among European settlers in the New World. If it was so dangerous for Europeans to eat Indian food, what would happen to Indians who ate European food? Would they, too, not fall ill? In fact, many writers believed that it was precisely the adoption of European food that explained the extraordinarily high mortality rates that afflicted Amerindians after the advent of colonization. In Hispaniola, the wave of epidemics that nearly exterminated the Taino people was blamed at least in part on their adoption of European dietary habits, just as the ill health afflicting Spanish settlers on the same island was attributed to the consumption of New World foods.<sup>81</sup> Likewise, the Spanish geographer Martín Fernández de Enciso observed that certain Caribbean Indians, whose usual diet consisted solely of fish and cassava, "die if they are taken to other places and given meat to eat."<sup>82</sup> Juan de Cárdenas offered similar explanations as to why the Chichimec Indians, who in their own environment were hardy and robust, sickened and died when incorporated into colonial society. He attributed their mortality to various causes, first among them "the change in food, in that they are deprived of the natural sustenance on which they were raised, which, although it is very bad in itself, is for them healthy and very good, as they are accustomed to it, unlike our food which harms them."<sup>83</sup> Dreadful though the Chichimec diet was (Cárdenas explained that it consisted largely of raw meat), it was better suited to their complexion than was European food. "As our food is foreign and harmful to them, it does not give them strength to resist illness," he concluded.<sup>84</sup> José de Acosta summed up the current orthodoxy when he observed in 1590 that "people attribute [the decline in the indigenous population] to various causes, some to the fact that the Indians have been overworked, *others to the changes of food and drink that they adopted after becoming accustomed to Spanish habits*, and others to the

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*Spanish World Order: The Justification for Conquest in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1994), 59; emphasis added. I thank Jim Muldoon for his advice about Solórzano's views.

<sup>81</sup> "Interrogatorio Jeronimiano," 284–285, 305, 307, 324, 343; and Cook, "Sickness, Starvation and Death in Early Hispaniola," 382.

<sup>82</sup> Fernández de Enciso, *Suma de geographía*, lii. Or see Bartolomé de las Casas, "Relaciones que hicieron algunos religiosos," 47; and López Medel, *De los tres elementos*, 155. Peter Martyr noted that of the ten native interpreters taken from the Caribbean to Spain after Columbus's second voyage, "only three survived; the others having succumbed to the change of climate, country, and food." Martyr, *De Orbe Novo*, 1: decade 1, book 2.

<sup>83</sup> Cárdenas, *Problemas y secretos maravillosos de las Indias*, 202 (book 3, chap. 7). Other factors included lack of exercise and "the sad rage and melancholy that overcomes them, on seeing themselves among men whom they loath so much"; *ibid.*, 203.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.* Gerónimo de Mendieta explained that because Indians had begun eating "meat and other foods that we Spaniards eat," they now suffered from constant sneezing. Mendieta, *Historia eclesiástica indiana*, 508–509 (book 4, chap. 35).

excessive vice that they display in drink and other abuses.”<sup>85</sup> In short, the Indians should adopt a European diet, but doing so might kill them.

THIS PARADOX REVEALS SOMETHING of the contradiction at the heart of Spain’s colonial enterprise. On the one hand, generations of colonial officials yearned for the Amerindian population to adopt “our customs” not only in eating but also in dressing, hygiene, language, and religion. The centrality of evangelization to the colonial endeavor had of course been laid forth from the earliest days of the conquest, but Spanish ambitions extended far wider.<sup>86</sup> In his 1567 *Gobierno del Perú*, the Spanish jurist Juan de Matienzo provided a catalogue of European customs that Peruvian Indians should be obliged to adopt. Indians, for example, should abandon “the habit of eating together in the plaza” and should instead eat separately in their own houses, “like rational men.”<sup>87</sup> They should also wear Spanish clothing. This, he insisted, would bring multiple benefits:

Wearing Spanish clothing not only is not bad, but indeed is good for many reasons. Firstly, because they will thereby grow to love us and our clothes; secondly, because they will thereby begin to be more like men . . . ; thirdly, being dressed as Spaniards they will be ashamed to sit together in the plaza to eat and drink and get drunk; and fourthly, because the more they spend, the more silver they will extract from the earth, and that much more Spanish merchandise will be sold, which will all be to the benefit of the treasury.<sup>88</sup>

The desire for profit thus blended seamlessly with the desire to Hispanicize. Such ambitions were expressed regularly by colonial writers and officials. A century after Matienzo composed his treatise, Juan de Solórzano Pereira was arguing that Indians should be taught Spanish “so that they learn to love us more.” They should likewise adopt Spanish habits “in dressing, and in clothing and other laudable customs.”<sup>89</sup>

Here, then, is a clear program for Hispanicization. Nonetheless, scholars such as Homi Bhabha have reminded us of the discomfort caused to colonizers by too close an imitation of their ways by wily colonized people. Such discomfort was made all the more acute by the fact that colonists themselves quickly adopted many aspects of indigenous culture, including, as we have seen, some of its typical foods. Hybridity

<sup>85</sup> Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, 143–144 (book 3, chap. 19); emphasis added. Acosta endorsed the latter view. Other factors blamed for indigenous mortality included the region’s bad air, the tendency of Amerindians to bathe when ill, and divine wrath. Estrada and Niebla, “Relación de Zapotitlán,” 42; Fernández de Oviedo, *Historia general y natural*, 1: 67–69; 2: 116 (book 3, chap. 6; book 17, chap. 4); Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, 92–96; and Noble David Cook, *Born to Die: Disease and New World Conquest, 1492–1650* (Cambridge, 1998), 1–14, 66. The Peruvian creole Buena Ventura de Salinas y Cordova believed that indigenous mortality was a divine punishment of the Spanish, because it deprived them of a labor force. Salinas y Cordova, *Memorial, informe y manifiesto*, 40r.

<sup>86</sup> For the evangelical imperative, see Consejo de Indias (Spain), *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias*, 3 vols. (1791; repr., Madrid, 1943), 1: 1–10.

<sup>87</sup> Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, 53. Las Casas similarly deplored the indigenous custom of eating “on the ground like dogs”; Las Casas, “Relaciones que hicieron algunos religiosos,” 47. Only a few clerics advocated Christianization without Hispanicization; see Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, 86–91, for the views of Gerónimo de Mendieta.

<sup>88</sup> Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, 69–70.

<sup>89</sup> Solórzano Pereira, *Política indiana*, 1: 400, 402–403 (book 2, chap. 26, nos. 30, 40). More broadly, he noted, many royal orders “command us to attempt to teach them our customs”; *ibid.*, 1: 403 (book 2, chap. 26, no. 42).



perhaps characterized colonial space, in Spanish America as elsewhere, but this was frequently a source of anxiety, rather than satisfaction, for administrators and settlers alike.<sup>90</sup>

Spanish demands for Amerindians to adopt European customs were in fact regularly undercut by legislation intended precisely to preserve the distance between colonizers and colonized. For example, sumptuary laws, retained in colonial Spanish America for centuries after they were abandoned in Europe, struggled to maintain clear hierarchies that *mestizaje* and the fluidities of colonial culture rendered increasingly imprecise: colonial legislation at times actually criminalized attempts by native peoples to "adopt our customs in dressing."<sup>91</sup> Spaniards and creoles, in turn, were regularly prohibited from dwelling in indigenous villages, so as to limit contact between the two groups.<sup>92</sup> Indeed, challenges to the colonial system (real or perceived) were often blamed precisely on ill-advised attempts to incorporate Amerindians into European culture. For example, following a riot in Mexico City in 1692, when the city's indigenous population had risen up in protest against maize shortages, European and creole observers attributed the unrest in part to the injudicious blurring of caste divisions. Encouraging Indians to speak Spanish was "the first step toward experiencing outrages," noted one indignant priest. In his view, far from teaching the Indians to "love us more," learning Spanish simply made them uppity. Wearing Spanish clothing, which Matienzo had described as "not only . . . not bad, but indeed . . . good," was in this priest's opinion equally disruptive. Allowing Indians to wear a European-style cape was particularly pernicious, "because it seems this infuses them with pride, and with their blankets they are more humble and obedient."<sup>93</sup>

"WITH THEIR BLANKETS THEY ARE MORE HUMBLE AND OBEDIENT": this observation, as much as the demand that Indians should imitate Spaniards "in dressing, and in cloth-

<sup>90</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, "Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree outside Delhi, May 1817," in Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, 1994); and Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997). Or see Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven, Conn., 1993), 42–47; and Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, N.C., 1995). For a classic discussion of the formation of "mixed" colonial culture, see Solange Alberro, *De gachupín al criollo: O cómo los españoles de México dejaron de serlo* (Mexico, 1992); and, for a stimulating analysis of hybridity, see Carolyn Dean and Dana Leibsohn, "Hybridity and Its Discontents: Considering Visual Culture in Colonial Spanish America," *Colonial Latin American Review* 12, no. 1 (2003): 5–35.

<sup>91</sup> See, for example, "Ordenanzas para el buen gobierno de los indios en las Provincias de Soconusco y Verapaz" (September 29, 1628), in Richard Konezke, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica*, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1953), 2: 321; and Rebecca Earle, "Luxury, Clothing and Race in Colonial Spanish America," in Maxine Berg and Elizabeth Eger, eds., *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (Basingstoke, 2003), 219–227.

<sup>92</sup> See the many cédulas in Konezke, *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social de Hispanoamérica*, 1: 535, 572–573; 2: 58, 287, 308, 401, 532; and Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions*, 99–101.

<sup>93</sup> Fray Bernabé Nuñez de Paez, "Informe," *Doctrina de San Pablo*, July 4, 1692, Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico City), Historia, vol. 413, fols. 10, 11, 13; Alejandro Cañeque, *The King's Living Image: The Culture and Politics of Viceregal Power in Colonial Mexico* (New York, 2004), 227; and for details of the 1692 riot, Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660–1720* (Madison, Wis., 1994), 125–160. Thanks to Frank and Gilda Eissa Barroso for the material from the Archivo General.

ing and other laudable customs,” characterizes the colonizing vision, for colonialism relies on a dream of unity combined with an insistence on distance. Maintaining the separation between colonizers and colonized was as much a requirement of the enterprise as was the elimination of that separation by teaching the Indians to live “like rational men.” The aims of Spanish colonialism were profoundly contradictory because colonialism is itself contradictory. The uncertainties that characterized European opinions about whether Amerindians should adopt the European diet, and conversely whether Europeans could thrive in the New World, reflect precisely these contradictions. To survive, Europeans needed to be able to eat the foods of the New World, or at least to succeed in cultivating their own crops in the colonial environment, but they did not wish to turn into Indians. Indians needed to learn to eat wholesome European foods, but if they thereby acquired a European complexion, what possible justification remained for their subordination to Spanish rule? Ambivalence about whether Europeans could or could not eat maize, and whether maize was or was not like wheat, reflects deeper European doubts about whether they could live in the Indies, and whether Amerindians could become part of the Hispanic world. Colonists in other parts of the world harbored similar doubts about the consequences of culinary hybridity, for similar reasons.<sup>94</sup>

Food is both a daily necessity and a potent symbol, and it is therefore particularly effective at capturing anxieties about status in virtually any social context. But in the early modern world, food was uniquely adapted to this role because of its importance in shaping the human body itself. Food, more than any other factor, was responsible for the constitutional differences that separated Europeans from Amerindians. Food helped create the indigenous and Spanish bodies, and food could turn one into the other. Spanish concerns about whether Old World crops could be cultivated in the Indies thus reflected far more than mere nostalgia for Iberia, and colonial stipulations that Amerindians should (or should not) eat European foods went beyond a simple yearning for cultural homogeneity. These concerns spoke directly to Europeans’ worries about the physical integrity of their bodies, and about the maintenance or dissolution of the most fundamental of colonial divisions: that between the bodies of the colonizers and the colonized. Food thus provides a surprisingly effective vehicle for examining the unstable foundations of colonial ideology, which aimed simultaneously to homogenize and to differentiate. This is because diet lay at the heart of early modern European ideas about identity, the body, and civilization itself.

Taking seriously early modern beliefs about food’s profoundly transformative power also helps us understand why settlers in the Americas did not need to invent an embodied racism *avant la lettre* to account for the differences between themselves and Amerindians, or to explain why Europeans might thrive in the New World while Amerindians sickened. The existing humoral models for understanding the human body provided a satisfying explanation for both these phenomena. Despite the claims of recent scholarship, the idea of racial fixity did not emerge in early America as a result of European encounters with new peoples and places. Colonists’ understanding of the human body did not allow for fixed, permanent, physical differences. In-

<sup>94</sup> See, for example, E. M. Collingham, *Imperial Bodies: The Physical Experience of the Raj, c1800–1947* (Cambridge, 2001); and Chaplin, *Subject Matter*, 134, 149–150, 153, 211–212, 220.

stead, Spaniards viewed both Indian and European bodies as mutable and porous, open to the influences of many external forces, including, critically, food, which therefore occupied a central place in the maintenance of colonial society. It is for this reason that chroniclers and officials devoted so much attention to documenting the cultivation of Old World crops in the Americas, and the sons of conquistadors proudly recited the names of the European plants their fathers had introduced, for these foods were the bulwark that separated colonizers from colonized.<sup>95</sup>

Food was not simply the cultural icing on the colonial cake. Indeed, early modern actors did not view culture and bodies as fundamentally different. The physical body was *generated* in part through the ambient culture, and in particular through diet. Bodies were built out of food, and they differed one from another because of diet and other cultural practices, which were therefore understood to have a physical impact on the corporeality of the body. These were the ideas that Europeans brought with them to the New World, and which exercised a profound effect on their conceptualizations of the differences between themselves and the new peoples they encountered there. Colonial societies have perhaps always been structured around concepts of physical difference, but the ways in which those differences have been understood are both diverse and historically specific. As Joyce Chaplin has argued, we must pay close attention to European ideas about bodies and nature if we hope to understand the broader process of European colonization in the early modern era.<sup>96</sup> To do that, we need to pay attention to how Europeans thought about food.

<sup>95</sup> See Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, 1: 155 (book 4, chap. 1).

<sup>96</sup> Chaplin, *Subject Matter*, 7–35.

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## Tongues-Tied: The Making of a “National Language” and the Discovery of Dialects in Meiji Japan

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HIRAKU SHIMODA

THE TIME IS 1874, THE PLACE Tokyo. Nangō Seinosuke, an official at the newly formed Ministry of Education, has been ordered by the education minister, Tanaka Fujimaro, to create a new common spoken language—a “nationally unified speech”—to be used throughout Japan. He returns to his home in Kōjimachi, hoping to find inspiration in his own household.

What he gets instead is linguistic anarchy. Seinosuke himself was born and raised in Chōshū domain, and naturally speaks the Chōshū dialect. But he has married into a Satsuma family, and his wife and father-in-law speak the Satsuma dialect. Their five-year-old son is prone to an odd mix of both, and is precocious enough to use Chōshū speech to cajole his father and Satsuma speech to please his grandfather. The Nangōs’ maids are Edo locals, but the head maid speaks with a gentle uptown grace, while the younger maids chatter away in the rough-and-tumble downtown colloquial. The driver’s Tōno accent is certainly confounding, although not nearly as much as the male servant’s Tsugaru tongue, which is practically incomprehensible to the rest of the household. The one person who can best deal with the chaos is a live-in university student from Nagoya who must often serve as the family interpreter. As it turns out, Seinosuke’s challenge lies in his home as much as his office.

One day, a thief breaks into the Nangō residence. Having been caught in the act, he is surrounded by the entire household. Undaunted, the thief proudly announces himself, waves his sword, and repeatedly demands “*jeneko*.” But the household mills around, confused as to what the intruder is saying; it takes everyone a while to guess that “*jeneko*” must be some dialect for “valuables.” The thief, who turns out to be a fallen samurai from Aizu domain named Wakabayashi Torasaburō, can only slink away empty-handed, thwarted less by the Nangōs’ vigilance than by his own provincial tongue.

This linguistic melting pot was cooked up by the dramatist Inoue Hisashi in his 1985 play *Kokugo gannen* (*Year One of Our National Language*).<sup>1</sup> The story is not historical fact, of course, but neither is it sheer fiction, for Inoue simply compressed

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<sup>1</sup> Inoue Hisashi, *Kokugo gannen* (Tokyo, 1986).

and dramatized the sort of speech plurality that pervaded Meiji Japan (1868–1912). At the time, there were more than a few Torasaburōs who struggled to make their local speech understood, just as there were more than a few Seinosukes who hoped to devise a solution. The Nangō household, in which there are far too many ways to say even simple words such as “loincloth”—*tsuidana*, *hadamaki*, *shitaobi*, *shitanomono*, *heko*, *hekoshi*, *mawashi*, or *fundosu*?—is a tongue-in-cheek microcosm of Meiji Japan.

In Inoue’s play, speech diversity serves a comedic effect, but to those who saw it as a threat to their nascent national life, this was no laughing matter. Scholars and officials in Tokyo were certainly not amused to find that a myriad of dialects split the Japanese archipelago “like squares on a checkerboard.”<sup>2</sup> Although Meiji Japan shared what could fairly be considered a single language in Japanese, that language, in daily practice, had long been spoken in countless local variations, some mutually intelligible, others far less so.<sup>3</sup> “Even after the Restoration,” one leading linguist bemoaned in 1898, “the national language is not yet unified, and dialects still maintain their influence upon each region.”<sup>4</sup> Thirty years had already passed since the dawn of modern times, yet Meiji Japan seemed doomed to never quite sound the way a modern nation-state should.

Local educators such as those in the Aizu region, now the western part of Fukushima prefecture in northeast Japan, often echoed such concerns. Aizu speech, which had been used for generations as a matter of course, was suddenly viewed as being “wrong.” When schoolteachers in the central Aizu town of Kitakata produced a local gazetteer in 1911, they included a table of the area’s vocabulary as many gazetteers had customarily done in the past. This time, however, they labeled their Aizu vernacular “dialects and mistaken speech,” which was contrasted against “correct speech,” that is, textbook Japanese.<sup>5</sup> In 1913, the principal of the Fukushima Prefectural Normal School toured several elementary schools in the Aizu region, and what he heard disturbed him. “The educators themselves must first correct their own dialects,” he found, “and the entire faculty must double their efforts at improving their students’ dialects.”<sup>6</sup> Some people in Aizu began to worry that, in a sense, they did not speak “Japanese.”

What suddenly made one form of speech “correct” and another “wrong”? The answer to this question reveals the intimate historical ties between language and the nation-state, not only in Meiji Japan but just about everywhere a society struggled to nationalize. Japan was hardly the only place where ideologues passionately coupled language with nationhood. Johann Gottfried von Herder’s wishful insistence—

<sup>2</sup> Miyake Yonekichi, “Kuniguni no namari kotoba ni tsukite,” in *Bungaku hakase Miyake Yonekichi choshū*, upper vol. (1884; repr., Tokyo, 1929), 810.

<sup>3</sup> In distinguishing between “language” and “dialects,” this article largely follows Stephen Barbour’s formulation. “Different ethnic groups and different nations are distinguished from each other by different *languages* that are mutually unintelligible,” whereas “language differences that arise because of geographical and social barriers within a nation or an ethnic group produce not different languages but merely different *dialects*, which are mutually intelligible.” This definition suits this work’s contention that nations define language categories, not the other way around. Stephen Barbour, “Nationalism, Language, Europe,” in Stephen Barbour and Cathie Carmichael, eds., *Language and Nationalism in Europe* (Oxford, 2000), 12.

<sup>4</sup> Hoshina Kōichi, “Hōgen ni tsukite,” *Teikoku bungaku* 4, no. 7 (1898): 29–30.

<sup>5</sup> *Kyōdoshi* (1911) at the First Kitakata Elementary School, Fukushima prefecture.

<sup>6</sup> “Shihan gakkōchō no kansatsuki (ni),” *Fukushima-ken kyōiku* 29, no. 1 (January 1913): 34.



"For each people is a people; it has its national culture and language"—had its sympathizers across the globe. For them, "language was the soul of a nation" and "increasingly the crucial criterion of nationality."<sup>7</sup> A singular language, such nationalists hoped, let a people sing their unity for all to hear. Sometimes this idea was carried forth by literary inspiration, as György Bessenyei's magna opera helped birth Hungarian nationalism, and Ivar Aasen's dictionary codified Norwegian linguistic nationalism.<sup>8</sup> Sometimes it came by fiat, as when Emperor Joseph II decreed German to be the language of administration in the 1780s, or when the Russian Empire pushed Russian over Ukrainian and other competing tongues.<sup>9</sup> Sometimes ideologues sought unity in language only because nothing else would quite do, as happened in Albania, Italy, and Germany.<sup>10</sup> Regardless of means or form, what Benedict Anderson called "a splendidly *eng*-European conception of nation-ness as linked to a private-property language" may have been a "dream," but it was one dreamt well beyond Europe.<sup>11</sup>

If nationalists were hot about language, historians who study them have often been cool. As Joshua Fishman observed, many scholars remain cynical toward nationalist uses of language.<sup>12</sup> Eric Hobsbawm is among those who have taken to exposing the chicanery of language, especially a national one. "National languages," Hobsbawm concluded, "are therefore almost always semi-artificial constructs and occasionally, like modern Hebrew, virtually invented. They are the opposite of what nationalist mythology supposes them to be, namely the primordial foundation of national culture and the matrices of the national mind."<sup>13</sup> Critics have indicted national languages as an accessory to a "programmatic mythology" that makes nationality seem more organic and destined than it is. Such artifice of language was certainly known to Ernest Renan, who warned that "languages are historical formations," not essential determinants of nationality.<sup>14</sup> Japanese historians have begun to express similar skepticism toward their own language, taking pains to denature it. Their iconoclasm is evident, for example, in Yasuda Toshiaki's insistence to always put the term "national language"—*kokugo*—in quotes.<sup>15</sup> Likewise, the social linguist I Yeonsuk has presented modern Japanese as a product of intellectual thought more than social reality, while the historian Osa Shizue has understood it as part of a constructed national culture that forcefully bound together an increasingly polyglot overseas empire.<sup>16</sup> Their efforts have shown the purportedly ancient classical Jap-

<sup>7</sup> Johann Gottfried von Herder, *Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Humankind* (1784–1791), trans. Thomas Nemon, reprinted in Robert Bernasconi and Tommy L. Lott, eds., *The Idea of Race* (Indianapolis, 2000), 26; Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780* (Cambridge, 1990), 95.

<sup>8</sup> Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London, 1991), 73, 75.

<sup>9</sup> Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nations and States: An Inquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism* (Boulder, Colo., 1977), 158–161; Theodore R. Weeks, *Nation and State in Late Imperial Russia: Nationalism and Russification on the Western Frontier, 1863–1914* (DeKalb, Ill., 1996), 12–13.

<sup>10</sup> Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 53, 60, 98–99.

<sup>11</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 68.

<sup>12</sup> Joshua Fishman, *Language and Nationalism: Two Integrative Essays* (Rowley, Mass., 1973), 40, 47.

<sup>13</sup> Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 54.

<sup>14</sup> Ernest Renan, "Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?" (1882), trans. Martin Thom, in Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny, eds., *Becoming National: A Reader* (New York, 1996), 50.

<sup>15</sup> Yasuda Toshiaki, *"Kokugo" no gendaishi* (Tokyo, 2006); Yasuda, *"Kokugo" to "hōgen" no aida* (Tokyo, 1999).

<sup>16</sup> I Yeonsuk, *"Kokugo" to iu shisō* (Tokyo, 1996); Osa Shizue, *Kindai Nihongo to kokugo nashon-arizumu* (Tokyo, 1998).

anese language, *Yamato kotoba*, to be less historically embedded than nationalists would have it.

This sizable literature still leaves some opportunities for historians. Scholarship on the nation-language problem has often discounted, if not neglected, everyday speech and the problem of dialects. Hobsbawm, for one, held that “the controversial element is the written language, or the language spoken for public purposes,” whereas “the language(s) spoken within the private sphere of communication raise no serious problems even when it or they coexist with public languages.”<sup>17</sup> Similarly, even Nanette Twine’s otherwise useful work on Japanese language modernization focused on “the written language of public life,” turning to speech only as it impacted writing reform.<sup>18</sup> Others, including Tessa Carroll and Janet Hunter, have also dealt mostly with written Japanese, thus underselling the real and rather prevalent anxiety about the state of speech in Meiji Japan, and how this anxiety reflected changing attitudes toward national standardization in both officialdom and local practice.<sup>19</sup> Likewise, studies of different languages within contemporary Japan, such as Ainu and Ryūkyūan, often end up reaffirming the boundaries of present-day Japanese and its dominant normativity.<sup>20</sup> By contrast, a history of dialects reveals the internal vulnerabilities of a language that is now assumed to be stable, but was not always so.

The struggle over Japanese dialects shows that as Meiji-era language architects confronted their historical inheritance, they found themselves wielding a double-edged sword. As Herbert Kelman noted, centralist policies designed to induce cohesion, such as speech unification, could also end up becoming “major sources of disintegration and internal conflict within a national system.”<sup>21</sup> Indeed, Elizabeth Berry and Kären Wigen have, in the Japanese context, rightly suggested that national integration could create a “paradoxical by-product in a growing sense of sub-national distinctions.”<sup>22</sup> The ironic possibility that a national language unwittingly formalizes linguistic differences within was as real in Japan as it was in, say, Great Britain, where, as Janet Sorensen showed, literary attempts to confirm British unity also “codified linguistic difference” as internally discrete “Scottish,” “Welsh,” “English,” and so on.<sup>23</sup> In this sense, dialects were no less historically formed than any national language, even if it is the latter that usually bears the brunt of anti-nationalist critique as a political artifice. The Japanese case demonstrates a dynamic historical interplay between national speech and dialects where one may have been just as invented as the other.

<sup>17</sup> Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 113.

<sup>18</sup> Nanette Twine, *Language and the Modern State: The Reform of Written Japanese* (London, 1991), 2.

<sup>19</sup> Tessa Carroll, *Language Planning and Language Change in Japan* (Richmond, 2001); Janet Hunter, “Language Reform in Meiji Japan: The Views of Maejima Hisoka,” in Sue Henny and Jean-Pierre Lehmann, eds., *Themes and Theories in Modern Japanese History: Essays in Memory of Richard Storry* (London, 1986), 101–120.

<sup>20</sup> E.g., John C. Maher and Kyoko Yashiro, eds., *Multilingual Japan* (Clevendon, 1995).

<sup>21</sup> Herbert Kelman, “Language as an Aid and Barrier to Involvement in the National System,” in Joan Rubin and Björn H. Jernudd, eds., *Can Language Be Planned? Sociolinguistic Theory and Practice for Developing Nations* (Honolulu, 1971), 21.

<sup>22</sup> Kären Wigen, “Culture, Power, and Place: The New Landscapes of East Asian Regionalism,” *American Historical Review* 104, no. 4 (October 1999): 1196.

<sup>23</sup> Janet Sorensen, *The Grammar of Empire in Eighteenth-Century British Writing* (Cambridge, 2000), 2.

Nor was the problem of speech inconsistency simply a practical issue about facilitating national administration or education. It also became a means to culturally delineate "regions," where conflicting tongues stubbornly persisted, as a backward space that needed to be normalized, civilized, and nationalized. In their attempt to clarify and reify the elusive ideal of a singular "national language," Meiji-era scholars and officials problematized provincial plurality as "dialects," an anachronistic obstacle to modern linguistic unity. The newly negative implications assigned to dialects, when contrasted against the exalted notion of a national language, drove a wedge between regionality and nationhood. The nationalization of speech, however, was also racked by inherent tensions that would ultimately yield an unlikely place for provincial vernaculars in modern Japan (1868–present).

THE SUPPOSED ANTIQUITY OF THE Japanese language notwithstanding, spoken Japanese as we know it today has a fairly short history. In Tokugawa Japan (1603–1868), no official standard speech existed, and dominant practices were elusive. Travelers and scholars certainly knew as much. In combing Japan for various medicinal plants to include in his 1709 pharmacological catalog *Yamato honzō*, Kaibara Ekken found that "the various provinces of this country each have their own produce and a speech distinct to that land. Therefore, any one thing can have a number of names. Few are the things that are known by the same name throughout the country in all four directions."<sup>24</sup> Even an elite no less educated and worldly than Yoshinobu, the last Tokugawa shogun, could only scratch his head when faced with regional discrepancies. "I once had a terrible time in a meeting with someone from Satsuma," the shogun recalled. "No matter what he said, I could not understand him at all. Try as he might, I understood him not one bit . . . Higo people are almost as hard to make out as Satsuma people. There is quite a bit there too that I cannot understand."<sup>25</sup>

One may well suppose that so-called Edo speech served as a *lingua franca*, but in Tokugawa Japan, the definition of a common speech was fluid. Most dialect dictionaries "translated" local words into Kyoto speech, not Edo speech as one might expect, until the latter half of the eighteenth century. Not until 1775, when the poet Koshigaya Gozan compiled *Butsurui shoko*, did a major dialect dictionary use Edo speech as its basis. Even then, Gozan also rendered many entries into Osaka and Kyoto equivalents, and he promoted Kyoto pronunciation as the most desirable. "If one wishes to achieve proper pronunciation," Gozan advised, "nothing exceeds Kyoto speech."<sup>26</sup> Early modern Japan featured, at best, an informal dual currency. Kyoto speech maintained its classical cachet, while Edo speech could claim political utility. Most importantly, no one argued for the need to settle on one practice or another, for nothing compelled linguistic consistency or a normative way to conceptualize speech.

In the absence of an absolute standard, then, the practical standard was whatever speech happened to be required in a given situation. This utilitarian and situational

<sup>24</sup> Sugimoto Tsutomu, *Koshigaya Gozan: Hōgen ni hikareta otoko* (Urawa, 1989), 53.

<sup>25</sup> Shibusawa Eiichi, ed., *Sekimukai hikki: Tokugawa Yoshinobukō kaisōdan* (Tokyo, 1966), 88–89.

<sup>26</sup> Koshigaya Gozan, *Shokoku hōgen Butsurui shoko*, ed. Masamune Atsushi (1775; repr., Tokyo, 1931), iii.

sensibility defined most early modern dialect dictionaries. Consequently, these texts were not broad, social prescriptives; instead, they served a specific purpose for a narrow audience. Yamamoto Tadayasu, a scholar in Owari domain, compiled *Owari hōgen* in 1748 to help Owari merchants conduct business in Kyoto, just as the Nanbu samurai Hattori Taketaka's 1790 *Okuni tsūji* familiarized his Morioka comrades with Edo speech to prepare them for their tour of duty in the distant shogunal capital. Some works even spoke to an audience of one. The Kyoto poet Yasuhara Teishitsu wrote *Katakoto* ostensibly for his ten-year-old son, who was picking up crude words from his friends and needed to be taught what his father deemed proper Kyoto speech. Like Hattori Taketaka in Nanbu, Hori Tokikatsu in Shōnai domain wrote *Shōnai hamaogi* in 1767 for just one purpose—to teach upper-class feminine Edo speech to the wife of a fellow domainal retainer who had been newly transferred to a post in Edo.<sup>27</sup> Tokikatsu advised his friend's wife on the latest trends in Edo speech and cautioned her against spoken *faux pas* for which she might be ridiculed in the capital. These early modern texts served as a handy guide to an unfamiliar urban culture. They were not politicized invectives bent on imposing a universal norm, as their modern counterparts would later do.

Nor did anyone bother to designate one style as more correct than another for Tokugawa society at large. Koshigaya Gozan's view in *Butsurui shoko*, the only dialect dictionary to be published to the public, was representative. "Even in central Japan, there are colloquial ways of speaking; while even in the peripheries of both eastern and western Japan, there are formal ways of speaking," he explained. "It is difficult to say which is right and which is wrong."<sup>28</sup> Even Yasuhara Teishitsu, who clearly celebrated Kyoto speech, acknowledged that "differences in pitch are the natural way of the land, and there is no right or wrong."<sup>29</sup> Most premodern commentators accepted the situationality and relativity of speech. The linguistic world order imagined in most language reference works had no absolute center, no fixed gauge against which all regional deviations might be measured and judged.

Tokugawa-period commentators associated speech less with geographical place than with the speaker's personal sophistication. Speech marked one's breeding and cultivation, as Inawashiro Ken'iku pointed out. "No matter the province," the poet observed, "people of the middling class and above do not use improper speech."<sup>30</sup> For Yasuhara Teishitsu, too, speech was a function of acculturation, not place of origin. The reason why Kyoto speech had deteriorated, he explained, was that "the people of the middling class and below use vulgar speech," and this had spread among greater Kyoto society, "misleading the culturally refined and becoming the way of the land."<sup>31</sup> Teishitsu's hostility toward dialects stemmed from his anxiety that audible signifiers of self-cultivation had become less telling. For all his conceited valuation of "pure" Kyoto speech, he never sought to impose it upon those outside

<sup>27</sup> *Hamaogi*, or "reed," appears in the title of multiple reference works on dialects because it was synonymous with dialects. The association derives from the linked verse (*renga*) "As places change, so do names / 'ashi' in Nanba is 'hamaogi' in Ise."

<sup>28</sup> Koshigaya, *Shokoku hōgen Butsurui shoko*, iii.

<sup>29</sup> Yasuhara Teishitsu, *Katakoto*, ed. Masamune Atsushi (1650; repr., Tokyo, 1931), 109. This passage appears in the preface to vol. 3 of *Ukiyokagami*, a supplement to *Katakoto*.

<sup>30</sup> Both Inawashiro Ken'iku and Yasuhara Teishitsu used the word *chūhin* to refer to a middling level of one's cultural sophistication, rather than a Marxist sense of class.

<sup>31</sup> Yasuhara, *Katakoto*, 109.

Kyoto. For Teishitsu, it was enough that learned gentlemen of the ancient capital such as he and his son spoke proper Kyoto speech. Teishitsu's desire to maintain regional speech distinction followed the convention of his day, which called for locals to speak locally and according to their lot.

This is not to say, of course, that Tokugawa-period discussions about speech were entirely value-free. For example, the increasing popularity of Edo-based literary genres such as the comical *kokkeibon* and the melodramatic *ninjōbon* helped bring Edo speech into vogue in the early nineteenth century. In 1836 the popular writer Tamenaga Shunsui boasted, "Recently, girls in various domains have been learning the latest Edo speech by reading my books." In some promotional copy that he wrote for his own book *Azuma kotoba gidanshō*, Shunsui claimed, "This book can teach girls from various domains the specifics of Edo speech. Not only can they also learn about Edo customs and speak and carry themselves as a true Edoite, they can use the book as a guide to fashionable speech."<sup>32</sup> Here was one writer who imagined a provincial audience clamoring for the latest urban speech over the local, if for nothing besides vanity.

By the same token, some found value in rural speech precisely because they were removed from the center. It was this distance, they believed, that allowed dialects to retain the qualities of a pristine, indigenous language. The search by so-called nativist scholars (*kokugakusha*) for an original language free of continental influence led them to, among others, rural speech. As the famous nativist Motoori Norinaga declared in 1799, "In the countryside is where words from the past remain."<sup>33</sup> One did not need to be a nativist to elevate rural over urban forms of speech for their supposed purity and antiquity. Koshigaya Gozan justified his interest in provincial vernaculars in much the same way. "City-dwellers' language is muddled by Chinese, and they have virtually forgotten their classical legacies," he explained. "By contrast, rural folks use local speech that is greatly accented and distinct to their village or their town. But because they are simple and rustic, they have truly not forgotten their ancient legacies."<sup>34</sup> By romanticizing dialects as "authentically Japanese," such pre-modern thinkers validated provincial plurality yet again.

This appreciation of diversity was made possible by the contemporary geopolitical structure, which required little in the way of speech unity; if anything, the environment encouraged variety. As Tokugawa Japan was composed of some 250 distinct political units called domains, regional inconsistency was taken as a fact of life, and it was never regarded as a matter of the state. Those who bothered to think about speech did so strictly within cultural and literary confines. There was nothing politically objectionable about linguistic localism, and no one expressed the need or desire for greater integrity and universality. Those were concerns for a peculiarly modern moment.

THAT MOMENT CAME WHEN THE nation-state imperative arrived with the Meiji Restoration in 1868. New nationalist premises and frameworks now pressed themselves

<sup>32</sup> Komatsu Hisao, *Edo jidai no kokugo Edogo* (Tokyo, 1985), 60–61.

<sup>33</sup> Tokugawa Munemasa, *Hōgen kenkyū no rekishi* (Tokyo, 1977), 330.

<sup>34</sup> Koshigaya, *Shokokuhōgen Butsurui shoko*, ii.



upon discussions about language. Whereas the matter of speech had been divorced from polity in Tokugawa times, Meiji-era commentators were quick to marry the two, thus introducing a distinctly modern way to conceptualize language in provocative political terms. If the French Revolution was “suspicious of dialects,” then so, too, was the Meiji Restoration. Just as a French state previously indifferent to linguistic inconsistency was “replaced by an ideology that embraced unity as a positive good and recognized language as a significant factor in achieving it,” a newly national Imperial Japan took a similar turn from catholicity toward sameness.<sup>35</sup>

By the 1880s, scholars and public ideologues routinely pitched linguistic unity as an urgent goal for the entire national collective, eagerly insisting that a now-national people speak as one. In 1889, the Tokyo Imperial University linguist Ueda Kazutoshi reverently described a common national language as the “spiritual lifeblood” that must course through the new body politic.<sup>36</sup> Aoda Setsu’s tellingly titled *Hōgen kairyōron* (*On Rectifying Dialects*) in 1888 was also premised on a nationalist logic: “That fellow countrymen cannot understand the same speech,” the Fukushima schoolteacher complained, “is much to be lamented.”<sup>37</sup> Such anxiety was rare in earlier times, for nothing had linked language and polity as modern nationhood demanded.

Meiji-era rhetoric about language thus came to be delivered in a nationalized shrill typical of the times. This was predictably true of politicians such as Inoue Kowashi, a leading Meiji statesman and constitutional architect, who certainly expected a national people to behold their language with due solemnity. “The Japanese people must revere their distinct national language,” he implored schoolteachers in 1893 as the minister of education, “just as they would their country’s fate.”<sup>38</sup> Linguistic research centers sprouted in the 1880s and endowed language with similar political gravity. The National Language Pedagogical Institute (Kokugo Denshūjo), established in 1888, intoned, “The national language solidifies the national polity. The national language lives and dies with our native land, prospers and fades with our native land,” while the Linguistics Research Institute (Gengo Torishirabejo), founded in the same year, also equated language with “the vitality of the state.”<sup>39</sup>

The breathless exaltation of speech unity in the early and mid-Meiji years, however, only revealed the sorry fact that it did not exist. As I Yeonsuk argued, Meiji Japan was short on “faith that, no matter what linguistic change might occur in reality, there exists an unquestionably transcendent linguistic unity.”<sup>40</sup> The neologisms “national language” (*kokugo*) and “standard speech” (*hyōjungo*) were called upon to deliver that elusive transcendence and unity. However, the subsequent struggle to substantiate and propagate those new ideals betrayed underlying uncertainties about Japanese language and, by extension, Japanese nationhood. This was the new

<sup>35</sup> Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Stanford, Calif., 1976), 81, 72.

<sup>36</sup> Ueda Kazutoshi, “Kokugo to kokka to,” in Ueda, *Kokugo no tame* (Tokyo, 1895), 12.

<sup>37</sup> Aoda Setsu, *Hōgen kairyōron* (Fukushima, 1888), 50.

<sup>38</sup> Inoue Kowashi, “Kokugo kyōin no kōshūkai enzetsu,” in Inoue Kowashi Denki Hensan iinkai, ed., *Inoue Kowashi den shiryōhen*, 6 vols. (1893; repr., Tokyo, 1966), 5: 434.

<sup>39</sup> “Kokugo denshūjo shushisho,” in Satō Kan, *Nihongogaku shinron* (Tokyo, 1891), 120–122; “Gengo torishirabejo seiritsu shushi,” in Yamamoto Masahide, ed., *Kindai buntai keisei shiryō shūsei hassei hen* (1888; repr., Tokyo, 1978–1979), 438.

<sup>40</sup> I Yeonsuk, “*Kokugo*” to *iu shisō*, iv.

context that redefined regional variance as an unhappy antithesis to the wishful thesis that Japan's language articulates the unity of its speakers.

The new "principle of nationality" insisted that ethnic unity and speech unity go hand in hand; dialects threatened to tear the two apart.<sup>41</sup> In 1884, the linguist Ueda Kazutoshi warned of "dialectism" where "even though we are all Japanese, it is like meeting foreigners."<sup>42</sup> Like Ueda, Aoda Setsu went so far as to suggest that speech diversity would sever the bonds of ethnicity. He was disturbed to find that, linguistically, he might have more in common with a Westerner than a fellow Japanese. Aoda, a schoolteacher from western Japan, had accepted a teaching job in Fukushima in the distant northeast. On a train to Fukushima, he happened to sit beside a woman from Sendai and an Englishman. He tried to strike up a conversation with the woman, but found that "her speech was extremely difficult to comprehend, and I could not have a single comfortable conversation with her." Dispirited, Aoda turned to the Englishman and was shocked to find that he was able to converse better with the foreigner because he knew some English.<sup>43</sup> The anecdote's veracity aside, Aoda's point was that dialects could render a Japanese less Japanese. Never had linguistic inconsistency been problematized so dramatically.

The nation-state imperative cultivated a new political consciousness that would reinterpret a familiar social reality as a threat to national fortune and social progress. Concerned scholars now associated linguistic provincialism with Japan's feudal past. As Okakura Yoshisaburō, a professor of English literature at Tokyo Imperial University, explained, "The fact that virtually every province has its own distinct speech is a natural result of the long-lingering feudal structure."<sup>44</sup> The linguist Tōjō Misao also blamed speech irregularity on feudalism. "In the Edo period," he wrote, "when each domain drew the curtains against other domains and set up barriers along its borders to restrict outsiders, the division between dialects became increasingly severe."<sup>45</sup> What some had earlier prized as an heirloom from antiquity was now disdained as an awkward vestige that had no place in modern society.

When speech localization was thus reinterpreted as an anachronism, dialects were inevitably pitted against the grand notion of civilization, another buzzword that came easily to the lips of many Meiji-era commentators. Aoda Setsu made this abundantly clear in his caustic *On Rectifying Dialects*. The title of one section, "All Dialects Are Vulgar," captures the polemic spirit of the transplanted schoolteacher, who was dismayed by the state of speech in the unfamiliar northeast. When he first arrived in Fukushima prefecture, he happened to catch sight of an attractive woman. At first glance, she struck him as "no more than twenty-eight years old, with a refined appearance—truly a pure beauty." Or so he thought, until she opened her mouth. To his disgust, "every word of every story was spoken in a vulgar dialect that was terribly unbearable. Someone I had first thought was a real beauty quickly turned into just another crude little wench." What might have earlier been passed off as a laughable encounter with an unsophisticated country girl was now taken as an affront to civ-

<sup>41</sup> Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*, 96, 101.

<sup>42</sup> Ueda Kazutoshi, "Shōgaku no kyōka ni kokugo no ikka o moukuru no gi," *Dai Nippon kyōikukai zasshi*, special ed. 2 (1884): 130–138.

<sup>43</sup> Aoda, *Hōgen kairiyōron*, 5.

<sup>44</sup> Okakura Yoshisaburō, *Nihongogaku ippan* (Tokyo, 1890), 161.

<sup>45</sup> Tōjō Misao, *Hōgen to hōgengaku* (Tokyo, 1948), 61.

ilization. For Aoda, the barbarity of dialects compromised the spread of civilization in Japan at large, baring his country's backwardness for the world to see. "Dialects are numerous in an isolated, barbarous age," he explained, while "they are few in an open, enlightened society."<sup>46</sup> If Japan wanted to advance toward civilization, he asked, "How much longer can we continue to protect the dialect of every little distant region? Dialects must be improved immediately. Vulgar speech must be eradicated immediately."<sup>47</sup> Aoda thus equated the orderly singularity of "national language" with civilization, and the haphazard multiplicity of "dialects" with barbarity.

From this perspective, a nation split by clashing tongues threatened to veer off the tracks of "civilization and enlightenment" altogether. Dialects became a daily reminder of an embarrassing past that Japan would have to overcome if it wanted to become respectable in a world dominated by relatively mature nation-states. Nationally minded ideologues zealously pointed out—often to the point of exaggeration—that Western nations already enjoyed their enviable "standard language" and *Gemeinsprache*, while Japan did not.<sup>48</sup> In making language a part of Japan's modern national culture, these Meiji-era ideologues rejected provincial diversity as a feature of that culture. Within this dominant framework, dialects had seemingly met their doom. A so-called "dialect eradication movement" appeared eminently desirable and politically inevitable.

THE TASK OF DETERMINING THE new fate of dialects fell largely to scholars freshly trained in Western-style linguistics. Although they were academics, their mission was politically charged, as was their environment. Most of them had been trained at Tokyo Imperial University, where they later taught, and they often participated in state projects as members of government committees and think tanks. Some of them wielded considerable influence over policy formation, especially at the Ministry of Education. These men conducted themselves as scholar-officials, part academic and part politician.

Perhaps the most representative scholar-official was Ueda Kazutoshi. The son of an Owari samurai, he studied linguistics first at the Imperial University under the English linguist Basil Hall Chamberlain, then in Germany and France between 1891 and 1894.<sup>49</sup> After his return, he taught at the Imperial University, where he established the Imperial Japanese Language Research Center (Teikoku Kokugo Kenkyūshitsu) in 1897 and trained several important linguists, including Hoshina Kōichi, Tōjō Misao, and Shinmura Izuru. As the head of the Ministry of Education's Compulsory Education Agency, Ueda was instrumental in establishing Japanese (*kokugo*) as a school subject in 1900 and in the formation of the National Language

<sup>46</sup> Aoda, *Hōgen kairyōron*, 25.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>48</sup> Ueda Kazutoshi explained that the neologism *hyōjungo* was the Japanese rendering of these two foreign terms. Ueda, "Hyōjungo ni tsukite," *Teikoku bungaku* 1, no. 1 (January 1895): 14–23. Shioda Norikazu and I Yeonsuk both mistakenly credit Ueda as having been the first to use the term *hyōjungo*, in 1895; in fact, Okakura Yoshisaburō used it in 1890 in *Nihongogaku ippan*.

<sup>49</sup> Ueda may have been the inspiration for the Hirotsawa Shūichirō character in Inoue Hisashi's *Kokugo gannen*. Like Ueda, Hirotsawa is from Nagoya, studies at the Imperial University, and tries to bring order to the polyglot household as a linguistic go-between.

Research Council (Kokugo Chōsa Iinkai) in 1902, which he chaired. “Doctor Ueda was a scholarly politician,” Hoshina Kōichi recalled of his mentor. “He was not the type to sit in his study reading and researching like a typical scholar.”<sup>50</sup> A linguist on a political mission, Ueda Kazutoshi reflected just how politicized the issue of language had become in Meiji Japan.

One overarching objective shared by Ueda and his fellow scholar-officials was to promote a speech unity befitting the modern nation that Meiji Japan aspired to be. They disagreed, however, on how to bring this about. Some took the sanguine view that if dialects were a legacy of premodern structural limitations, they would naturally dissipate with the onset of modernity. Miyake Yonekichi, a historian and a charter member of the Dialect Studies Society (Hōgen Torishirabe Nakama), anticipated that as transportation and communication improved, “dialects spoken in various regions will not only intermingle, they will be assimilated into the one that is most widely used, while all others will eventually fade away.”<sup>51</sup>

Such optimism notwithstanding, the technological advances, greater social mobility, and political liberalism of the Meiji era did not eliminate dialects. To the contrary, it was precisely those forces of modernity that brought the problem of dialects to a head. Consider, for example, the 1888 book *Izumo kotoba no kakiyose*, a collection of Izumo vernacular compiled by the Shimane Board of Education. As its preface explained, “In the past, because the realm of one’s activities was limited, no one felt the inconvenience” of dialects. But now “one deals with people of the western provinces in the morning and speaks with people of the east and north in the evening. Today, as the world has become a smaller place, the inconvenience [of dialects] hardly needs to be mentioned.”<sup>52</sup> Even those in a remote area such as Shimane could now imagine a sense of national proximity and connectedness, causing them to rediscover speech diversity as a hindrance. An expansion of the daily sphere had fostered the problem of dialects, not solved it.

The apparent lack of improvement made some scholar-officials impatient with the promise of natural progress. At a time when convention dictated that officialdom should expedite national development of all sorts, many regarded language in the same light. Even as Miyake Yonekichi foresaw linguistic unity down the road, he warned, “We should not wring our hands waiting for that day to come. We must do our very best to facilitate and hasten this process.”<sup>53</sup> The restless Aoda Setsu agreed. “We cannot wait for the natural improvement of dialects,” he urged. “Human effort must be added.”<sup>54</sup>

Leading scholar-officials promoted the concept of “artificial refinement” as they began to envision a single, constructed speech that would replace the numerous dialects. In the 1890s, Ueda Kazutoshi outlined a general scheme that was more or less adopted by his colleagues and successors. To create a new standard, Ueda planned to take “educated middle-class Tokyo speech,” which was uniquely “qualified for this honor,” and “artificially refine” it. This “ideal, artificial” language would

<sup>50</sup> Hoshina Kōichi, “Gakumonteki seijika to shite no Ueda hakase,” *Kyōiku* 5, no. 12 (1937): 24.

<sup>51</sup> Hōgen torishirabe nakama, “Hōgen torishirabe nakama no shuisho,” in Yoshida Sumio and Inoguchi Arikazu, eds., *Meiji ikō kokugo mondai ronshū* (Tokyo, 1964), 498.

<sup>52</sup> Shimane-ken shiritsu kyōikukai, *Izumo kotoba no kakiyose* (Matsue, 1888).

<sup>53</sup> Miyake, *Bungaku hakase Miyake Yonekichi choshū*, 489.

<sup>54</sup> Aoda, *Hōgen kairyōron*, 35.

then be delivered to the public through the new compulsory education system “to most effectively make the greatest number of people use it.”<sup>55</sup> Ueda’s student Hoshina Kōichi pushed the notion of “artificial refinement” further into a frontal attack on dialects. “We must artificially intervene and strive to reach our goal quickly,” Hoshina implored. “What I mean by artificial intervention is to establish a standard speech and destroy dialects.”<sup>56</sup>

At first glance, this scheme seemed to offer no place for dialects, except as targets of eradication. Yet dialects lived to see another day, for a new use was found for them. Because a national language—however desirable it was said to be—did not yet exist, scholar-officials had to mobilize dialects in their search to create one. They necessarily turned to dialects as the building blocks for a new national standard, even as they aimed, ultimately, to destroy those dialects. For the time being, provincial speech, theoretically a barrier to linguistic unity, was repurposed as a stepping-stone toward linguistic unity, thus effectively licensing nationalist uses of dialects.

Inspired by Ueda’s idea that “a transcendental standard language that is more correct than the various dialects shall be culled from existing dialects,” scholar-officials began to systematically catalogue and study dialects.<sup>57</sup> This was the stated goal of the Dialect Studies Society, which was founded in 1884 for the purpose of collecting dialects and making its findings available to the academic community and the public.<sup>58</sup> In the same spirit, the Linguistics Research Institute commissioned Ueda and Okakura to conduct fieldwork in Sendai in 1889. Okakura compiled Sendai speech through oral interviews while Ueda gathered relevant local texts.<sup>59</sup> The usefulness of dialects in defining standard speech was officially institutionalized when the Ministry of Education established the National Language Research Council in 1902 at Ueda’s behest. It brought together some of the leading linguists of the day, including Hoshina, Okakura, and Shinmura, with Ueda serving as director. The last of the council’s four stated objectives—“To survey dialects and settle upon a standard language”—declared that dialects would assist in the formation of a new national standard. The council, along with the Imperial Japanese Language Research Center, conducted many dialect compilations until it was dissolved in 1913. Its 1905 report explained in great detail how the findings informed the council’s efforts to systematize standard speech.<sup>60</sup>

Provincial vernaculars also proved indispensable for clarifying the otherwise vague notion of a national language. In his *Kokugo no tame (For Our National Language)*, published in 1895, Ueda Kazutoshi called upon dialects to help define his

<sup>55</sup> Ueda, “Hyōjungo ni tsukite,” 51–66.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 23.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 56.

<sup>58</sup> “Hōgen torishirabe nakama no shuisho,” 500.

<sup>59</sup> According to Ueda’s student Tōjō Misao’s later recollection, Okakura, faced with the tougher assignment, was apparently frustrated. As Tōjō recalled, “Professor Okakura tried to compile the local dialect, but because it was so severe, he could not complete his task sufficiently.” Tōjō Misao, “Ueda sensei to hōgen,” *Hōgen* 8, no. 2 (1938): 203.

<sup>60</sup> For example, members were split on whether to prescribe *ku* or *u* in cases such as *yokunaru* vs. *younaru* and *ureshiku omou* vs. *ureshiu omou*. The committee turned to its dialectal research data, which showed that Kantō, Tōhoku, Matsumae, Shizuoka, Yamanashi, Nagano, and some parts of Echigo, Saga, and Miyazaki used the former; places west of Aichi, Gifu, and Toyama used the latter; while some places in Aichi, Toyama, Izumo, and Kōchi used a mix of both. The council decided to go with the majority in this case. *Kōgohō chōsa hōkokusho* (Tokyo, 1906).



ideal modern Japanese. The book's political charge is obvious from its fawning frontispiece, which proclaims, "National language is the shield of the imperial household. National language is the compassionate mother of the people." *Kokugo no tame* was Ueda's paean to the wonders of a truly national language, one he had to deliver so strenuously to compensate for its very absence.

At pains to define the abstruse, Ueda resorted to ethereal imageries and purple rhetoric. He described national language as "a kind of music, a kind of heavenly gospel," and a "compassionate mother" who "upon our birth takes us upon her lap and gently teaches us our national thoughts and feelings."<sup>61</sup> Because standard language was so vacuous, Ueda needed something against which it could be given firmer shape. For this, he turned to dialects, which he invoked as a foil to an ideal, but as yet nonexistent, national norm. "Standard language," he explained by negation, "differs from so-called dialects, which can only be used by the people of a limited area. It is that which can be understood by most people throughout the country."<sup>62</sup> Ueda thus positioned dialects as a useful contrast to better imagine his amorphous ideal. This created an awkward symbiosis between national and regional speech, where one could be defined only in terms of the other, yet the former was to destroy the latter. Such a conceptual scheme only revealed how unfixed and immaterial his ideal was. Ueda yearned for a "compassionate mother" precisely because he, like everyone else seeking the comforts of a national language, was an orphan.

IN THE MEIJI ERA, new standards of linguistic difference and desirability, as set by academia and officialdom in Tokyo, were introduced to localities throughout the empire. Aizu in northeast Japan was no exception. There, as elsewhere, new nationalist values reshaped local understandings of long-familiar speech. However, while most locals internalized the centrist idea that their vernacular was now "wrong," they did not always swallow it whole. In fact, some Fukushima educators took it upon themselves to reinterpret and even resist new conventions. In the early 1910s, faculty at the First Sukagawa Higher Elementary School in south-central Fukushima prefecture established guidelines for teaching their first-year pupils. Their stance on speech defied central directives. The schoolteachers refused to dismiss dialects as "vulgar speech that must not be spoken even for a day." Dialects, they insisted, "are in fact like wild grass that grows naturally in this fine pasture called national language." While the teachers accepted that "linguists and educators must cultivate standard speech like good farmers and gardeners," they also argued that "dialects grow naturally, and if they are eliminated, then our linguistic world would turn barren . . . Why should dialects be eliminated?"<sup>63</sup>

As a compromise, these educators offered their own understanding of linguistic normativity. They defined "correct speech" as not only the Tokyo-based style pushed by government textbooks, but also the one "spoken by the upper class in the city of Sukagawa." Correspondingly, they defined "dialects" only as "the vulgar and incor-

<sup>61</sup> Ueda, *Kokugo no tame*, 12–13.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>63</sup> "Shogakunen jidō toriatsukai ni kansuru kitei," in Fukushima-ken, ed., *Fukushima-ken kyōiku jiseki* (Fukushima, 1914), 122–133.

rect speech used by students” and “the lower class in this city.”<sup>64</sup> The schoolteachers here refused to categorize all local speech as “dialect,” as officials in Tokyo were wont to do. Instead, Sukagawa educators made the distinction between desirable speech and undesirable speech more qualitative and socially dependent, not necessarily geographically determined. Thus they maintained the possibility that provincial people could, and did, speak “proper” Japanese.

The vehemence that fueled theoretical linguistic discourse in officialdom was often tempered in local practice. There is little evidence that speech correction was on the Fukushima prefectural education agenda in the nineteenth century. Those applying to the prefecture for education-related jobs did not need to demonstrate their ability to speak standard Japanese. A section on the application form titled “Speech” inquired only about the candidates’ physiological ability to speak clearly, not their local accents.<sup>65</sup> Nor did the Fukushima Prefectural Normal School’s curriculum for training elementary schoolteachers in 1900 specify any speech requirements for its would-be teachers.<sup>66</sup> Only after 1900 did Fukushima prefecture begin to address speech in its education policy, and even then only in broad and perfunctory terms. In 1915, the prefecture outlined six general goals, one of which was “to promote the correction of pronunciation and dialects.” That this bare, insipid guideline was repeated verbatim in 1916, 1917, and 1928–1931 suggests both the persistence of the problem and bureaucratic lethargy in correcting that problem.<sup>67</sup>

Records indicate that educators struggled to introduce local children to the new national speech. Bearing witness to their difficulties were official government inspectors, dispatched to schools nationwide under the prewar system of “school inspections.” In 1901, the Ministry of Education sent Hoshina Kōichi to observe Japanese classes at the Kitakata Higher Elementary School in central Aizu.<sup>68</sup> Unfortunately, Hoshina left no written impressions of Aizu speech, but a few other inspectors’ reports are archived in several area schools, including Mizuho Elementary School just outside the city of Fukushima. In 1904, the county education inspector, Arai Atsushi, identified six major shortcomings at the school, the first of which noted, “In general, more time should be devoted to speech. Make the students practice their speech and correct their pronunciation.” An observer who visited Mizuho in 1914 also noted that textbook speech and real speech remained far apart. “Strive to correct dialect and pronunciation,” he curtly instructed, as did another inspector a year later.<sup>69</sup>

Inspectors’ reports are cursory; more revealing is a diary kept by a schoolteacher in the southern Aizu town of Tajima named Hoshi Ishichirō. When Hoshi wrote his

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> “Kyōiku jimu ni kanshite sashidasubeki rirekisho narabi nishintai kensa shoseki no ken” (1900), in Fukushima-ken kyōiku iinkai, ed., *Fukushima-ken kyōikushi hensan shiryō*, 11 vols. (Fukushima, 1970–), 1: 5–9.

<sup>66</sup> “Shōgakkō kyōin kōshūka kisoku” (1900), *ibid.*, 7: 7–14.

<sup>67</sup> Fukushima-ken, ed., *Fukushima kenze shiryō*, upper volume (1913; repr., Tokyo, 1981), 152; “Futsū kyōiku no hatten ni kansuru kunrei yōkō,” in Soga Naoharu and Ueno Tadashige, eds., *Fukushima-ken kyōiku jimu shishin* (1915; repr., Fukushima, 1930), 189; Fukushima-ken naimubu, ed., *Fukushima-ken gakuji ichiran* (Fukushima, 1916, 1917, 1928–1931).

<sup>68</sup> “Kitakata jinjō kōtō shōgakkō enkakushi,” handwritten school history from the archives of the First Kitakata Elementary School, Fukushima prefecture, 3 vols., vol. 2 (1898–1924).

<sup>69</sup> “Meiji sanjūgonen ikō Mizuho sonritsu shōgakkō shigaku shisatsubo,” handwritten school history from the archives of the Mizuho Elementary School, Fukushima prefecture.

diary entries in 1901, he was thirty-five years old and a fourteen-year teaching veteran, having taught at Nagata Elementary School in Tajima since 1889. He taught a variety of subjects but seemed to struggle with Japanese especially. Hoshi's troubles stemmed largely from children who brought their native tongue into the classroom. On October 10, 1901, one boy's prized cicada shell—which he must have been keeping carefully since summer—was shattered by his classmates, and the boy made the mistake of complaining about it to his teacher in the Aizu vernacular. This earned him not sympathy but a reprimand from Hoshi, who used this opportunity to remind his students not to use such localisms at school.<sup>70</sup>

Accordingly, the faculty set out to deal with dialects in the classroom. "Language improvement should begin gradually," they decided. "The teacher should write in his or her notebook which words need to be corrected. For example, '*motte kō*' is an incorrect way to say 'bring it here'; '*motte oide*' is correct . . . Be careful of students using expressions such as '*iganēka?*' to ask, 'Shall we go?' and '*inbē*' to reply, 'Let's go.'"<sup>71</sup> Before the students could be corrected, however, the teachers themselves had to be corrected. Hoshi listed in his diary some examples of dialect that his colleagues reflexively used, and insisted that all teachers replace them with proper standard Japanese. "If the teacher pays attention to the language he uses toward his students," he wishfully noted in his diary, "this will help improve the students' speech."<sup>72</sup> Evidently, even teachers slipped into their accustomed tongue from time to time. No wonder the three government inspectors who visited the school on December 18 were displeased by what they heard. "As for the subject of Japanese, speech must be improved and regional dialects must gradually be eliminated," they ordered.<sup>73</sup> "Wild grass" would not be weeded out so easily.

INTELLECTUALS, OFFICIALS, AND EDUCATORS attached an ever-evolving set of political and cultural meanings to dialects in Meiji Japan, but as lived social reality, dialects could mean something relatively prosaic. Individual experiences varied, of course, but Shiba Gorō's is suggestive. After Aizu domain surrendered in the Restoration War of 1868, the eight-year-old samurai was taken to Tokyo as a prisoner of war. Released in late 1869, he became a live-in errand boy in Tokyo for a man named Mōri Kyōsuke. In Mōri's Tosa household, Gorō found himself a tongue-tied outsider. "I was by far the youngest and understood not a word of the Tosa dialect," he recalled. "Members of the Mōri household were unable to understand my accent, and made me the butt of their jokes."<sup>74</sup> Later, as a young student learning French in the Imperial Army Cadet School, Gorō's Aizu tongue betrayed him yet again. "As an Aizu native, I was unable to distinguish the sounds denoted by *i* and *e*, *ri* and *yu*. I was ridiculed by my classmates for this, but worse, it meant I would never be able to master even the rudiments of the French language"—a big problem because the

<sup>70</sup> Hoshi Ishichirō, "Nisshi" (1901), in Fukushima-ken kyōiku iinkai, *Fukushima-ken kyōikushi hensan shiryō*, 7: 267.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 257.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 258.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 270.

<sup>74</sup> Shiba Gorō, *Remembering Aizu*, trans. Teruko Craig (Honolulu, 1999), 78.

school was run in French.<sup>75</sup> But did this render the future Imperial Army general socially dysfunctional? Difficulty with French aside, he in fact adapted to Tokyo speech fairly quickly. Within two months or so of living in the capital, he could “understand the Edo dialect, and even reproduce it reasonably well.”<sup>76</sup>

Shiba Gorō's experience, though unique, suggests that dialects hardly hindered everyday functioning even in the early Meiji era, when regional speech abounded. The severity of Japanese dialects is a matter of relativity, but it seems safe enough to say—Meiji-era alarmists notwithstanding—that the Japanese people were not hopelessly sundered by speech. Differences were never so paramount nor was adaptation so difficult as to incapacitate society. The Japanese case resonates with Clifford Geertz's conclusion regarding similar dialectal variety in China that “linguistic diversity does not inevitably lead to a primordial conflict over language of such intensity as to threaten the very foundation of the state.”<sup>77</sup> Moments of confusion and embarrassment were surely common, but there were always enough commonalities in the language to prevent serious daily malfunctions or lasting social cleavages.

Speech diversity, then, was not a problem of function; rather, it was a problem of political psychology. The specter of speech dissonance was always more symbolic than material. The fear that dialects would endanger national unity was much exaggerated. All the same, this fear spoke volumes about a greater anxiety: how ill-prepared Japanese society seemed for nationalization, especially compared to the West. Never mind that many contemporary Western nations may have been no more linguistically unified than Japan; three out of four people in Wales chose Welsh over English as late as the 1880s, half of France did not speak French during the Third Republic, and Italian was hardly dominant in Italy even around 1900.<sup>78</sup> What mattered was the self-perception that Japan lacked a metronome, without which a new national ensemble might fall into a cacophony of a thousand sounds. Insecurities about language—which are apparent not only in misgivings about dialects but also in the so-called *genbun itchi* movement to make written and spoken styles uniform, and the propositions to abolish Chinese characters or adopt English as a national language—expressed deeper insecurities about the frailties of budding Japanese nationhood. That is also to say that Japanese language played a role in nation-state formation more as an *ex post facto* result of nationality than as its source. Language, whose inadequacies seemed glaring, provided little proof of Japan's unity. Instead, it was something that nervous ideologues had to scramble to fix and retrofit to a still-unproven polity. We have here a case of a nation engendering nationalism, not the other way around as Ernest Gellner offered.<sup>79</sup>

Like national language, dialects, too, were a discursive product of an anxious historical moment. Meiji-era yearnings for modern nationality suddenly beheld a long-familiar social practice as uncivilized and undesirable, making “dialects” no less

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 128.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 80.

<sup>77</sup> John DeFrancis, *Chinese Language: Fact and Fantasy* (Honolulu, 1984), 56–57.

<sup>78</sup> Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, Conn., 1992), 12; Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, 70; Aldo Scaglione, “The Rise of National Languages: East and West,” in Scaglione, ed., *The Emergence of National Languages* (Ravenna, 1984), 12.

<sup>79</sup> Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983), 55.

a modern creation than their counterpart “national language.” Far from being a fixed linguistic object, dialects proved instead to be a dynamic, historically contingent cultural category.<sup>80</sup> In Tokugawa times, they were largely defined vis-à-vis other dialects; in Meiji times, they were largely defined vis-à-vis a new transcendent norm, transformed into a national blemish and condemned to obsolescence. While progressive, forward-looking commentators often scourged them as a signature of feudalism, dialects were not merely artifacts from the past. They should also be recognized as a modern conception that accompanied a nascent nation’s aspiration to appear more self-evident.

Language politics of the Meiji era did ultimately succeed in substantiating the illusion of a national language. Those efforts—abetted by vernacular literary pioneers such as Futabatei Shimei and Tsubouchi Shōyō in the 1880s; a new breed of public intellectuals, including Fukuzawa Yukichi and Nishi Amane, who wrote in an accessible colloquial; and emerging mass media—have all but naturalized the concept of *kokugo* in Japan today.<sup>81</sup> Contrary to expectations, however, attempts to construct a national language inadvertently, yet perhaps necessarily, also affirmed the reality of dialects and, eventually, the value of regional variation. Ironically, the drive to eradicate dialects secured a place for them in national life. This dialectic is an inevitable fallacy of difference creation: diversity grows more obvious even as uniformity deepens, for one continually makes the other more visible and meaningful.

Meiji officialdom’s sense of urgency about linguistic inconsistency was never quite shared by educators on the ground. In time, even the elites’ worries were gradually allayed. After peaking in the late nineteenth century, much of the fevered rhetoric subsided, and some scholars began to question the excessive manipulation of speech. Shinmura Izuru, a student of Ueda Kazutoshi and the original editor of the authoritative dictionary *Kōjien*, warned as much in 1904. “If a certain model is promoted to an extreme, it will inevitably rob speech of its vitality,” he cautioned. “Even if a standard is established, this is merely a legal act. We must remember that real speech operates within reality, and that legality and reality are ever-changing.”<sup>82</sup>

That reality did change in the early Shōwa era (1926–1989), when the politics of rural revitalization redefined “regions” and their practices once more. Skepticism toward forced national speech as well as appreciation of regional diversity only grew after the Meiji era. The premier issue of the journal *Dialects* (*Hōgen*) in 1931 featured a congratulatory preface by an unlikely author. “Dialect is a speech that is perfectly appropriate for the people of that region. There is no reason whatsoever to feel that speaking in dialect is shameful or strange,” he wrote. “We must not think of dialects as something generally undesirable or useless.”<sup>83</sup> In so saying, the now-elderly Ueda Kazutoshi was clearly backing off his earlier stance. Indeed, toward the end of his long career, he may have conceded the futility of his Meiji-era efforts. “Professor Ueda said quite clearly to me that altering speech seems impossible,” a student of

<sup>80</sup> Thanks to the anonymous reader who articulated this point.

<sup>81</sup> Twine, *Language and the Modern State*, 108–206.

<sup>82</sup> Shinmura Izuru, “Kokugojō no kihan o ronzu,” *Kyōiku gakujutsugaku* 8, no. 4 (December 1904): 25.

<sup>83</sup> Ueda Kazutoshi, in *Hōgen* 1, no. 1 (1931): 1.



his recalled. "I think Professor Ueda realized, late in his life, that he should not have done what he did."<sup>84</sup>

Times would soon change enough that locals, including those in Aizu, could even boast of their dialect, and make it a useful part of their own myths and self-images. By 1935, the editors of *The Fukushima Dialect Dictionary* could proudly declare, "The greatness of this region's dialect is the greatness of our ancestors. For example, it was this dialect that cultivated the spirit of the White Tiger Brigade of Aizu, the pinnacle of the Way of the Samurai." Provincial vernacular was now celebrated as bona fide regional culture—maybe even a national one. "There is no living national language other than dialects," the editors concluded, daring to make the two one and the same.<sup>85</sup> What was once a means to denigrate the region could, under more favorable circumstances, help recover the region's worth.

Dialect eradication proved to be a brief and exceptional chapter in Japan's modern language politics. The nation-state imperative precipitated a burst of fear and distress in the later nineteenth century, but as Japanese nationhood showed signs of substance and durability, it could more confidently accommodate regional diversity. Local variations survived and persisted, and soon regained their value. The postwar years have seen dialect preservation movements, nostalgic "hometown" (*furusato*) revivals, and even the education system secure a place for local speech. Today, when a train conductor on the Aizu Railway calls out "Otsuru shito ga shinde kara onori kudasai," those accustomed to so-called standard Japanese might chuckle upon hearing what sounds like "Please wait for passengers to die before boarding," but they are unlikely to be alarmed.<sup>86</sup> The luxury to appreciate such local idiosyncrasy, however, was not always theirs.

<sup>84</sup> Nihon kokugokai, ed., *Kokugo no songen* (Tokyo, 1943), 74.

<sup>85</sup> Kodama Uichirō, ed., *Fukushima hōgen jiten* (Tokyo, 1935), 6. The Byakkotai, or White Tiger Brigade, is a celebrated band of teenage Aizu samurai boys who fought to defend Aizu during the Restoration War of 1868; prematurely thinking that their castle had fallen, they committed mass suicide.

<sup>86</sup> "Please wait for passengers to get off before boarding" would be "oriru hito ga sunde kara onori kudasai" in standard Japanese.

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## Instead of Waiting for the Thirteenth Amendment: The War Power, Slave Marriage, and Inviolable Human Rights

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AMY DRU STANLEY

IN THE FATEFUL YEAR before peace came at Appomattox—as slaves pursued their exodus from bondage and the Civil War dragged on—a counterpoint arose between two antislavery decrees under debate in the United States Congress. That counterpoint illuminates conceptions of universal human rights forged at an epic moment in the downfall of New World slavery.

One decree became the Thirteenth Amendment; all but forgotten is the other, a congressional act to “encourage Enlistments” in the Union Army. The amendment provided for abolishing slavery everywhere in the United States and its territories. The enlistment measure freed soldiers’ wives and children owned by masters in the loyal border states exempt from the 1863 Emancipation Proclamation. As destroying slavery became inseparable from vanquishing the South, bondsmen refused to go to war unless, in exchange, they won their families’ freedom as well as their own. “It is a burning shame to this country,” affirmed congressional abolitionists, “to hold the wives and the children in slavery of men who are periling their lives before the rebel legions.” A month before the war’s end, on the very day of Abraham Lincoln’s second inaugural, March 4, 1865, the measure took effect. As the Thirteenth Amendment awaited ratification and as the president spoke of malice toward none, upwards of 50,000 slave wives and children went free.<sup>1</sup> In a world in flux, where constitutional

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<sup>1</sup> *Congressional Globe*, 38th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1864, 64. For the text of the enlistment measure, see Figure 1. And see *U.S. Statutes at Large* 13 (1866): 571. Along with the loyal border states, the enlistment measure also applied initially to Confederate areas controlled by the Union and therefore exempt from the Emancipation Proclamation: Tennessee and portions of Louisiana and Virginia. But when it took effect, in March 1865, slavery remained only in Kentucky and Delaware. It is impossible to know how many slave wives and children it freed. Military estimates range from 75,000 to 100,000, based on Kentucky enlistment of about 25,000 bondsmen, though varying with counts of the children involved. See *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1864, 1180; 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 64; Ira Berlin, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie

change flowed from the tides of war, the abolition of slavery fused with freedom endowed by marriage, thereby tethering a new birth of human rights to enduring domestic bonds.

That counterpoint casts new light on the making of abolition—a problem of enduring historical and constitutional significance. It reveals not simply how Congress asserted its sovereignty to nullify chattel relations and secure human rights, but also what counted as slavery and freedom as the advance of the Union Army overthrew old ways of life. Simply put, it manifests what abolition was meant to overturn and to create. For both the Thirteenth Amendment and the enlistment measure were acts of abolition. Both split asunder the relation of master and slave, destroying constitutionally protected property in human beings without compensating owners. Both turned chattel into free persons. Arising together amid the crisis of the Civil War, they belonged to a tradition of declaring rights and invalidating unjust forms of sovereignty that had emerged throughout the Atlantic world in the Age of Revolution, a tradition that wedded emancipation to marriage bonds among ex-slaves—from Haiti to Jamaica to the American South to Brazil.<sup>2</sup> Their juxtaposition, however, has never been systematically studied; indeed, the enlistment measure barely appears in landmark scholarship on abolition or constitutional transformation.<sup>3</sup> Overshadowed

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S. Rowland, eds., *The Black Military Experience* (New York, 1982), 183–278, esp. 196–197; Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925* (New York, 1976), 375–385. For contemporary accounts, see Henry Wilson, *History of the Antislavery Measures of the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth United-States Congresses, 1861–64* (Boston, 1864), 293, 313–327; Ira Berlin, *The Destruction of Slavery* (New York, 1985), 54, 511–518; Berlin, Reidy, and Rowland, *The Black Military Experience*, 240–278; Richard D. Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky: A Civil War History* (Lexington, Ky., 2002). On Union Army enlistment and slave emancipation, see Mary Frances Berry, *Military Necessity and Civil Rights Policy: Black Citizenship and the Constitution, 1861–1968* (Port Washington, N.Y., 1977), esp. 79–82; Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York, 1988), 1–76; Ira Berlin, “Who Freed the Slaves? Emancipation and Its Meaning,” in David W. Blight and Brooks D. Simpson, eds., *Union and Emancipation: Essays on Politics and Race in the Civil War Era* (Kent, Ohio, 1997), 105–121, esp. 119; Joseph P. Reidy, “Armed Slaves and the Struggles for Republican Liberty in the U.S. Civil War,” in Christopher Leslie Brown and Philip D. Morgan, eds., *Arming Slaves: From Classical Times to the Modern Age* (New Haven, Conn., 2006), 274–303, esp. 285, 293.

<sup>2</sup> See Robin Blackburn, *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery, 1776–1848* (London, 1988); Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights: A History* (New York, 2007); Stephanie McCurry, “War, Gender, and Emancipation in the Civil War South,” in William A. Blair and Karen Fisher Younger, eds., *Lincoln's Proclamation: Emancipation Reconsidered* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2009); Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2006), 235–236; Persis Charles, “The Name of the Father: Women, Paternity, and British Rule in Nineteenth-Century Jamaica,” *International Labor and Working-Class History* 41 (Spring 1992): 4–48; Myriam Cottias, “Gender and Republican Identity in the French West Indies, 1848–1945,” *Slavery & Abolition* 26, no. 2 (2005): 233–245; Elizabeth Colwill, “‘Fêtes de l’hymen, fêtes de la liberté’: Marriage, Manhood, and Emancipation in Revolutionary Saint-Domingue,” in David Patrick Geggus and Norman Fiering, eds., *The World of the Haitian Revolution* (Bloomington, Ind., 2009), 125–155; Pamela Scully and Diana Paton, eds., *Gender and Slave Emancipation in the Atlantic World* (Durham, N.C., 2005), esp. 13, 155–156; Frederick Cooper, Thomas C. Holt, and Rebecca J. Scott, *Beyond Slavery: Explorations of Race, Labor, and Citizenship in Postemancipation Societies* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2000), 112–120.

<sup>3</sup> With the exception of Berry, *Military Necessity and Civil Rights Policy*, 79–82, scholarly analysis of the enlistment measure focuses on local conflict over emancipation and family relations in Kentucky and other border states; see Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom*, 375–385; Victor B. Howard, *Black Liberation in Kentucky: Emancipation and Freedom, 1862–1884* (Lexington, Ky., 1983), 79–87, 111–129; Amy Murrell Taylor, *The Divided Family in Civil War America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2005), esp. 193–197. Although the measure involved congressional war power, it is not noted in key works on congressional law and constitutional transformation in the Civil War era; for example, Jacobus tenBroek, “Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States: Consummation to Abolition and Key

by the antislavery amendment, the wartime bounty of freedom has seemed beside the point.

Yet for more than a year, from the early winter of 1864 to the early spring of 1865, Congress debated the emancipatory decrees simultaneously—hour after hour, month after month—making explicit as never before beliefs that resonated across the Atlantic about the inviolate rights born of slavery's death. The abolition amendment was a stark and momentous transformation of fundamental law. By contrast, the enlistment measure was an implicit act of abolition—a peculiar quid pro quo—premised on slave marriage bonds. Still, it represented an unprecedented assertion of congressional authority over the domestic institutions of the slave states. Divesting loyal masters of the wives and children of bondsmen turned Union soldiers, the nation-state for the first time imposed uncompensated emancipation on slave owners not in rebellion, a challenge to the Takings Clause of the Fifth Amendment. And the measure assumed precisely what slavery denied, the right of chattel to marry and have a family. In counterpoint, therefore, the heralded amendment and the obscure measure distilled the perplexity of abolishing slavery as a domestic institution defined by property in human beings; for in the eyes of the law, slavery and marriage amounted to symmetrical bonds, categorized together as relations of domestic dependency, entitling the master of a household to the persons and labor of both his wife and his slaves, although one bond originated in coercion and the other in consent.<sup>4</sup> At the heart of the matter lay the badges of woman's slavery, all the aspects of chattel bondage particular to women.

In Thirteenth Amendment doctrine, slavery's badges have always signified not just what abolition ended but what freedom must forbid, wrongs so dehumanizing as to count as slavery. Here, too, the counterpoint between the abolition decrees is

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to the Fourteenth," *California Law Review* 39, no. 2 (1951): 171–203; Harold M. Hyman, *A More Perfect Union: The Impact of the Civil War and Reconstruction on the Constitution* (New York, 1973); Michael Les Benedict, *A Compromise of Principle: Congressional Republicans and Reconstruction, 1863–1869* (New York, 1974); Akhil Reed Amar, *The Bill of Rights: Creation and Reconstruction* (New Haven, Conn., 1998); Bruce Ackerman, *We the People: Transformations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998). Its enactment, but not its constitutional or legislative history, is discussed in Foner, *Reconstruction*, 8; Nancy F. Cott, *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), 84; Michael Vorenberg, *Final Freedom: The Civil War, the Abolition of Slavery, and the Thirteenth Amendment* (Cambridge, 2001), 82.

<sup>4</sup> See Charles K. Whipple, *The Family Relation, as Affected by Slavery* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1858), esp. 3, 9, 11–14. At law, marriage and slavery were classified together as domestic relations in which a master held property in his wife, slaves, children, and servants; and the sovereignty of husbands was by no means disestablished by state marriage reform legislation that eroded coverture during the mid-nineteenth century. See John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government*, ed. C. B. Macpherson (1690; repr., Indianapolis, 1980), 46; Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford, Calif., 1988), 116–188; Michael P. Johnson, "Planters and Patriarchy: Charleston, 1800–1866," *Journal of Southern History* 46, no. 1 (1980): 45–72; Stephanie McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York, 1995); Thavolia Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage: The Transformation of the Plantation Household* (New York, 2008); Amy Dru Stanley, *From Bondage to Contract: Wage Labor, Marriage, and the Market in the Age of Slave Emancipation* (New York, 1998), 1–59, 175–263; Norma Basch, "Marriage and Domestic Relations," in Michael Grossberg and Christopher Tomlins, eds., *The Cambridge History of Law in America*, 3 vols., vol. 2: *The Long Nineteenth Century (1789–1920)* (New York, 2008), 245–279. On the complexities of the institution of marriage, see Michael Grossberg, *Governing the Hearth: Law and the Family in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988); Cott, *Public Vows*, esp. 1–104; Hendrik Hartog, *Man and Wife in America: A History* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000), esp. 1–39, 93–166; Laura F. Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Political Culture of Reconstruction* (Urbana, Ill., 1997); Reva B. Siegel, "'The Rule of Love': Wife Beating as Prerogative and Privacy," *Yale Law Journal* 105, no. 8 (1996): 2117–2207.

illuminating, highlighting the puzzle of an amendment revolutionary in design yet narrow in subsequent reach. It brings to light a paradox: the preeminence of woman's torments in calls for abolition but their absence thereafter from Thirteenth Amendment jurisprudence. Until abolition, the bondswoman's subjection carried much of the antislavery argument, by negation vindicating the ideal of inalienable human rights violated by chattel slavery. Yet under the abolition amendment, slavery has come to represent a matter only of labor, property, and race—not sex.<sup>5</sup> Notably, the badges of woman's slavery so manifest in legitimating abolition have never figured in Thirteenth Amendment doctrine. It is as if abolitionists inside and outside the halls of Congress had never justified universal emancipation by speaking of woman's particular bondage.

In turn, the paradox of the Thirteenth Amendment illuminates a peculiar strain of the American human rights tradition—that national guarantees of newfound rights have often found grounding in the power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce rather than in expansive construction of the coercion and debasement barred as slavery by the amendment. Notably, beyond a handful of landmark rulings striking down debt peonage, flagrant involuntary servitude, and some instances of race-based violence and discrimination, the Thirteenth Amendment has never been a potent source of rights claims. Rather, the logic of attaching personal liberties to the traffic in things under the Commerce Clause, which Congress invoked in banning the African slave trade but never directed to the institution of slavery or even the domestic slave trade, has come to hold sway. Where no state action is at issue (and accordingly no Fourteenth Amendment guarantees of due process and equal protection), it is mainly through the commerce power that over the last century Congress has acted against unfreedom in spheres ranging from streets and workplaces to places of public accommodation and private households. Thus many fundamental rights, such as the right not to endure sexual trafficking or starvation wages, are not guaranteed as *human* rights but instead flow from capitalist exchange, secured by congressional enactments deriving constitutional legitimacy from “affecting” commodity transactions that cross state lines. Although the swelling of the commerce power emerged not with slave emancipation but from later reform aspirations, it vividly reflects the limits of antislavery constitutionalism. Freedom owes to commerce precisely where the Thirteenth Amendment founders as a declaration of universal human rights.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See the cases running from *U.S. v. Rhodes*, 27 F. Cas. 785 (1866), and *Civil Rights Cases*, 109 U.S. 3 (1883), through *Bailey v. Alabama*, 219 U.S. 219 (1911), and *Butler v. Perry*, 240 U.S. 328 (1916), to *Jones v. Mayer*, 392 U.S. 409 (1968), and *United States v. Kozminski*, 487 U.S. 931 (1988); Aziz Z. Huq, “Peonage and Contractual Liberty,” *Columbia Law Review* 101, no. 2 (2001): 351–391; Akhil Reed Amar, “Women and the Constitution,” *Harvard Journal of Law and Public Policy* 18, no. 2 (1995): 465–473; Neal Kumar Katyal, “Men Who Own Women: A Thirteenth Amendment Critique of Forced Prostitution,” *Yale Law Journal* 103, no. 3 (1993): 791–826, esp. 796–809; Guyora Binder, “The Slavery of Emancipation,” *Cardozo Law Review* 17, no. 6 (1996): 2063–2162; Joyce E. McConnell, “Beyond Metaphor: Battered Women, Involuntary Servitude and the Thirteenth Amendment,” *Yale Journal of Law and Feminism* 4 (1991–1992): 207–253.

<sup>6</sup> *National Labor Relations Board v. Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp.*, 301 U.S. 1, 22, 24, 31, 43 (1937). On a rights tradition based on ideas of empathy and universal human dignity but entailing exclusions of its own, see Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights*. Contrast the language of the Commerce Clause in the U.S. Constitution empowering Congress “To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states” (Art. 1, sect. 8) with the preamble of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, which



The roots of that peculiar rights tradition, therefore, reach back to abolition itself, and to the unexplored counterpoint between the Thirteenth Amendment and the enlistment measure. In that counterpoint lies a wealth of meaning about the opposition of slavery and freedom at the moment of abolition and the nature of personal and political sovereignty to be transformed—meaning that bears on both the disappearance of the badges of woman's slavery after abolition and a rights tradition stamped with the trademark of commerce. At bottom, the juxtaposition of the two abolition decrees reveals that the enigmas of the Thirteenth Amendment began in the slave household, where the master possessed dominion over both his wife and slaves.

Today, lawyers seek to breathe new life into the Thirteenth Amendment—to extend its reach and tap its core values, to undo its impotence. The aim is to re-interpret slavery's badges so as to advance antislavery constitutionalism and guarantees of human rights unstated at either the first or the second founding.<sup>7</sup>

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states: "Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world . . ." Landmark congressional acts grounded in the Commerce Clause include the 1910 White Slave Traffic Act, the 1935 Wagner Act, the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act guaranteeing rights at work, the 1964 Civil Rights Act guaranteeing an equal right to public accommodations and employment, and the 1994 Violence Against Women Act guaranteeing the right to be free from bodily harm arising from gender animus.

It is beyond the scope of this essay, which focuses on the moment of abolition and its meaning for human rights doctrine, to trace the subsequent development of antislavery constitutionalism or the commerce power. The essay is not intended to join the jurisprudential debate over current application of the amendment. Nor is it a normative plea for either the amendment or the enlistment measure. Finally, it is not a theoretical meditation on the genuine meaning of slavery, past or present. Rather, it is a historical inquiry into abolition's moment of origin—an inquiry that helps illuminate why the amendment's subsequent sweep has been narrow by bringing to light the unexplored counterpoint between the amendment and the enlistment measure. See, in addition to the sources in fn. 5, Harold M. Hyman and William M. Wiecek, *Equal Justice under Law: Constitutional Development, 1835–1875* (New York, 1982), esp. 386–472; James Gray Pope, "The Thirteenth Amendment versus the Commerce Clause: Labor and the Shaping of American Constitutional Law, 1921–1957," *Columbia Law Review* 102, no. 1 (2002): 1–122; Risa L. Goluboff, *The Lost Promise of Civil Rights* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007); Kermit Hall, ed., *The Oxford Companion to the Supreme Court of the United States* (New York, 1992), 168–169; William M. Carter, Jr., "Race, Rights, and the Thirteenth Amendment: Defining the Badges and Incidents of Slavery," *University of California Davis Law Review* 40, no. 4 (2007): 1311–1378; Alexander Tsesis, ed., *The Promises of Liberty: The History and Contemporary Relevance of the Thirteenth Amendment* (New York, forthcoming 2010). On the Commerce Clause and slavery, see Steven Deyle, *Carry Me Back: The Domestic Slave Trade in American Life* (New York, 2005), 3–39, 174–205; David L. Lightner, *Slavery and the Commerce Power: How the Struggle against the Interstate Slave Trade Led to the Civil War* (New Haven, Conn., 2006). The Trafficking Victims Protection Act of 2000 condemns trafficking in persons as "a contemporary manifestation of slavery" and broadened the anti-peonage statute. Pub. L. 106-386, Div. A, secs. 102(a), 112 (amending 18 U.S.C. sec. 1589), 114 Stat. 1466, 1486. The act is largely aimed at reducing the international trafficking in persons both for involuntary labor and for prostitution. Although Congress cites both the effect of human trafficking on interstate and foreign commerce and the abolition of slavery by the Thirteenth Amendment in the Findings section of the act (*ibid.*, sec. 102(b)(12), (22), 114 Stat. 1467, 1468), the act's operative provisions apply only to trafficking that is "in or affecting interstate commerce." *Ibid.*, sec. 112, 114 Stat. 1487 (amending 18 U.S.C. sec. 1591). In *United States v. Morrison*, 529 U.S. 598 (2000), the Court held that the civil remedy afforded under the Violence Against Women Act exceeded congressional power under the Commerce Clause.

<sup>7</sup> See Akhil Reed Amar, "Remember the Thirteenth," *Constitutional Commentary* 10, no. 2 (1993): 403–408; Andrew Koppelman, "Forced Labor: A Thirteenth Amendment Defense of Abortion," *Northwestern University Law Review* 84, no. 2 (1989–1990): 480–535; Angie Perone, "Unchain My Heart: Slavery as a Defense to the Dismantling of the Violence Against Women Act," *Hastings Women's Law Journal* 17, no. 1 (2006): 115–140; Carter, "Race, Rights, and the Thirteenth Amendment"; Katyal, "Men Who Own Women"; Tobias Barrington Wolff, "The Thirteenth Amendment and Slavery in the Global Economy," *Columbia Law Review* 102, no. 4 (2002): 973–1050.

At stake here is a different query—not what the law should be, but rather what abolitionists meant by dwelling on the bondswoman as they amended the constitution to forbid slavery and affirmed freedom as intrinsic to being human. The question is what the badges of her slavery had to do with the Thirteenth Amendment, and what the Thirteenth Amendment had to do with antislavery doctrines of human rights. At the core of those doctrines lay the ideal of the inviolate self—the antithesis of the chattel relations whose inhumanity abolitionists so powerfully symbolized by the bondswoman’s violation.<sup>8</sup>

Such a vantage point renders all the more poignant the question about freedom that a bondswoman owned by a loyal Maryland master posed to Lincoln in a letter of August 25, 1864. As the abolition amendment and enlistment measure lay pending in Congress, she wrote:

Mr president It is my Desire to be free. to go to see my people on the eastern shore . . . you will please let me know if we are free. and what i can do. I write to you for advice. please send me word this week. or as soon as possible and oblige.<sup>9</sup>

It is not clear whether she was a soldier’s wife; nor does President Lincoln appear to have written back. Yet both perhaps would have found bitter irony in foreseeing that a century later, fundamental rights denied by slavery—to bargain over wages, not to endure unremitting labor, sexual trafficking, or employment discrimination, and to be free from sexual violence—all would be safeguarded by congressional law resting not on the Thirteenth Amendment but rather on the commerce power, as if she and her doings were still no different than a commodity crossing state lines. How that came to occur owed to the counterpoint between the abolition amendment and the enlistment measure. In basing the bondswoman’s freedom on her being a wife, abolition’s authors began narrowing what counted as slavery at the very moment of its downfall. Within the bonds of marriage, the badges of her slavery disappeared.

THE QUESTION LINCOLN LEFT UNANSWERED haunted Congress as the debate over abolition unfolded—over whether ownership of human beings still could coexist with freedom and whether the death blow to slavery should be delivered solely as a constitutional amendment or by a legislative act as well. Fiercely divided over the legitimacy of chattel slavery and the authority of Congress to eradicate it, statesmen nonetheless agreed that the enlistment measure constituted abolition by another name. For both decrees violated Lincoln’s pledge that slave property belonging to masters loyal to the Union would be left untouched by the Civil War. Before floor debate even opened on the amendment, as Confederate troops advanced through Kentucky in the spring of 1864, Congress began thrashing out the meaning of freeing slave wives and children. “I say it is sound policy to strike this system of slavery whenever and wherever you can get a blow at it,” declared the measure’s author, Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts. A year later, as Union soldiers swept through North Carolina, a slaveholding Maryland congressman, Benjamin Harris,

<sup>8</sup> On inviolability as a core value, a right of personhood, fundamental to human dignity, see Martha C. Nussbaum, *Sex and Social Justice* (New York, 1999), 55–84; Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights*, 28–31.

<sup>9</sup> “Maryland Slave to the President,” in Berlin, *The Destruction of Slavery*, 384–385.

38TH CONGRESS,  
2D SESSION.

# S. R. 82.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

DECEMBER 13, 1864.

Mr. WILSON asked, and by unanimous consent obtained, leave to bring in the following joint resolution; which was read twice, referred to the Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia, and ordered to be printed.

## JOINT RESOLUTION

To encourage enlistments and to promote the efficiency of the military forces of the United States.

1       *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*  
2       *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*  
3       That, for the purpose of encouraging enlistments and pro-  
4       moting the efficiency of the military and naval forces of the  
5       United States, it is hereby enacted that the wife and children,  
6       if any he have, of any person that has been, or may be,  
7       mustered into the military or naval service of the United  
8       States shall, from and after the passage of this act, be for-  
9       ever free, any law, usage, or custom whatsoever to the con-  
10      trary notwithstanding; and in determining who is or was the  
11      wife and who are the children of the enlisted person herein  
12      mentioned, evidence that he and the woman claimed to be  
13      his wife have cohabited together, or associated as husband  
14      and wife, and so continued to cohabit or associate at the

FIGURE 1: *From Bills and Resolutions*, U.S. Senate, 38th Congress, 2nd Session.

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15 time of the enlistment, or evidence that a form or ceremony  
 16 of marriage, whether such marriage was or was not author-  
 17 ized or recognized by law, has been entered into or cele-  
 18 brated by them, and that the parties thereto thereafter lived  
 19 together, or associated or cohabited as husband and wife, and  
 20 so continued to live, cohabit, or associate at the time of  
 21 the enlistment, shall be deemed sufficient proof of marriage  
 22 for the purposes of this act, and the children born during the  
 23 continuance of any such marriage shall be deemed and taken  
 24 to be the children embraced within the provisions of this act,  
 25 whether such marriage shall or shall not have been dissolved  
 26 at the time of such enlistment.

railed, "It is for the purpose, and that only, of interfering with and abolishing the institution called slavery . . . by the most underhand and unconstitutional means."<sup>10</sup>

Simultaneously, the two abolition decrees traveled slowly through Congress, and first appeared in the Senate days apart in January 1864—the amendment referred to the Judiciary Committee, the enlistment measure emerging from Wilson's Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia. Finally, more than a year later, they were carried through both houses of Congress, weeks apart. In early March, just after Congress established the Freedmen's Bureau, Lincoln signed the enlistment measure into law, while the war dragged on and the states proceeded with ratifying the amendment.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1180; 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 1003. On Lincoln's position regarding non-interference with slavery in loyal states, see 1860 Republican Party National Platform, plank 4, available at <http://history.furman.edu/~benenson/docs/repplat6.htm>; James Oakes, *The Radical and the Republican: Frederick Douglass, Abraham Lincoln, and the Triumph of Antislavery Politics* (New York, 2007), 139–140, 151–155.

<sup>11</sup> In January 1865, the Senate approved the enlistment measure; meanwhile, in the House, debate was just resuming on the amendment, which the Senate had passed in the spring of 1864. At the end of the month, the House adopted the amendment, and then finally, in February, the enlistment measure, as the states proceeded with ratification.

The counterpoint between them was plain to all in Congress. "I think it is a measure to fill up our armies," Wilson somewhat disingenuously said. "It is a very simple and plain proposition. It simply provides for freeing the wife and children." But none misunderstood the momentous consequences of the simple measure, with its peculiar household basis. It fell short of constitutional transformation, yet decisively broke with all other emancipatory precedents that respected the slave property of loyal masters, reaching beyond the contraband of war; beyond the Confiscation Acts; beyond the 1862 Militia Act, which freed only soldiers' families owned by rebel masters; beyond the Emancipation Proclamation, which touched only rebel states; and beyond the principle of freeing the bondsman himself as a reward for fighting for the Union. The point was to pursue the amendment and the measure in tandem, two paths leading to one end, argued abolitionists. As Massachusetts senator Charles Sumner bluntly set forth the intersection, "The main proposition, sir, is to strike slavery wherever you can hit it . . . I am for a constitutional amendment . . . but how long will it take to carry that proposition through both Houses of Congress, then to carry it to its final consummation by the votes of the Legislatures of the country?" Meanwhile, proslavery men condemned the measure as tantamount to abolition, but worse. "I do not believe that it is for the purpose of supplying soldiers to the United States," Congressman Harris rebuked the House. "You are fearful that the amendment may not be adopted by the States, and you are determined to break through all legal and moral obligations in order to carry out your determination to destroy this institution."<sup>12</sup> Whether in advance of the Thirteenth Amendment or as a fallback, the soldier's quid pro quo aimed at slave wives and children owned by masters loyal to the Union, property safeguarded by the existing Constitution.

Through the bonds of marriage between chattel, then, the enlistment measure would abolish slavery. By contrast, the amendment was universal in nature, its reach unlimited by household relations. And all in Congress knew that the amendment represented no simple and plain proposition meant only to free slave wives and children. Therefore, it was all the more peculiar that the final Senate colloquy on the amendment, on April 8, 1864, came to turn on its meaning for women—not only bondswomen, but all women.

The colloquy concerned the language of the Thirteenth Amendment, but ultimately brought to light the ambiguities of constitutional abolition itself and the inviolable rights at stake. After weeks of debate, two differing proposals for the amendment still lay before the Senate. There were the now-familiar words, drafted by the Senate Judiciary Committee and drawn from the Northwest Ordinance of 1787: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." And there were the now-forgotten words, drafted by Sumner, who drew on France's revolutionary *Declaration of the Rights of Man*: "All

<sup>12</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1178, 1181, 1178; 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 1003. See Berlin, "Who Freed the Slaves?"; Kate Masur, "'A Rare Phenomenon of Philological Vegetation': The Word 'Contraband' and the Meanings of Emancipation in the United States," *Journal of American History* 93, no. 4 (2007): 1–65.



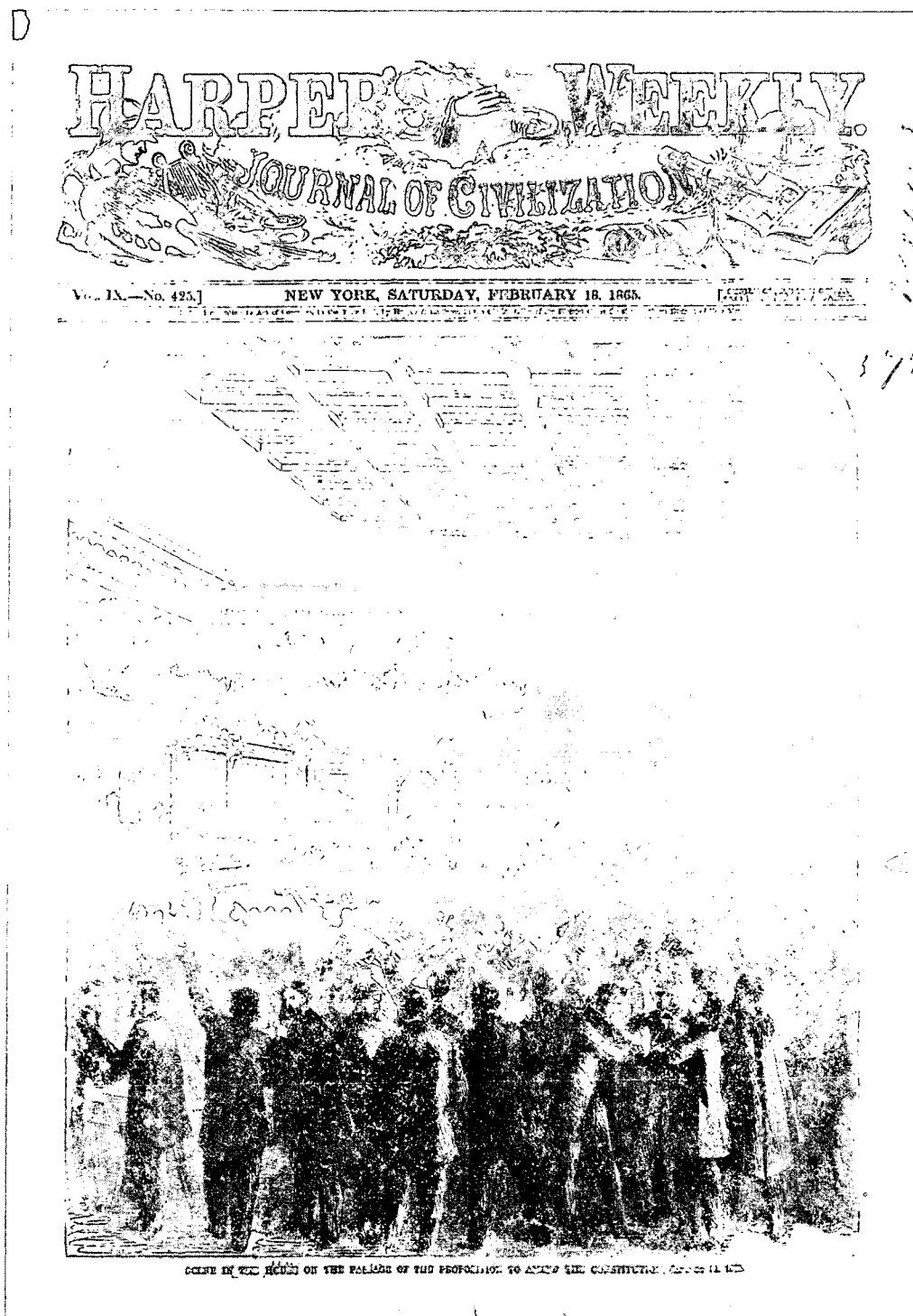


FIGURE 2: "Scene in the House on the Passage of the proposition to amend the Constitution, January 31, 1865." From *Harper's Weekly*, February 18, 1865, 97. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-127599.

persons are equal before the law, so that no person can hold another as a slave; and the Congress shall have power to make all laws necessary and proper to carry this declaration into effect everywhere in the United States." This was the amendment Sumner had in mind when he was pleading for the swift enactment of the enlistment measure.<sup>13</sup>

A crucial difference in the proposed constitutional prohibitions of slavery was that the Judiciary Committee's amendment spoke about place, whereas Sumner's amendment spoke about persons. The committee's amendment constituted the consummate free-soil ordinance, everywhere and forever forbidding slavery in the land. Sumner's amendment constituted a declaration of universal human rights, expressly recognizing all persons as rights-bearing individuals. Although the French *Declaration* did not prohibit colonial slavery, it provided a model for establishing individual rights. "We must repair for a moment to France," Sumner proposed. Then he proceeded to invoke the "natural rights of man, inalienable and sacred" brought forth in the "throes of revolution." Both versions of the abolition amendment enjoined universal emancipation. Yet the committee's purely negative injunction infinitely extended the boundary of the Northwest Ordinance revered by abolitionists. Meanwhile, Sumner pointed out that his affirmation of freedom hewed to another sacred text as well—"that idea of human rights which is enunciated in our Declaration of Independence."<sup>14</sup>

At such a turning point as abolition, language was of "transcendent importance," and Congress must "make that language as perfect as possible," said Sumner. "In placing a new and important text into our Constitution, it seems to me we cannot be too careful in the language we adopt." Sounding like Rousseau, he declared, "Universal emancipation, which is at hand, can only be won by complete emancipation of the Constitution itself, which has been degraded to wear chains so long."<sup>15</sup>

Yet confusion about the language still existed. As handwritten by Sumner, his amendment used the words "free before the law." But that was a "mistake"—for the word was supposed to be "equal," he said. Either way, affirming all persons as rights-bearing—whether by being free or by being equal before the law—was opposed by a Senate Judiciary Committee wary of transnational revolutionary doctrine. According to the committee chairman, Lyman Trumbull of Illinois, it was unclear why Sumner was "so pertinacious about particular words." Still, after considering his proposal, the committee chose the free-soil language as the "best words," homegrown American rhetoric, not words "copied from the French Revolution," not foreign words with "nothing historical about them." Even more pointedly, Jacob Howard of Michigan, who had joined in drafting the free-soil amendment, explained that he wished to "use significant language," but not Sumner's. "I prefer to dismiss all reference to French constitutions or French codes, and go back to the good old Anglo-Saxon language employed by our fathers." For the French *Declaration of Rights* abolished "privileged classes"—not chattel slavery. Because the Thirteenth Amendment

<sup>13</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1482; Vorenberg, *Final Freedom*, 52–60, 106–107. On the Northwest Ordinance, see *Butler v. Perry*, 240 U.S. 328 (1916); David Brion Davis, *In the Image of God: Religion, Moral Values, and Our Heritage of Slavery* (New Haven, Conn., 2001), 188–204.

<sup>14</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1482, 1483.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 1447, 1488, 1480.

involved slavery, not class relations, universal words about the freedom (or equality) of all persons did not belong there.<sup>16</sup>

For a moment, then, in the spring of 1864, there arose the faint possibility that the abolition amendment might have been worded like the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* a century later, presaging that charter's affirmation of all humanity as free and equal before the law, while also perhaps preempting any further guarantees of equal protection (as in the 1866 Civil Rights Act and the Fourteenth Amendment).<sup>17</sup> Yet in the midst of the dispute over the French rights rhetoric, there arose another question—a question much closer to home. Indifferent to whether the word was “free” or “equal,” Senator Howard asked whether Sumner's imported words would touch the relation between men and women.

What significance is given to the phrase “equal” or “free” before the law in a common law court? . . . Besides, the proposition speaks of all men being equal. I suppose before the law a woman would be equal to a man, a woman would be as free as a man. A wife would be equal to her husband and as free as her husband before the law.<sup>18</sup>

In fact, Howard's paraphrasing was imprecise, for Sumner's language embraced all persons, not all men, thereby auguring the downfall of bondage sought by advocates of woman's emancipation. Implicitly, its universalism impinged on the master's dominion over his wife as well as his slaves—a form of sexed subjection older than American slavery but made newly conspicuous by the rise of transatlantic feminism, which was infused by the same rights doctrine as Sumner's amendment.<sup>19</sup> The question could not have been more plain: Would such a Thirteenth Amendment recognize woman's rights and undo the bonds of marriage?

Yet the question was purely rhetorical, meant to vindicate only the free-soil amendment, not woman's freedom. Whereas Sumner echoed Rousseau in envisioning abolition, Howard oddly echoed the proslavery thinker George Fitzhugh, who forewarned, “Marriage is too much like slavery not to be involved in its fate.” So, too, Howard echoed a slaveholding member of the Judiciary Committee who that very day had assailed any amendment related to a “domestic matter in the States” by recalling that the marriage bond derived from the same system of dependent social relations as “property in slaves” and parent and child.<sup>20</sup> Thus Howard's rhe-

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 1447, 1488.

<sup>17</sup> Ironically, as a sponsor of the Fourteenth Amendment, with its guarantees of equal protection, Jacob Howard later claimed that the abolition amendment implied equal standing before the law, irrespective of color or race; see Vorenberg, *Final Freedom*, 236.

<sup>18</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1488. See McConnell, “Beyond Metaphor,” 207–208; Cott, *Public Vows*, 80; Vorenberg, *Final Freedom*, 57; Basch, “Marriage and Domestic Relations,” 269.

<sup>19</sup> See Bonnie S. Anderson, *Joyous Greetings: The First International Women's Movement, 1830–1860* (New York, 2000); Nancy A. Hewitt, “Re-rooting American Women's Activism: Global Perspectives on 1848,” in Patricia Grimshaw, Katie Holmes, and Marilyn Lake, eds., *Women's Rights and Human Rights: International Historical Perspectives* (New York, 2001), 123–137; Kathryn Kish Sklar and James Brewer Stewart, eds., *Women's Rights and Transatlantic Antislavery in the Era of Emancipation* (New Haven, Conn., 2007).

<sup>20</sup> George Fitzhugh, *Sociology for the South; or, The Failure of Free Society* (1854; repr., New York, 1965), 205; *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1483. See James Henley Thornwell, *The Rights and Duties of Masters: A Sermon Preached at the Dedication of a Church, Erected in Charleston, S. C., for the Benefit and Instruction of the Coloured Population* (Charleston, S.C., 1850), 48–49; McCurry, *Masters of Small Worlds*.

torical question about woman's condition might have been taken for a protest against abolition.

Again, a question about woman's freedom went unanswered, as the Senate adopted the free-soil amendment, not least because the "clear, brief, and comprehensive clause" avoided the perplexities of a more universal declaration of human rights. Indeed, just a breath before it was posed, Sumner withdrew his phrasing, bowing to the will of the Judiciary Committee.<sup>21</sup> Yet in that closing colloquy, abolitionists had come to link marriage with bondage in dissenting from principles of constitutional abolition inspired by revolutionary human rights doctrine, inadvertently revealing that the amendment's bearing on the badges of woman's slavery was anything but clear.

IT WAS THE ENLISTMENT MEASURE that began to settle the question of the bondswoman's freedom left hanging by the debate on the Thirteenth Amendment. Aiming both to fill the Union Army and to strike at the slave system, Congress dwelled on recruiting the bondsman and granting his wife liberty. Meanwhile, masters in the loyal states still trafficked in slave women and children and their crops—reaping the last value from slave property so long as it existed. Yet abolitionists never broached the commerce power as authority for Congress to enact the soldier's *quid pro quo*. For that would have contradicted an essential antislavery tenet—the immorality of recognizing property in human beings and treating them as commodities.<sup>22</sup> Rather, the justification for the vast new sweep of legislative power entailed in congressional abolition turned on matters of war, marriage, property, and humanity.

On the battlefields, the demand for Union troops seemed insatiable. Meanwhile, Congress argued over the anomalies of the enlistment measure, rewording it repeatedly, raising momentous constitutional issues—from abolition as a war power to the legitimacy of human bondage to the property rights sanctified by the Fifth Amendment. At one point, the measure would have restated both the Emancipation Proclamation and the free-soil amendment. At others, it either would have reached only rebel masters, or alternatively would have compensated loyal masters for the taking of their property. At still another, it would have overturned property rights in Yankee capital as well as in human chattel. And again and again, abolitionists voted down slaveholders' calls to refer the measure to the Senate Judiciary Committee to decide its constitutionality. It was a debate at least as vituperative as that over the Thirteenth Amendment, and it went on longer; indeed, the measure's language remained unsettled for months after the amendment's had been fixed. At first, in early 1864, it concerned a hodgepodge of army affairs, from engineer battalions to equal pay regardless of race, but those were dispersed to other bills. And at first it echoed the Militia Act in speaking of "any man or boy of African descent" enlisted in Union military service and granting freedom to his mother as well as his wife and

<sup>21</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1488, 1489, 1490.

<sup>22</sup> On the persistence of commerce in slaves and their declining value in the border states, see *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1176, 396. On abolitionist rejection of the principle of property in man and the commerce in human beings, see William Lloyd Garrison, "Declaration of the National Anti-Slavery Convention," *The Liberator*, December 14, 1833, 198.

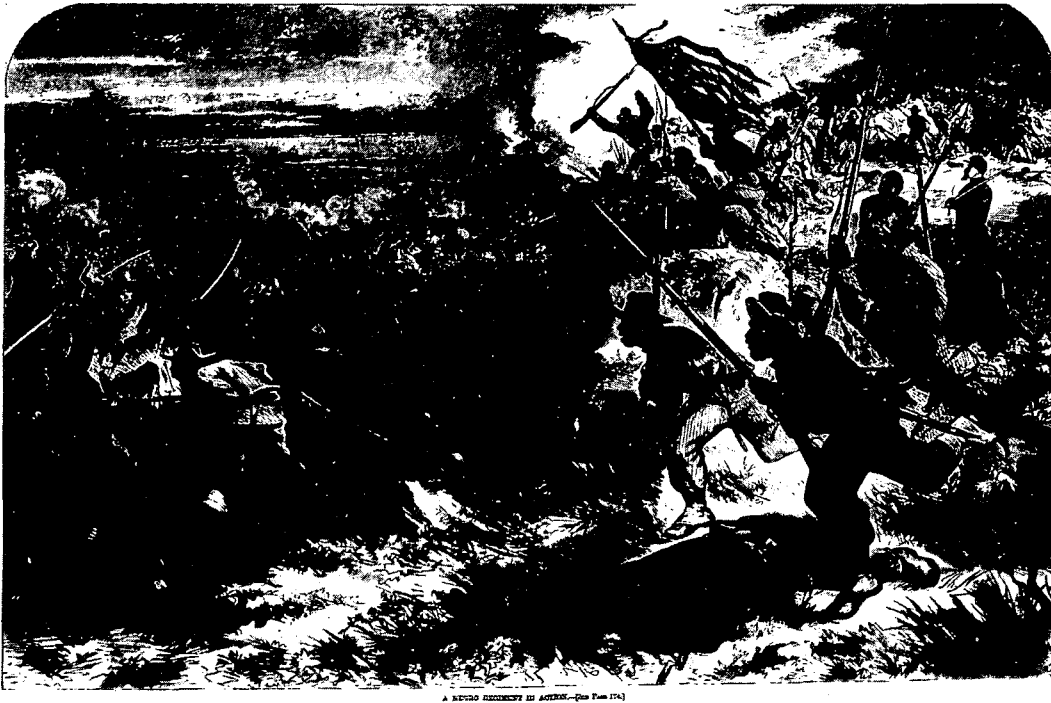


FIGURE 3: Thomas Nast, "A Negro Regiment in Action." From *Harper's Weekly*, March 14, 1863, 168–169.

children. At last, in December 1864, Wilson's Military Affairs Committee delivered a final text that spoke in universal terms of "any person" mustered into making war for the United States and declared simply that his wife and children were "forever free," so long as "sufficient proof of marriage" existed, namely cohabiting or associating, "whether such marriage was or was not authorized or recognized by law." Along the way, Congress disputed the debt owed "colored soldiers" for risking their lives, the existence of slave marriage, the situation of bondswomen, and the nature of inviolate rights—always mindful of the counterpoint between the measure and the amendment.<sup>23</sup>

The oratory of the great congressional antagonists Charles Sumner and Garrett Davis distilled the constitutional questions at stake, as the debate endured into 1865. Here, the conflict was not free-soil versus human rights doctrine. Rather, the Mas-

<sup>23</sup> Wilson, *History of the Antislavery Measures*, 293, 313–327; *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 134, 289, 438, 1176, 1181, 1207; 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 64, 78; 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1181. On other provisions of the initial resolution, see "An Act making Appropriations for the Support of the Army for the Year ending the thirtieth June, eighteen hundred and sixty-five, and for other Purposes," *Statutes at Large* 13: 126–130. Notably, the 1862 Militia Act, which applied only to slaves owned by rebels, did not use the word "marriage." By contrast, the enlistment measure lodged the congressional grant of freedom expressly in marriage. The relevant part of the Militia Act reads:

*And be it further enacted*, That when any man or boy of African descent, who by the laws of any State shall owe service or labor to any person who, during the present rebellion, has levied war or has borne arms against the United States, or adhered to their enemies by giving them aid and comfort, shall render any such service as is provided for in this act, he, his mother and his wife and children, shall forever thereafter be free, any law, usage, or custom whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding: *Provided*, That the mother, wife and children of such man or boy of African descent shall not be made free by the operation of this act except where such mother, wife or children owe service or labor to some person



sachusetts abolitionist and the Kentucky slaveholder clashed over the authority of Congress to wage war through a soldier's quid pro quo liberating slaves in loyal states—a quid pro quo premised on slave marriage bonds void at law. Of the bondsman turned Union soldier and his family's freedom, Sumner proclaimed, "I know not how we can use his right arm and ask him to shed his blood in our defense and then hand over his wife and child to bondage . . . Concede that the soldier may be enfranchised, and it follows that by the same constitutional power his family may be admitted to equal liberty." But of the slave master and his title to human beings, Davis proclaimed, "I am a slaveholder myself; and I have my rights guaranteed . . . by the Constitution and laws of Congress . . . It has been argued again and again that because the husband is liberated therefore the Congress has the power to liberate the wife and the children. There is no logic in that conclusion." Whereas Sumner spoke of war, freedom, and expansive congressional power, Davis spoke of slavery, private property, and sacred constitutional guarantees, though both dwelled on household bonds.<sup>24</sup>

On one thing Sumner and Davis did agree—the core question was whether Congress possessed the power to divest loyal masters of slave property. "I want to know what provision of the Constitution confers on Congress the power to pass such a measure," Davis asked. "My answer," Sumner replied, "is that Congress has precisely the same power to enfranchise the families that it has to enfranchise the colored soldier." That was the power to make war. Yet there also existed a humane tradition dating back to antiquity of freeing a bondsman at war for his master's sake. In exchange for the "hazard of life" arose the "boon of freedom," as Sumner said. But the Civil War was for the Union's sake, not for the master's. And the ancient tradition had never reached beyond the bondsman himself to his slave wife and children.<sup>25</sup>

In making his constitutional argument, Sumner began with the relentless mustering of thousands of Union troops and ended with an appeal to humanity on behalf of congressional abolition. He set forth principles of both expediency and benevolence; yet no liberatory theory of interstate commerce fell from his lips—no linking of the rights of persons with commercial intercourse. Rather, he spoke about war and humanity. The measure's validity, he explained, "must be found, first, in its practical necessity, that we may secure the best services of the slaves, and secondly, in its intrinsic justice and humanity." He spoke of "a power so simple and benevolent" belonging to Congress—reflecting its authority to create an army but also "founded in reason and the nature of things"—a power to extend the soldier's emancipation to his enslaved household. "Any other conclusion would be as illogical as inhuman; discreditable alike to the head and the heart," Sumner declared, "all this from the necessity of the case, and to prevent an intolerable meanness." Thus in justifying

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who, during the present rebellion, has borne arms against the United States or adhered to their enemies by giving them aid and comfort.

"An Act to amend the Act calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections, and repel Invasions, approved February twenty-eight, seventeen hundred and ninety-five, and the Acts amendatory thereof, and for other Purposes," *U.S. Statutes at Large* 12 (1863): 597–600.

<sup>24</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 114, 162. See Charles Sumner, *The Works of Charles Sumner*, 15 vols. (Boston, 1883), 15: 261–265.

<sup>25</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 77, 114. See Brown and Morgan, *Arming Slaves*.

freedom based on slave marriage, Sumner grounded the power of Congress on both intrinsic humanity and immediate exigency.<sup>26</sup>

It was an argument that presupposed the abolitionist intent of the measure. Impatient with waiting for the Thirteenth Amendment, which was stalled in the House, Sumner boldly called for a legislative blow. "Congress at this moment is complete master of the whole question of slavery everywhere in the United States, even without any constitutional amendment. It can sweep it all out of existence," he declared.<sup>27</sup> According to this stunning assertion of congressional sovereignty, which contravened *Dred Scott*, the bond between slave husband and wife could subvert the lawful bond between master and slave, whatever the fate of the abolition amendment.

Such an argument was irreconcilable with slaveholders' interpretation of the Constitution, for there Fifth Amendment property rights were the most sacred guaranty. Against antislavery notions of humanity, nature, and necessity stood fundamental law protecting property and forbidding its taking for public use without just compensation. Seemingly blind to the wartime transformation of the constitutional order, protesting that "the fifth amendment . . . has been quoted countless times," Garrett Davis attacked the enlistment measure as "a crusade against slavery . . . as unjust, as fanatical, and as irrational as all the other crusades that have heretofore taken place in the world." Congress possessed "no plenary legislative power" to abolish slavery, he argued, given the Constitution's "express clauses . . . which guaranty to every citizen his rights of property." Moreover, there were hardly any bondsmen left to enlist, for the border states had released "more than our proportion of negroes to the field." Nor were slave wives and children of any "public use," as they would not be recruited into the war for the Union. And the measure struck retroactively as well as prospectively, freeing the kin of soldiers already in the army, indicating a goal beyond enlistment. "What, then, is the object of the measure?" objected Davis. "The object is to deprive slave owners of their property; it is still further to demoralize the institution; it is to break it up," he raged, "it is utterly to disregard the Constitution . . . and utterly to destroy slave property."<sup>28</sup> It was unconstitutional abolition, pure and simple.

In condemning the injustice to loyal masters such as himself, Davis began with a defense of inviolable property rights and ended with a tribute to the paternalism of chattel slavery. According to the slaveholder's way of thinking, "a full and fair price" must be paid in exchange for slave wives and children, a system of compensated emancipation required by the Takings Clause of the Fifth Amendment, which had been imposed by abolition in the District of Columbia and previous slave recruitment orders. Bitterly, Davis proposed rewriting the "flagitiously unjust" measure to strike at bourgeois wealth as well as slave property by granting all Massachusetts soldiers an interest in any capitalist venture, whether in "banking, brokering, merchandising, shipping, trading, fishing, manufacturing . . . or making or fabricating anything whatever, by hand or by machinery." Vengefully, he warned of "retributive justice" for violating the Fifth Amendment. "Are the members of the Senate ready

<sup>26</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 114.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 162, 77, 78. And see 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1210–1212.

to have this poisoned chalice which they are now concocting and mixing for other lips tendered to their own?"<sup>29</sup>

Yet if Davis spoke of retribution against abolitionists, he also spoke of humanity toward slaves protected by beneficent masters against the deprivations of freedom. As slavery lay dying, he affirmed its virtue. Countering a household logic of abolition with a household defense of slavery, he argued that freedom was no boon to a race of eternal dependents, and therefore the Union must care for slave wives and children set free by Congress. "If you intend severing the relation between the negro wife and children and their owner," he pleaded, "do not leave them altogether without such support." As he spoke of "humanity to a degraded and helpless race of beings," he rejected both the assumption that a freedman would maintain his own family and the premise that "because the husband is liberated," Congress gained "the power to liberate the wife and children." Deploring the emancipatory quid pro quo, the slaveholding statesman confessed, "this is the first time I have ever ventured to utter a voice in the name of humanity in the Senate."<sup>30</sup>

To the antislavery way of thinking, the enlistment measure would usher in abolition before the day of the Thirteenth Amendment, but the proslavery prophecy was that the measure would be struck down as unconstitutional. As Sumner adjoined, "Congress must act to the extent of its power." Yet as Davis protested, in a "competent and independent court," the slaveholder's rights would remain "an invulnerable constitutional and legal truth."<sup>31</sup> As expressed in this consummate colloquy, the claims of loyal masters to slave wives and children stood diametrically opposed to the tenets of humanity, the needs of war, and the bonds of slave marriage as grounds for empowering Congress to enact abolition.

IN SORTING OUT THE CONTRADICTIONS of the enlistment measure, amid the work of defeating the South and amending the Constitution, Congress turned to the bondswoman herself and the nature of her slavery and freedom. It was not that her fate mattered simply as a rhetorical question, raised to expose the perils of framing the Thirteenth Amendment in terms of human rights rather than free soil. Rather, it was the very heart of the soldier's quid pro quo—and therefore of the debate over enacting abolition. Pressed by her own claims as well as by the impatience of Union Army men, Congress argued over whether to wait for the Thirteenth Amendment or rush ahead with the enlistment measure or uphold the Fifth Amendment. At length, the authors of abolition appraised the slave wife's market worth, but also her torment of body and soul—sometimes sounding like a band of slave traders, sometimes like antislavery immediatists. Thus Congress came to enumerate the badges of her slavery. Yet under the enlistment measure, her freedom lay in bonds of mar-

<sup>29</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 78. See "An Act for the Release of Certain Persons held to Service or Labor in the District of Columbia," *Statutes at Large* 12: 406–408; "An Act to Amend an Act Entitled 'An Act for enrolling and calling out the National Forces, and for other Purposes,'" *Statutes at Large* 13: 6–11. On Lincoln's position on compensated emancipation, see Michael P. Johnson, ed., *Abraham Lincoln, Slavery, and the Civil War: Selected Writings and Speeches* (Boston, 2001), 186–217.

<sup>30</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 160. On the antislavery view of soldiers' pay and family support, see *ibid.*, 165.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 114, 162.

riage that paralleled the bonds of slavery—abolition as paradoxical as freeing her under the commerce power as if she were like a hogshead of Kentucky tobacco. Neither as a slave wife nor as a freed wife was she conceived to possess inviolate rights simply by dint of being human.

All the antislavery luminaries dilated on the enlistment measure, as did the proslavery men still left in Congress. Some believed it would “stand the test of the judgment of the world”; others decried it as “palpably unconstitutional” and abolitionist legal doctrine as “all twaddle and bosh.” But none doubted that the intent was “abolishing slavery inch by inch”—as one antislavery man put it. The prospect provoked ugly words, as when one slaveholder lamented that abolitionists had “contracted the disease called ‘nigger on the brain.’”<sup>32</sup>

What agitated both antislavery and proslavery statesmen was the condition of the slave wife bound to both a loyal master and a soldier away fighting the Confederacy. In particular, three questions troubled them: Who exactly was she, the wife of a bondsman turned soldier, as slaves had no marriage rights by law? What was she worth, if the Union paid for her taking? And, in light of the counterpoint between the abolition decrees, why free her through a measure fraught with constitutional difficulty instead of waiting for the amendment? Those questions set apart not only abolitionists and slaveholders, but also abolitionists themselves, dividing men mindful of higher law and men heeding the existing Constitution—as the debate became a forum on the badges of woman’s slavery. While disputing the breadth of the war power and the Takings Clause, the boundaries of states’ rights, and the validity of property in man, statesmen paused to read aloud letters from slave wives and describe the bruises on their bodies.

Who was a slave wife? That was the most basic enigma, vexing to slaveholding statesmen and even to some abolitionists. For the measure hinged on the fiction that the bonds of slave marriage were binding, so much so as to dissolve the bonds of chattel slavery. “Who is the wife of a slave?” asked the antislavery senator John Sherman of Ohio as the argument opened in early 1864—perhaps as his brother, General William Tecumseh Sherman, was contemplating his famed March to the Sea later that year. Meanwhile, proslavery men protested, “There will be a dozen women claiming freedom: ‘I am the wife,’ and ‘I am the wife,’ and ‘I am the wife.’” As Senator Reverdy Johnson of Maryland jeered, “Now, pass this bill, and you will find it very difficult to prove who has a wife, or how many wives he has.”<sup>33</sup>

Though simple to ask, the question of the slave wife’s identity was deeply confusing, for it reflected not only the conflict between southern law and custom but also the lived contradictions of slavery—the secrets of southern households as well as the flagrant terrors of the slave trade. Antebellum southern classics, such as *An Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery*, explained that there was “no recognized marriage relation in law between slaves” because chattel had no rights of contract. Yet custom, nowhere more openly on display than in notices posted for fugitives, recognized slave marriage. “Ranaway, my negro Philip . . . He may have gone to St. Louis, as *he has a wife there*,” read the infamous advertisements. “The subscriber will give \$20 for the apprehension of the negro woman, Maria . . . She is known to be lurking in or about

<sup>32</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1182, 361, 395; 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 160, 158, 166, 538, 1003.

<sup>33</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 439, 396, and see 1229.

Chuckatuch . . . where *she has a husband, and formerly belonged*.”<sup>34</sup> Hewing to custom, rather than the letter of the law, the enlistment measure simply took slave marriage for granted.

To border statesmen, however, who claimed to be wisest in slavery’s ways, a bonds-wife was a nullity. “Except in the eye of Heaven,” slaves were “never man and wife,” dissented Reverdy Johnson, but chattel subject to sale. “How are you going to ascertain whether a man taken here in Virginia has a wife in Maryland? He will say so, and he will prove that the woman whom he claims to be his wife once associated with him. But that, according to our laws, is not marriage.” Moreover, because marriage was a creature of state law, if Congress presumed “to recognize as marriage that which is not marriage, you clearly violate the Constitution.” Visions of a host of slave women all claiming freedom by clamoring “‘I am the wife,’ and each will be able to prove it by precisely the same evidence,” interrupted the sober debate. “Senators are laughing at very grave matters,” admonished Johnson. “We can put in a proviso that but one shall be allowed,” countered an abolitionist. “But which is to be the one?” retorted Johnson.<sup>35</sup>

Even to some abolitionists, the household logic seemed dubious. Especially those most circumspect about the letter of the law could not easily fathom how slave marriage bonds could free a woman from the bonds of slavery. As John Sherman reasoned, the essence of the measure was “universal emancipation” through “domestic ties.” Yet its original spare grant of freedom did not define the terms of a slave marriage. Repeatedly, Sherman queried, “Who is the wife of a slave?” Under the war power, she might perhaps be freed “in the name of God and humanity,” but not as a vague entity. “We know that the relation of husband and wife is not recognized with slaves, and yet this relation is spoken of as a measure of emancipation,” Sherman worried. “You must define who shall be considered the wife of the slave.” Other abolitionists warned that the measure allowed for “boundless disputes.” Those concerns prompted the Military Affairs Committee to return with new definitions of slave marriage, though none required any particular civil procedures or religious ceremonies. Finally, after almost a year of debate, the measure stipulated that slaves having “lived together, or associated or cohabited” until enlistment day counted as “evidence” of marriage, with children entitled to freedom even if the marriage had dissolved. Still, the household logic vexed framers of the Thirteenth Amendment. “What is this measure?” Lyman Trumbull asked, pointing to the traffic in slaves. “Here is a negro man who was sold . . . not having seen his family nearly a quarter of a century.”<sup>36</sup> The question was whether freedom could be sustained by slave marriage bonds that defied the rules of both law and commerce.

The answer was that slaves’ everyday practice and mutual understandings must prevail; it was through her own will and her husband’s—not her master’s or the rule

<sup>34</sup> Thomas R. R. Cobb, *An Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery in the United States of America* (Savannah, Ga., 1858), 242–243; Theodore Dwight Weld, *American Slavery As It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses* (New York, 1839), 165. On the contradictions of southern legal culture, see Laura F. Edwards, “Status without Rights: African Americans and the Tangled History of Law and Governance in the Nineteenth-Century U.S. South,” *American Historical Review* 112, no. 2 (April 2007): 365–393.

<sup>35</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 396. See *Barber v. Barber*, 62 U.S. 21 How. 582 (1858).

<sup>36</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 289, 439, 441, 1179, 1183; 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 64, 168. And see *Statutes at Large* 13: 571.



of law—that a slave wife could be known. On this point, even some who differed over the Thirteenth Amendment’s language found accord. Sumner affirmed that slave marriage could be determined merely “by cohabitation and mutual recognition as man and wife.” Likewise, rather than rhetorically asking about a wife’s freedom, Jacob Howard earnestly postulated: “that person shall be held to be the wife of the slave who recognizes the slave to be her husband and whose husband recognizes the woman to be his wife.”<sup>37</sup> Looking to human relations, not property rights; to experience, not law—to slaves’ willing, reciprocal assent to their own marriage bonds—abolitionists resolved the enigma of the slave wife.

Just as perplexing was the question of how much the slave wife was worth, and whether abolitionists should credit slaveholders’ outcries about just compensation under the Fifth Amendment. And slavery’s advocates were not alone in raising it. From the outset, freeing a slave wife without paying “no matter how loyal a master” troubled Senator John Henderson, the Missourian who had introduced the abolition amendment but considered uncompensated congressional abolition unconstitutional. She had to be bought by the Union, other abolitionists objected. “When you take the slave of a loyal master,” John Sherman argued, “a fair and reasonable compensation for the labor of the slave should be paid.” Accordingly, Wilson and his Military Affairs Committee revised the measure, returning with a new draft in March 1864 that afforded loyal masters “a just compensation” to be set by military commissions.<sup>38</sup>

Thus abolitionists and slaveholders came to debate the bondswife’s cash value, with Congress taking on the aura of a slave market as statesmen reckoned the price of her freedom. No specimen of this enigmatic chattel appeared in the Capitol’s chambers, nor did statesmen figure whether she might be young or old, fair or dark, a good field hand, or a good breeder—all the traits, representing labor value and exchange value, typically itemized. Yet they calculated her worth, fixing it to the war’s fortunes, speculating about the traffic in slave wives. “I do not think it will take very much money to pay for such slaves,” Sherman observed. “Only pay the master that depreciated value,” he advised, “caused by the rebellion.” In Maryland, granted Reverdy Johnson, “not a slave . . . would bring at this day, in the present state of things, ten dollars.” Henry Wilson also figured a slave wife would be “worth very little,” about “\$100 on the average.” But slave owners such as Garrett Davis insisted on a higher price, about “five hundred apiece.” Doing antislavery arithmetic, Wisconsin senator James Doolittle figured there were about 27,000 black soldiers in the loyal slave states, and allowing for a family of three, freedom would cost the Union \$8,100,000—“at the lowest figure, \$100 apiece.” Some claimed the slave wife should be paid for years of unrequited labor. Others simply deemed it “bad economy” for the Union to be “rushing into the market to buy slaves while the price is high.” Abolition would be a “burden upon our Treasury,” antislavery men painfully admitted. “One of these women, if you please, regarding her as property, may to-day be considered so much,” noted William Fessenden of Maine, “and to-morrow, es-

<sup>37</sup> *Globe* 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 114; 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1182; and see 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1179, 1181.

<sup>38</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 362, 439, 444, 1176, 1180. On Henderson and the abolition amendment, see Vorenberg, *Final Freedom*, 52–53.

pecially in times like these, she may be worth vastly less or nothing at all.” Exasperated, Wilson marveled, “the country is going to ruin while you are higgling about a fall in the price of the slave.” By his reckoning, “true economy” was any expense that “helps to break down the slave system.”<sup>39</sup>

Ultimately, however, Congress resolved that the question of a slave wife’s worth was unconscionable. For asking it assumed the legitimacy of property in human beings—an unthinkable principle for abolitionists, who deplored attaching it to the Takings Clause. Condemning both property in man and the traffic in women, they counterposed antislavery moral economy to southern political economy. “I do not want this government to become the purchaser of slaves,” argued Morton Wilkinson of Minnesota, affirming his free-soil roots. “I am opposed to inserting here the same words which are employed in the Constitution of the United States in the provision that requires compensation to be made for property taken for public use. I think it is time that the idea that slaves are property like horses and oxen should be utterly repudiated by the Congress of the United States.” And Henry Wilson wholeheartedly agreed, avowing that ideally the soldier’s quid pro quo should take a “simple form,” unsullied by a price.<sup>40</sup> Thus compensation was stricken from the enlistment measure, an act denying that a slave wife still counted as property under the Fifth Amendment. Only for a moment, then, did Congress consider purchasing her from a loyal master and bequeathing her to a black soldier—asking what she was worth—until the cost in dollars and ethics appeared abhorrent. The answer was that she had no just price.

That left the fundamental question—why not wait for the Thirteenth Amendment? Given all the dilemmas of the enlistment measure, the ambiguity of slave marriage compounded by the immorality of compensation, why proceed with legislating abolition while amending the Constitution? Thus Congress argued over the counterpoint between the measure and the amendment. It was a debate, finally, between antislavery immediatism and constitutionalism, one that had emerged with abolitionism itself in the 1830s and now culminated in wartime with the question of whether Congress should free the slave wife or wait for an abolition amendment.

Late in 1864, as Sherman’s army was laying waste to Georgia, ending its triumphant March to the Sea, abolitionists in Congress grew impatient to finish their work. With the amendment’s fate uncertain, the enlistment measure seemed a more direct route to freedom. “Let the Senate then act now. Let us hasten the enactment of this beneficent measure, inspired by patriotism and hallowed by justice and humanity,” Wilson exhorted, “so that ere merry Christmas shall come the intelligence shall be flashed over the land, to cheer to the hearts of the nation’s defenders, and arouse the manhood of the bondsman, that on the forehead of the soldier’s wife and the soldier’s child no man can write slave.” But in the new year, once the amendment had been approved in both houses of Congress—while Sherman’s troops were marching north and the Confederacy was desperately debating whether to arm

<sup>39</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 444, 396, 1180, 1178, 1208, 1180, 183, 1178. See, for example, Solomon Northup, *Twelve Years a Slave* (Auburn, N.Y., 1853), 78–82. Although precedent (abolition in the District of Columbia and the 1864 Enrollment Act) granted loyal masters no more than \$300, the enlistment measure prescribed only a just compensation; see “An Act for the Release of Certain Persons held to Service or Labor in the District of Columbia”; “An Act to Amend an Act Entitled ‘An Act for enrolling and calling out the National Forces, and for other Purposes.’”

<sup>40</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1180, 1178, and see 1208–1216.



FIGURE 4: James Fuller Queen, "Journey of a slave from the plantation to the battlefield," 1863. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-USZC4-6677.

slaves—some statesmen asked why act at all on the enlistment measure. "If that amendment shall be ratified, slavery is abolished throughout the United States, swept overboard everywhere," objected a Kentucky congressman. "Why press this measure upon the House? I cannot perceive the necessity or reason for it."<sup>41</sup>

That question—why free the slave wife if the amendment would abolish slavery

<sup>41</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 64, 1004, and see 113. See also Bruce C. Levine, *Confederate Emancipation: Southern Plans to Free and Arm Slaves during the Civil War* (New York, 2006), esp. 3–5, 115–120;

everywhere—had agitated Congress for a year. And it, too, was asked not simply by slaveholders, but also by the amendment's authors, who believed that the enlistment measure was morally right but unconstitutional. Early in 1864, while the amendment still lay in committee, they pointed to the measure's "uncertainties and difficulties as to who may be made free." A year later, with the amendment still pending in the House, Lyman Trumbull wistfully confessed, "I had hoped that this constitutional amendment would pass, and end this thing forever." Yet he could not support the measure. "If you have power to do this, why have you not power to free every slave in the land?" he wonderingly asked. "If I were to follow the inclinations of my mind I should vote to free every human being where my vote would have any tendency to accomplish the object . . . But, sir, we hold our seats here by virtue of a written Constitution."<sup>42</sup> Even devotion to freedom must yield to reverence for fundamental law.

Thus the counterpoint between the measure and the amendment raised anew old contradictions between immediate abolition and fidelity to the Constitution. It harked back to earlier turning points—William Lloyd Garrison setting fire to a copy of the Constitution, antislavery justices returning fugitives to bondage, Frederick Douglass envisioning the Civil War as an "Abolition war," Lincoln proposing gradual, compensated emancipation—and expressed a still deeper antagonism between higher law and human law. As Congress wrangled over legislating abolition or waiting for the amendment (some saying that would take years, others just a few months), Sumner and Trumbull again elucidated the opposing antislavery perspectives. Justifying immediatism in the name of both humanity and expedience, Sumner affirmed, "There can be no delay. The country cannot wait the slow action of a constitutional amendment . . . All must confess the humanity of the proposition to enfranchise the families of the colored persons who have borne arms for their country." Conversely, dismissing "appeals which may be made for humanity's sake," Trumbull defended constitutionalism in the name of the founders: "I do not understand that the men who made the Constitution . . . so understood the power of the Federal Government . . . We can have no government worth preserving unless we stand by the Constitution as it is till we change it in a constitutional mode."<sup>43</sup> By no means had the accord on the Thirteenth Amendment's language defused the question of whether the time was right for congressional abolition.

It was the subjection of the slave wife that answered this fundamental question

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Reidy, "Armed Slaves and the Struggles for Republican Liberty," 274–280. See *Watchman and State Journal*, August 11, 1865.

<sup>42</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 362; 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 64, 168, 167. And see 38th Cong., 1st sess., appendix, 44.

<sup>43</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1178; 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 114, 167–168. See Robert M. Cover, *Justice Accused: Antislavery and the Judicial Process* (New Haven, Conn., 1984); Johnson, *Abraham Lincoln, Slavery, and the Civil War*, 186–217; Frederick Douglass, "The American Constitution and the Slave," in John W. Blassingame, ed., *The Frederick Douglass Papers*, ser. 1, vol. 3: *Speeches, Debates, and Interviews, 1855–63* (New Haven, Conn., 1985), 340–366; Douglass, "The Mission of the War," *ibid.*, vol. 4: *Speeches, Debates, and Interviews, 1864–80* (New Haven, Conn., 1991), 3–24; David Brion Davis, "The Emergence of Immediatism in British and American Antislavery Thought," in Davis, ed., *Ante-Bellum Reform* (New York, 1967), 139–152; Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (New York, 2006), 250–322; Richard S. Newman, *The Transformation of American Abolitionism: Fighting Slavery in the Early Republic* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2002), 60–184; Oakes, *The Radical and the Republican*.

raised by the soldier's quid pro quo. The vindication of her freedom—of immediate abolition by Congress—ultimately rested on her torment at the loyal master's hand. In the evidence of a slave wife being beaten and sold and refused subsistence, wrongs that negated her humanity, abolitionists found reason not to wait for the Thirteenth Amendment.

And so inventories of her misery filled the halls of Congress. "A sight greeted me such as I never beheld in the world, . . . a colored woman, whom I should suppose to be thirty years of age, appeared before us, all bruised to pieces," cried out Ohio senator Benjamin Wade, describing a scene he had witnessed in Kentucky in the summer of 1864. "Her face was all whipped to a jelly . . . Her head was all cut to pieces . . . her skull was laid bare almost, and her back perfectly mangled." None knew the situation better than Missouri senator Benjamin Gratz Brown, who had been a Union colonel. Earlier that spring, he had told of "gross and glaring outrage" as the argument over buying the slave wife's freedom gave way to accounts of her distress. Retaliating against their slaves' enlistment, loyal masters were "selling the wives and children of those soldiers, making merchandise of their flesh and blood, and doing it as punishment for their entry into our Army. And shall we tolerate this scene?" Brown asked. "Sit quietly by with no legislation?" Almost a year later, Henry Wilson despaired that while Congress was still debating, the slave wife was suffering all kinds of "tender mercies."<sup>44</sup>

From military intelligence relayed to abolitionist statesmen—letters from army camps and plantations read aloud on the Senate floor—word came that time was of the essence, for slave owners were "hounding on a persecution in the border States." Reportedly, conditions were unbearable in Missouri in early 1864, with lieutenants, provost marshals, and generals all writing of "the fact that the soldiers' (colored) wives and families are being awfully abused" and citing grievances brought by recruits whose wives were "unmercifully whipped" or "run off to Kentucky." And there were letters from slave wives describing home life to husbands away at war. As quoted by Henry Wilson, one was "beaten '*scandalously*'" by a master unwilling to "take care of her children"; another was left "almost naked" and treated "worse and worse"; and another wrote: "I cannot ask any of our neighbors to enlist and have them suffer as I am suffering." Belying the loyal master's vaunted paternalism, the situation drew soldiers back to plantations, some to exact their quid pro quo by carrying off slave wives and tobacco, but others to wait for abolition.<sup>45</sup>

For a moment, then, the sentiments of slaves and ex-slaves—of bondswives and black soldiers—figured directly in the congressional debate over abolition. There was

<sup>44</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 161; 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1179; 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 113, 165. On conditions in Kentucky, see Berlin, Reidy, and Rowland, *The Black Military Experience*, 251–278; Howard, *Black Liberation in Kentucky*, 111–121; Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky*. And see Karen Halttunen, "Humanitarianism and the Pornography of Pain in Anglo-American Culture," *American Historical Review* 100, no. 2 (April 1995): 303–334.

<sup>45</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1179, 1176–1179, 1178. Army letters read aloud and/or cited in Congress are reprinted in Berlin, *The Destruction of Slavery*, 479–489; Berlin, Reidy, and Rowland, *The Black Military Experience*, 240–250; Reidy, "Armed Slaves and the Struggles for Republican Liberty," 293. And see Taylor, *The Divided Family in Civil War America*, 193–197; Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage*, 97–166. While historians have addressed these letters for evidence of events on the ground, they have not explored their significance in Congress—that is, the link between lawmaking and conflict at the level of the everyday.



"nothing more inhuman than the intelligence we have from portions of the country," lamented Wilson, singling out a letter "from a wife to her husband, in which she tells him how she is treated . . . she thinks he ought not to have left her and her children to suffer." Even a Kentucky senator admitted that sometimes slaveholders were "bad persons," while other statesmen opposed to the enlistment measure confessed that their "commiseration was excited . . . by the reading of the letters." The crisis was epitomized by the case of "Richard Glover, a colored soldier," and his slave wife, who was flogged "with a strap taken from a harness, and this when she was *pregnant and near her confinement*." It evoked a blunt message from Brigadier General William Pile to the Military Affairs Committee: "Nothing will reach the case but the *immediate emancipation* of these people . . . We cannot wait for the routine of 'amendment to the Constitution'; we want an immediate remedy. Can one be provided at Washington?" Up from the ground—from the particulars of the slave wife's condition—arose appeals for congressional abolition, delivered from the border states to the Capitol.<sup>46</sup>

Thus Congress dwelled on the badges of woman's slavery. Hastening to free the slave wife, statesmen catalogued her torment rather than buying her liberty, while finding that slaves saw no difference between loyal masters and rebels and were already embracing freedom based on marriage bonds, with the blessing of antislavery military commanders. And in justifying their haste—refuting claims that the soldier's quid pro quo made the Constitution a dead letter—abolitionists drew on the bondswife's own words as well as army men's. Meanwhile, statesmen willing to wait for the Thirteenth Amendment asked, "Suppose that shall take a year, what of it?" Yet impatient men implored, "why shall you refuse to act . . . why shall you raise technical objections," and conjured up slaveholders' "infernal acts" and slave wives "mangled and tortured." Justifying the amendment, abolitionists imagined an "angel from the skies" descending to behold a slave wife doomed to "avarice" and "lust." Impatiently, however, they answered the question of immediatism by asking: "Do you propose to stand here and let these wives and children be abused three months, six months, or a year, until you can amend the Constitution?"<sup>47</sup>

For almost a century, antislavery appeals circulating throughout the Atlantic world had been filled with images of affliction resembling those summoned in Congress. Whippings, forcible labor, and slave auctions all represented the sins of slavery, against which the virtues of freedom—namely wage labor and marriage bonds—appeared all the more starkly. Above all, the bondswoman denied the right of being a wife, her sexual violation creating wealth, embodied the wrong of reducing persons to property. Over and over, abolitionists depicted her desecration as proof of slavery's breach of natural law—from Olaudah Equiano's early protests against the Atlantic slave trade to the tirades of antislavery statesmen as sectional crisis deepened into civil war. In "The Slave Auction" (1857), the poet Frances Ellen Watkins Harper depicted the owning and selling that she escaped as a free black:

<sup>46</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1178; 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 166; 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1228, 1177.

<sup>47</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1179; 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 1003; 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1179; 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 162; 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1479, 1481; 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1181–1182.

The sale began—young girls were there,  
 Defenseless in their wretchedness,  
 Whose stifled sobs of deep despair,  
 Revealed their anguish and distress . . .  
 While tyrants bartered them for gold . . .

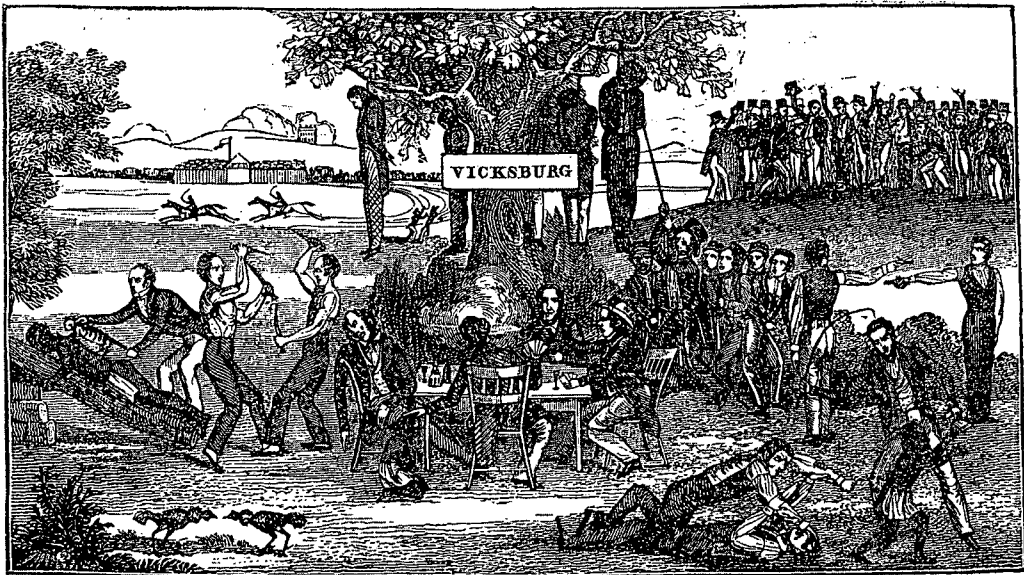
Years earlier in Congress, breaking the gag rule that once forbade debate on abolition, John Quincy Adams had protested, “The most damning sin of slavery is that it does abolish the marriage institution.” By the time of the debate on the Thirteenth Amendment, it was commonplace for statesmen to condemn “property in black men” by evoking “the humblest daughter of sorrow that ever crouched beneath the lash of the task-master . . . whose pleasure is the price of her shame, and who eats bread in the sweat of her brow.”<sup>48</sup>

The figure of the ravaged bondswoman validated not simply slave emancipation but also affirmations of freedom as an inalienable right. The moral power of the negative symbolism shored up universal ideals of human liberty as the antithesis of chattel relations of dominion and subjection. “The right to enjoy liberty is inalienable. To invade it is to usurp the prerogative of Jehovah,” the American Anti-Slavery Society declared at its founding in 1833, juxtaposing the dignity of the sovereign rights-bearing individual to the dehumanizing conditions of slavery: “marketable commodities . . . brute beasts . . . ruthlessly torn asunder—the tender babe from the arms of its frantic mother—the heart-broken wife from her weeping husband—at the caprice or pleasure of irresponsible tyrants.”<sup>49</sup> By negation, the wretched slave wife legitimated the right of inviolable freedom as abolitionism emerged.

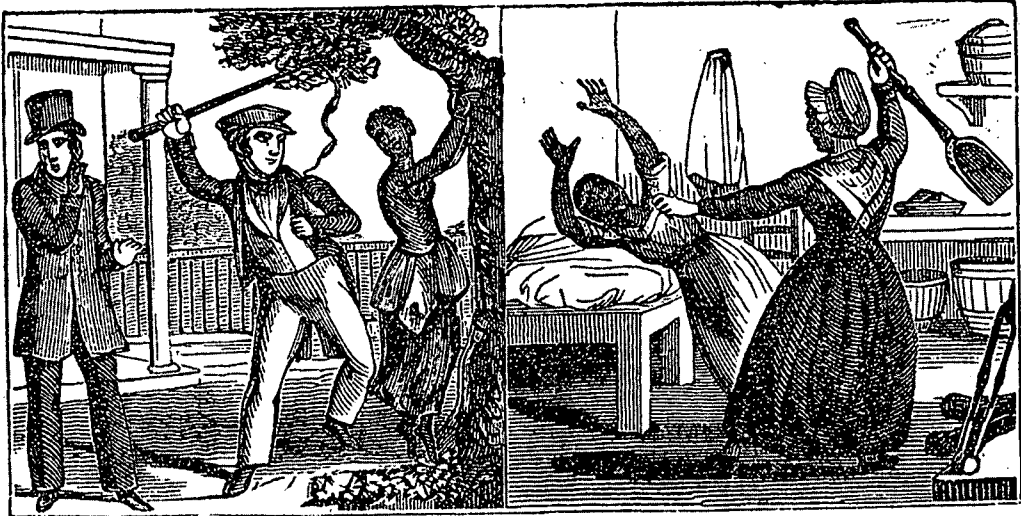
So, too, did her wrongs carry arguments for immediatism. At its founding, the American Anti-Slavery Society set forth the call for “immediate and total abolition” and broadcast this doctrine through appeals illustrating that slavery’s inhumanity spared none but fell most cruelly on woman. Even a children’s magazine titled *The Slave’s Friend* portrayed chained bondswomen and instilled the lesson: “*doing a thing right off* . . . That is immediatism.” More insurrectionary was an 1848 address by the former slave Henry Highland Garnet arousing bondsmen to liberate their own people: “You had far better all die—die immediately, than live slaves . . . And worse than all, you tamely submit, while your lords tear your wives from your embraces, and defile them before your eyes. In the name of God we ask, are you men?” Most famously, in *My Bondage and My Freedom*, Frederick Douglass decried the “brutal castigation” of a bondswoman who simply wished to be a slave wife, calling it “incidental to the relation of master and slave,” meaning, in the parlance of the day, that it represented a badge of slavery. She stood tethered,

<sup>48</sup> Frances Ellen Watkins (Harper), *Poems on Miscellaneous Subjects* (Philadelphia, 1857), 14–15; Adams in Henry Wilson, *History of the Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1872), 1: 425; *Globe*, 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 484; and see 38th Cong., 1st sess., 2948. See Katyal, “Men Who Own Women,” 796–809; Cott, *Public Vows*, 86; Elizabeth B. Clark, “‘The Sacred Rights of the Weak’: Pain, Sympathy, and the Culture of Individual Rights in Antebellum America,” *Journal of American History* 82, no. 2 (1995): 463–493.

<sup>49</sup> Garrison, “Declaration of the National Anti-Slavery Convention.”



*"Our Peculiar Domestic Institutions."*



*Showing how slavery improves the condition of the female sex.*

FIGURE 5: Detail from an 1840 broadside, "Illustrations of the American Anti-Slavery Almanac for 1840." Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-43972.

bare to the waist. Behind her stood old master, with cowskin in hand, preparing his barbarous work with all manner of harsh, coarse, and tantalizing epithets . . . Again and again he drew the hateful whip.

Such were the images recalled in congressional accounts of the slave wife's torment.<sup>50</sup>

The enlistment measure hewed to the principles of immediatism, then, while also transforming its original terms. For the American Anti-Slavery Society did not assert the power of Congress to overthrow slavery everywhere. Rather, its founding charter expressly denied immediate abolition's reach within existing slave states in deference to the covenant that created the Union: "We fully and unanimously recognise the sovereignty of each State, to legislate exclusively on the subject of the slavery . . . we concede that Congress, under the present national compact, has no right to interfere with any of the slave States." Penetrating into the loyal border states, the enlistment measure transgressed that antislavery boundary. Not unlike the Thirteenth Amendment, therefore, the measure amended a fundamental charter of freedom.<sup>51</sup>

But in other ways, the measure obeyed the limits of abolitionist aspirations. For in basing freedom on marriage bonds, it gave congressional sanction to antislavery doctrine that idealized the very bonds granting husbands property in women and divesting even a free wife of an inviolate self. The most basic right promised by abolition was self-sovereignty. "Every man has a right to his own body," the anti-slavery *Declaration* postulated. "Freeing the slave is . . . not wronging the master, but righting the slave—restoring him to himself." Yet along with the slave's conversion from property into a rights-bearing person, abolition also promised redemption of slave marriage bonds and the master's dispossession of the slave wife. As the ex-slave William Wells Brown, an antislavery writer, dramatized that vision, "I am yours," a slave wife vows to her slave husband, who vows, "I can die, but shall never live to see you the mistress of another man." Meanwhile, just as the bondswoman's wrongs vindicated the slave's inalienable rights, chattel slavery became the negative touchstone for woman's emancipation. A free wife was "a chattel personal, a tool that is used," protested Sarah Grimké, the slave owner turned abolitionist. Thus the slave wife's liberation—her conveyance from her loyal master to a Union soldier—distilled antislavery contradictions as well as the ambiguity of marriage as a bond intrinsic to freedom but evocative of slavery. The heart of the matter was the sovereignty that would supplant the slave master's. Either the bondsman would be "master of his own person, of his wife," as *The Liberator* imparted the rule among free men; or the bondswoman would gain "supreme sovereignty over her own person," as

<sup>50</sup> "Immediatism," *The Slave's Friend*, no. 7 (New York, 1836): 13; David Walker and Henry Highland Garnet, *Walker's Appeal: With a Brief Sketch of His Life* (New York, 1848), 94, 96; Frederick Douglass, *My Bondage and My Freedom* (New York, 1857), 87–88. See Weld, *American Slavery As It Is*; Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1997); Carol Lasser, "Voyeuristic Abolitionism: Sex, Gender, and the Transformation of Anti-slavery Rhetoric," *Journal of the Early Republic* 28, no. 1 (2008): 83–114.

<sup>51</sup> Garrison, "Declaration of the National Anti-Slavery Convention." On Douglass's renunciation of non-interference with slavery in the existing states, see "The Mission of the War." However, there were some non-Garrisonian abolitionists, besides Douglass, who came to assert the power of the national government over slavery in the existing states; see Deyle, *Carry Me Back*, 201.



Grimké explained the rule of woman's rights.<sup>52</sup> In Congress, it was the less expansive immediatism that abolitionists aimed to impose in the loyal slave states.

Therefore, in dissolving the bonds of slavery through marriage bonds, the soldier's quid pro quo offered the slave wife freedom but withheld the right to an inviolate self. Her freedom represented something owed to him, a token of the exchange relation between the Union soldier and the national state. No less had the overthrow of colonial slavery in the French and British West Indies affirmed marriage bonds; yet the enlistment measure newly designated slave marriage the very source of American abolition. Always, Henry Wilson spoke of "humanity" to the slave wife but "justice to these colored men," and always of more troops to win the war. Never did he argue for restoring the bondswoman to herself as a natural right, but instead to the soldier, as a just return for risking his life for the Union. "As a matter of justice," he inquired, "how can you go to a man and ask him to enlist to fight the battles of his country when he knows that the moment his back is turned his wife and his children will be sold to strangers?" Simply taking the "wife of his bosom" from the slaveholder would inspire "deeds of heroic daring" against the Confederacy.<sup>53</sup>

At no point did the question emerge that haunted the debate over the Thirteenth Amendment: whether striking at slavery would erode marriage, by virtue of their symmetry as property relations of the household, thereby transforming slaves and wives alike into sovereign persons.<sup>54</sup> For the soldier's quid pro quo presupposed marriage bonds as the very instrument of abolition. At one point, justifying the enlistment measure, Benjamin Gratz Brown spoke grandly of the "inalienable rights of freedom," but without attaching those rights to slave wives. At another point, countering paternalistic defenses of slavery, antislavery men claimed that "these individuals can take care of themselves" when facing freedom's vicissitudes. Otherwise, slave wives embodied abject dependency, beings "innocent and helpless." What mattered was the power of Congress to seize them and the right of Union soldiers to claim them. "Colored men," Benjamin Wade pointed out,

<sup>52</sup> Garrison, "Declaration of the National Anti-Slavery Convention"; William Wells Brown, *The Escape; or, A Leap for Freedom* (1858; repr., Knoxville, 2001), 10, 11; Sarah Grimké, "Marriage," in Elizabeth Ann Bartlett, ed., *Sarah Grimké: Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and Other Essays* (New Haven, Conn., 1988), 141; "Free Laborers and Slaves," *The Liberator*, December 7, 1855, 193. See Kristin Hoganson, "Garrisonian Abolitionists and the Rhetoric of Gender, 1850–1860," *American Quarterly* 45, no. 4 (1993): 558–595; Amy Dru Stanley, "'The Right to Possess All the Faculties That God Has Given': Possessive Individualism, Slave Women, and Abolitionist Thought," in Karen Halttunen and Lewis Perry, eds., *Moral Problems in American Life: New Perspectives on Cultural History* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998), 123–143; Ellen Carol Dubois, "'The Pivot of the Marriage Relation': Stanton's Analysis of Women's Subordination in Marriage," in Ellen Carol DuBois and Richard Cándida Smith, eds., *Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Feminist as Thinker: A Reader in Documents and Essays* (New Haven, Conn., 2007), 82–92; David A. J. Richards, "Abolitionist Feminism, Moral Slavery, and the Constitution: 'On the Same Platform of Human Rights,'" *Cardozo Law Review* 18, no. 2 (1996): 767–844; Scully and Paton, *Gender and Slave Emancipation in the Atlantic World*.

<sup>53</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1177, 1178; 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 64. See McCurry, "War, Gender, and Emancipation in the Civil War South." Whereas emancipation in the West Indies imposed the rule of marriage, the enlistment measure derived freedom from existing slave marriage. The enlistment measure also differed from the 1862 Militia Act in specifying "marriage" (whose terms it defined in detail) as the basis of abolition.

<sup>54</sup> See *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1483; 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 194–195; Cott, *Public Vows*, 79–81, 94–96; Lea VanderVelde and Sandhya Subramanian, "Mrs. Dred Scott," *Yale Law Journal* 106, no. 4 (1997): 454–459.





FIGURE 6: Thomas Nast, "Emancipation." Philadelphia: S. Bott, 1865. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-2573.

have the same feelings toward their wives and children that white men have, as near as I can ascertain; and where is the white man who would enlist in the Army of the United States and leave his wife and children subject to the taunts, the insults, and ignominy of a master.

"Gentleman stand up here and talk about constitutional law," Wade remonstrated, "while we deny his right to have his wife and children emancipated."<sup>55</sup> The vindication was of the rights of man, irrespective of race.

In the Senate, the last antislavery word belonged to Lyman Trumbull, who pronounced the enlistment measure unconstitutional; in the House, it belonged to the Iowan James Wilson, who celebrated the abolition of "property tenure" in slave wives. "We, acting for the nation, must treat them as persons." But by persons, he did not mean persons possessing inviolable rights. Rather, the slave wife's freedom was simply part of "a duty we owe, under the powers we possess, to the great and eternal principles of God's justice, to see that a full meed of equity and right is meted out to these men who are risking all for our sakes and for the sake of this nation"—a soldier's *quid pro quo*.<sup>56</sup>

For a year, then, Congress debated freeing the slave wife—who she was, what she was worth, and whether to buy her; how she suffered; and whether to wait for the Thirteenth Amendment. Yet the question of her right to herself never arose. For all the enumeration of her torments—her mangled body and torn face, her sale down

<sup>55</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 985; 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 160; 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1182; 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 162, 161.

<sup>56</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 1004.

the river—this inventory of slavery's badges did not add up to a declaration of her rights of sovereign personhood. Under the soldier's *quid pro quo*, no longer would she be akin to a bale of tobacco she cultivated; but as a wife, she still would not be master of herself.

AT LAST, IN LATE February 1865, immediatism prevailed, as impatient abolitionists carried the enlistment measure through Congress. By then, the Thirteenth Amendment had been ratified by half the states still left in the Union, and slavery had been abolished by state constitutional transformation in Maryland and Missouri. In both houses of Congress, the measure passed by far slimmer margins than the amendment. Whereas Sherman set aside his doubts to vote yea, Trumbull voted nay. Other framers of the amendment failed to appear for the vote. A message of March 3, 1865, to President Abraham Lincoln from the secretary of war, Edwin Stanton, stated that the measure was of "the highest importance," and that day Lincoln signed it into law. In April, peace came at Appomattox; at the end of the year, the abolition amendment became part of the Constitution.<sup>57</sup>

Slave wives went free, therefore, under the soldier's *quid pro quo* before the Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery throughout the country. Emancipating as many as 100,000 women and children, principally in Kentucky, the measure joined the enactments, stretching from the Confiscation Acts to the Reconstruction Amendments, that governed the transition from slavery to freedom. By dint of being a slave wife, the bondswoman won deliverance from her loyal master, only to become subject to the Union soldier's newfound sovereignty at home. Accordingly, a Union war order, dated March 23, 1865, announced to the "colored men of Kentucky" that enlistment would liberate "helpless women and children." Meanwhile, the Kentucky Court of Appeals struck down the measure as an unconstitutional taking of slave property without compensation, ordering "a negro woman, the wife of a soldier," reported a Cleveland paper, "to be sold as a slave." Garrett Davis had kept his promise, taking his defense of slaveholders' rights directly from Congress to state court.<sup>58</sup>

Nonetheless, bondswomen claimed freedom as soldiers' wives, swearing out affidavits against ex-masters who still treated them like chattel. With Union army of-

<sup>57</sup> In the Senate, the vote on the measure was 27 to 10, with 12 not voting; in the House, 74 to 63, with 45 not voting. In the Senate, the vote on the Thirteenth Amendment was 38 to 6; in the House, 119 to 56, with 8 not voting. *Globe*, 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 168, 1004; 38th Cong., 1st sess., 1490; 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 531. War Department Communication, in Sears, *Camp Nelson, Kentucky*, 180. By February 1865, Louisiana and Tennessee, originally covered by the enlistment measure, had also abolished slavery under the state constitutions.

<sup>58</sup> General John M. Palmer, "Order No. 10, March 23, 1865," in Berlin, Reidy, and Rowland, *The Black Military Experience*, 275; *Corbin v. Marsh*, 63 Ky. 193, 194 (1865); "Prospective Trouble," *Daily Cleveland Herald*, October 20, 1865, col. c. And see "Important Judicial Decisions in Kentucky," *Cincinnati Enquirer*, March 30, 1865, 1; "Slavery in Kentucky," *Chicago Tribune*, October 18, 1865, 2. Unbound to a Union soldier, the bondswoman remained a slave. During this interlude between slavery's downfall and abolition's conclusion, recalled Union general John Palmer, polygamy sometimes even may have offered freedom. The Appeals Court ruling was consistent with Kentucky's refusal to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment. See John M. Palmer, *Personal Recollections of John M. Palmer: The Story of an Earnest Life* (Cincinnati, 1901), 233; Palmer, "Order No. 10"; Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom*, 375–385; Sears, *Camp Nelson*.

ficers as their witnesses, they described standing naked under the lash. "When my husband enlisted my master beat me over the head with an axe handle," testified a Kentucky freedwife.

On Wednesday last March 22" he said that he had not time to beat me on Tuesday but now he had time . . . He then tied my hands threw the rope over a joist stripped me entirely naked and gave me about three hundred lashes. I cried out. He then caught me by the throat and almost choked me then continued to lash me with switches until my back was all cut up.<sup>59</sup>

It was an account reminiscent of the scenes that justified abolition, in which women's torments legitimated inviolable human rights, representing essential wrongs to be banished by freedom. In Thirteenth Amendment jurisprudence, however, the subjection of woman has disappeared. It is involuntary servitude and Jim Crow that count as vestiges of slavery, not wrongs particular to women, wrongs evoked by the image of a bondswoman left to her master's tender mercies, involving unfree sex as well as forcible labor and racial subjugation. Aspects of bondage highlighted in arguments for abolition—the torment of woman, body and soul—do not figure as badges of slavery recognized by the courts as forbidden by the abolition amendment. "Those laws that prevented the colored man going from home, that did not allow him to buy or to sell, or to make contracts; that did not allow him to own property; that did not allow him to enforce rights," maintained Lyman Trumbull just a month after the amendment's adoption, "were all badges of servitude made in the interest of slavery and as a part of slavery."<sup>60</sup>

Therein lies a paradox of the Thirteenth Amendment. It was clear to the authors of abolition that slavery constituted not just property in man but the violation of woman—not just forced production of staples but also unfree reproduction of wealth in slaves. And because freedom and slavery were always paired as opposites, acquiring meaning as contrasting systems of social relations, abolition promised to end the predicaments of woman so powerfully symbolizing the evils of slavery. Yet those sexed predicaments have disappeared from constitutional doctrine. And with that disappearance, the meaning of slavery has narrowed, and conversely of freedom as well, circumscribing the reach of the Thirteenth Amendment. "What divinity in whipping women for protesting when their virtue is assailed?" abolitionists cried out on behalf of the amendment.<sup>61</sup> But in Thirteenth Amendment jurisprudence, slavery's badges arise from contract, property, and race—not sex.

Why this is so lies in the logic of the enlistment measure. Speaking more directly to the bondswoman's condition than any other emancipatory enactment, it tied her freedom to marriage bonds and did the work of abolition just before the Thirteenth Amendment became part of the Constitution. Indeed, it answered the question about the nature of her freedom intended by abolition that was never explored in the debate over the amendment's language. Taking her from a loyal master, the soldier's quid pro quo defined her as a person rather than property, but not as a sovereign individual, for as a wife she fell within her husband's dominion. The badges of her slavery disappeared in bonds of marriage that abolition upheld as the essence

<sup>59</sup> "Affidavits," in Berlin, *The Destruction of Slavery*, 615, 623.

<sup>60</sup> *Globe*, 39th Cong., 1st sess., 1866, 322.

<sup>61</sup> *Globe*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., 2948.



FIGURE 7: Alfred R. Waud, "‘Mustered Out’: Colored Volunteers at Little Rock, Arkansas." *Harper's Weekly*, May 19, 1866, 308. Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-175.

of freedom. And in its free-soil rather than human rights phrasing, the amendment by no means contravened that logic. Thus after abolition, as before, no less an apologist for all forms of household unfreedom than George Fitzhugh could still blithely affirm: "The law makes the husband master of his wife." Meanwhile, the Reconstruction Amendments designated race a suspect category but enshrined woman's disfranchisement as a citizen. Only a century later would the logic of the soldier's quid pro quo begin to be systematically overturned, with the advent of another constitutional revolution disestablishing the wife's subjection under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment rather than the antislavery Thirteenth.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>62</sup> George Fitzhugh, "What's to Be Done with the Negroes," *Debow's Review*, June 1866, 577–581, 579. On slave emancipation and marriage bonds, consider abolitionist assurances during the debate over the Thirteenth Amendment that freedom meant a man's right "to himself, to his wife and children"; *Globe*, 38th Cong., 2nd sess., 200; and see *Bradwell v. The State*, 83 U.S. 130 (1872); Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion*; Cott, *Public Vows*, 77–104. On gender, citizenship, and the postbellum limits of equal protection, see Amar, "Women and the Constitution"; Ellen Carol Dubois, *Woman Suffrage and Women's Rights* (New York, 1993); Barbara Welke, "Law, Personhood, and Citizenship in the Long Nineteenth Century: The Borders of Belonging," in Grossberg and Tomlins, *The Long Nineteenth Century*, 345–386; Laura Edwards, "The Civil War and Reconstruction," *ibid.*, 313–344, esp. 339–341. On gender and modern equal protection doctrine, consider the ruling of Justice Burger: "Nowhere in the common-law world—indeed in any modern society—is a woman regarded as chattel or demeaned by denial of a separate legal identity and the dignity associated with recognition as a whole human being. Chip by chip, over the years those archaic notions have been cast aside." *Trammel v. United States*, 445 U.S. 40 (1980). And see Hartog, *Man and Wife in America*; Reva B. Siegel, "Gender and the United States Constitution," in Beverly Baines and Ruth Rubio-Marin, eds., *The Gender of Constitutional Jurisprudence* (New York, 2005), 306–332; George Chauncey, *Why Marriage? The History Shaping Today's Debate over Gay Equality* (New York, 2004), 59–86. On the limits of equal protection, see Robin West, "Equality Theory, Marital Rape, and the Promise of the Fourteenth Amendment," *Florida Law Review* 42, no. 1

Thus the counterpoint between the enlistment measure and the Thirteenth Amendment casts new light on the meaning of slavery and freedom at the moment of abolition. It illuminates the paradox of the amendment—the potent symbolism of the bondswoman’s wrongs in justifying abolition but the amendment’s impotence in guaranteeing woman’s freedom. And in turn that paradox illuminates the seemingly perverse American significance of the commerce power in rooting out wrongs forbidden by human rights guarantees in other jurisdictions. Perhaps if the amendment had spoken in terms of revolutionary doctrine, of human rights rather than of free soil, its ambit might have been wider and that of the commerce power narrower.<sup>63</sup> For then the amendment might have entitled woman to herself, thereby nullifying laws treating her as unfree and unequal while also striking at the private sovereignty of all masters in the household, a sovereignty rooted in relations of dominion and dependence even older than New World slavery.

It is not a historian’s task to speculate about newly construing the Thirteenth Amendment to count the violation of woman’s human dignity as a badge of slavery—as abolitionists once did. Yet history surely brings to light contradictions in ideas of inviolate right as they were made palpable at the moment of slavery’s abolition, contradictions that still inhibit the progress of human rights. Accordingly, the past illuminates freedom to be won.

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(1990): 45–79; Martha C. Nussbaum, “Sex, Laws, and Inequality: What India Can Teach the United States,” *Daedalus* 131, no. 1 (2002): 95–106; Richards, “Abolitionist Feminism, Moral Slavery, and the Constitution.”

<sup>63</sup> See *United States v. Morrison*, 529 U.S. 598 (2000); Katyal, “Men Who Own Women”; Akhil Reed Amar and Daniel Widawsky, “Child Abuse as Slavery: Amendment Response to *Deshaney*,” *Harvard Law Review* 105, no. 6 (1992): 1359–1385; Marcellene E. Hearn, “A Thirteenth Amendment Defense of the Violence Against Women Act,” *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 146, no. 4 (1998): 1097–1167; Judith Resnick, “Sisterhood, Slavery, and Sovereignty: Transnational Antislavery Work and Women’s Rights Movements in the United States during the Twentieth Century,” in Sklar and Stewart, *Women’s Rights and Transatlantic Antislavery*, 19–54; Martha C. Nussbaum, *Women and Human Development: The Capabilities Approach* (New York, 2000), 1–110; Marjorie Agosin, ed., *Women, Gender, and Human Rights: A Global Perspective* (New Brunswick, N.J., 2001).

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## **AHR Exchange** On the “Myth” of the “Weak” American State

*In “The Myth of the ‘Weak’ American State” (AHR, June 2008, 752–772), William J. Novak challenged what he views as long-standing and persistent misconceptions in the political history of the United States. “The phrase ‘the American state,’ ” he writes, “is seen as something of an oxymoron in a land of alleged ‘anti-statism’ and ‘statelessness.’ ” And his article goes on to explain, critique, and ultimately displace a historiographical and theoretical tendency to view the American state as somehow “weak.” Because of the provocative nature of Novak’s claims—and the wide interest in the history of state power across many fields—the editors decided to invite three scholars to participate in an AHR Exchange on his article.*

*A legal historian, John Fabian Witt, begins the Exchange with “Law and War in American History,” in which he criticizes Novak for, in his view, slighting the field of international relations and, more particularly, the war-making potential of the U.S. across time. He suggests that Novak has ignored a considerable body of scholarship that has in fact examined the growth and deployment of American power around the globe. Witt’s own preference would be to focus on the relationship between American constitutionalism and the global power of the American state. This critique is echoed by Gary Gerstle, who has written widely on twentieth-century U.S. history, in his essay, “A State Both Strong and Weak.” Gerstle, however, urges that we pay attention to the historicity of American power, arguing that it was only in the post–World War II era that the United States was transformed from a “gunfighter nation” into a “garrison state.” He also suggests that Novak’s analysis fails to capture the paradox of an American federal government that was often blocked and frustrated in extending its authority domestically while ever augmenting its power in the international arena. Finally, Julia Adams, a sociologist who studies state formation, offers a more methodologically oriented critique of Novak’s article. In “The Puzzle of the American State . . . and Its Historians,” she takes issue with his espousal of philosophical*

*pragmatism as uniquely suited to analyzing the infrastructural power of the U.S. state, suggesting that this approach is closer to European schools of historical and social analysis, from Max Weber to Michel Foucault, than he realizes. She notes that the “real targets” of Novak’s critique are historians of the United States who, she argues, have for various reasons—some methodological, some ideological—proven resistant to looking at state power in structural terms. In his response, “Long Live the Myth of the Weak State?” Novak takes issue with several of these critiques, acknowledging the relevance of many of the points, but ultimately concluding that the three commentators in part reproduce the problem of the persistent “myth” of a weak American state by failing to acknowledge how much we do not yet understand about the particular nature of the history and power of the U.S. state.*

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## *AHR Exchange*

### Law and War in American History

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JOHN FABIAN WITT

IN THE CLASSIC VIEW OF POLITICAL THEORY, law and war occupy mutually exclusive domains. Law inhabits the sphere of the state and the social contract. War takes place where law runs out, in a space of international relations in which there is no appeal to a common adjudicator. As the seventeenth-century Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius put it, war begins “where the Methods of Justice cease.” Where war was concerned, Grotius’s contemporary Thomas Hobbes contended, there was “little to be said concerning the laws”; according to Hobbes, in “war all men have equal right unto all things.” Two centuries later, the fiery senator from Massachusetts Charles Sumner expressed the same idea in shocked disbelief. “Law in that which is lawless!” he exclaimed. “Order in disorder! Rules of wrong!”<sup>1</sup>

In American history, however, there has been more intermingling of the domains of law and war than sharp separation between them. George Washington’s commission as general and commander-in-chief in June 1775 instructed him to regulate his “conduct in every respect by the rules and discipline of war.” Andrew Jackson and his supporters mixed open disdain for legal rules in warfare with a deeply aggrieved sensibility fueled by their enemies’ supposed violations of some of those very rules. In the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln published the first modern field guide to the laws and usages of war; he did so in a war effort that has served ever since as a symbol of the destructiveness of modern warfare. (Four decades later, American armed forces brought Lincoln’s rules to the Philippines and quickly tore them up.) Secretary of State James (“Jingo Jim”) Blaine pioneered an assertive new style of aggressive American foreign relations while at the same time initiating the United States’ entry into the first Geneva Convention for the protection of sick and wounded soldiers. And in the Second World War, in the space of three breathtaking days in August 1945, the United States finalized the charter of an International Military Tribunal for war crimes and dropped two atomic bombs on Japan. The Nuremberg Trial became a ray of hope for legal constraints in twentieth-century total warfare even as Hiroshima and Nagasaki caused many to worry that such constraints were a thing of the past. Law and war have marched together through American history, and their intermingling is readily apparent today. In the early twenty-first century,

<sup>1</sup> Hugo Grotius, *The Rights of War and Peace*, ed. Richard Tuck, 3 vols. (Indianapolis, 2005), 2: 393; David Armitage, “Hobbes and the Foundations of Modern International Thought,” in Annabel Brett and James Tully, eds., *Rethinking the Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (Cambridge, 2007), 226; Thomas Hobbes, *De Cive* (New York, 1942), 13; Charles Sumner, *The True Grandeur of Nations: An Oration Delivered before the Authorities of the City of Boston, July 4, 1845* (Boston, 1845), 17.

military lawyers talk of the invention of something they call “lawfare”: the continuation of war by legal means. For better or for worse, law now perches on the shoulders of generals. The sharp separation between law and war posited by Grotius and Hobbes and Sumner no longer accounts for the practice of war. In American history, it never has.<sup>2</sup>

WILLIAM NOVAK’S ENERGETIC ESSAY rightly asks historians to see law as constitutive of the global power of the American state. Novak is undoubtedly correct that many historians—not to mention activists, diplomats, politicians, and perhaps even terrorists—have fallen into error by treating law as an obstacle to the advancement of state power. This is a widely shared way of thinking about law, especially law on the international stage. For some, this makes law a heroic limit on the otherwise unconstrained world of state behavior.<sup>3</sup> For others, it makes law a self-defeating constraint in a dangerous world.<sup>4</sup> Some take the view of law as an obstacle to power and conclude that the world of American power must be essentially lawless.<sup>5</sup>

The irony is that each of these very different camps holds the same impossibly remote conception of law. Novak’s essay helps us see their error. Each of them treats law as something that stands outside power, outside the state. For more than two decades, however, it has been a basic law and society tenet—the equivalent of Legal History 101—that law is at once substantially derived from and constitutive of the

<sup>2</sup> *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774–1789*, ed. Worthington C. Ford et al., 34 vols. (Washington D.C., 1904–1937), 2: 96; David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler, *Old Hickory’s War: Andrew Jackson and the Quest for Empire* (Baton Rouge, 2003); John Grenier, *The First Way of War: American War Making on the Frontier* (Cambridge, 2005); Francis Lieber, *General Order No. 100—Adjutant-General’s Office: Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field* (Washington, D.C., 1863); Burrus M. Carnahan, *Act of Justice: Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation and the Law of War* (Lexington, Ky., 2007); William E. Birkhimer, *Military Government and Martial Law* (Kansas City, 1914), 641; Brian McAllister Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War, 1899–1902* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1989); Stanley Karnow, *In Our Image: America’s Empire in the Philippines* (New York, 1989); Paul A. Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2006); Stuart Creighton Miller, “Benevolent Assimilation”: *The American Conquest of the Philippines, 1899–1903* (New Haven, Conn., 1982); Alice Felt Tyler, *The Foreign Policy of James G. Blaine* (Minneapolis, 1927); Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860–1898* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1963); David M. Pletcher, *The Awkward Years: American Foreign Relations under Garfield and Arthur* (Columbia, Mo., 1962); Gary Jonathan Bass, *Stay the Hand of Vengeance: The Politics of War Crimes Tribunals* (Princeton, N.J., 2002); Elizabeth Borgwardt, *New Deal for the World: America’s Vision for Human Rights* (Cambridge, Mass., 2005); Telford Taylor, *Anatomy of the Nuremberg Trials: A Personal Memoir* (Boston, 1993); Charles J. Dunlap, Jr., “Lawfare Today: A Perspective,” *Yale Journal of International Affairs* 3, no. 1 (2008): 146–154.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, the classic work by American Society for International Law president Louis Henkin, *How Nations Behave: Law and Foreign Policy*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1979).

<sup>4</sup> John Bolton, *Surrender Is Not an Option: Defending America at the United Nations and Abroad* (New York, 2007); Douglas J. Feith, “Law in the Service of Terror—The Strange Case of the Additional Protocol,” *The National Interest*, no. 1 (Fall 1985): 36–47; David Frum and Richard Perle, *An End to Evil: How to Win the War on Terror* (New York, 2004); John Yoo, *War by Other Means: An Insider’s Account of the War on Terror* (New York, 2006); Robert A. Bork, “The Limits of ‘International Law,’” *The National Interest*, no. 18 (Winter 1989/1990): 3–10; Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, “Law and Reciprocity,” in *Proceedings of the 78th Annual Meeting, American Society of International Law* (Washington, D.C., 1984), 67.

<sup>5</sup> William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (New York, 1962); Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, 2001); Noam Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival: America’s Quest for Global Dominance* (New York, 2003); Michael Isikoff and David Corn, *Hubris: The Inside Story of Spin, Scandal, and the Selling of the Iraq War* (New York, 2006).

power of the state. It does not stand outside the state. It sits inside the state, simultaneously shaping and shaped by its power.<sup>6</sup> Novak is thus correct that we all too often fail to grasp the ways in which law has sustained and promoted American military power at home and abroad. The point comes into focus a bit if we consider that the four most important secretaries of war in American history—John Calhoun, Edwin Stanton, Elihu Root, and Henry Stimson—were all lawyers. The choice between law and power is a false dichotomy.<sup>7</sup>

Novak also seems right when he contends that making sense of the relationship between law and American military power has rarely been as urgent as it is now. He thinks that this urgency arises out of the continued strength of what he calls the “tired myth of the ‘weak’ American state.” I am not sure I agree (more on this below). But the urgency is real nonetheless. In the years since September 11, 2001, a deeply flawed story about the history of law and war has gone viral in the software of American public life. Let us call it the rupture narrative of law and war in America. The rupture narrative holds that the attacks of 9/11 radically changed the way the United States treats legal obligations in time of war. We can find this idea across the political spectrum; like the view that law stands outside of power and acts as a restraint on power, it is widely held. On one hand, lawyers and statesmen close to the Bush White House have insisted that in an era of global terrorism, the old days of legal limits on war are a quaint anachronism.<sup>8</sup> Liberal critics have responded by excoriating the president for abandoning American ideals and American laws.<sup>9</sup> For both sides, September 11 disrupted an American tradition in which legal rules operated principally to limit the exercise of power.

The basic rupture story has proven to be extraordinarily influential. It provides a legitimizing history for the fierce realpolitik of the neoconservative, on the one hand, and the outraged conscience of the liberal, on the other. And like the separation thesis of classical political theory, both versions of the rupture story insist on divorcing law from strategy and war: for the neoconservative right, law must be held at bay to keep it from intruding on the domain of power; for the liberal left,

<sup>6</sup> Robert W. Gordon, “Critical Legal Histories,” *Stanford Law Review* 36 (1984): 57–125; see also Pierre Bourdieu, “The Force of Law: Toward a Sociology of the Juridical Field,” *Hastings Law Journal* 38 (1987): 805–853.

<sup>7</sup> For a similar observation about American secretaries of state at the turn of the twentieth century, see Jonathan Zasloff, “Law and the Shaping of American Foreign Policy: From the Gilded Age to the New Era,” *New York University Law Review* 78 (2002): 239–373.

<sup>8</sup> Alberto R. Gonzalez, Memorandum for the President, January 25, 2002, in Karen J. Greenberg and Joshua L. Dratel, eds., *Torture Papers: The Road to Abu Ghraib* (Cambridge, 2005), 118–121; George Bush, Memorandum for the Vice President, February 7, 2002, *ibid.*, 134–135; Eric A. Posner and Adrian Vermeule, *Terror in the Balance: Security, Liberty, and the Courts* (New York, 2007); Richard A. Posner, *Not a Suicide Pact: The Constitution in a Time of National Emergency* (New York, 2006).

<sup>9</sup> Kenneth Roth, “The Law of War in the War on Terror,” *Foreign Affairs* 83, no. 1 (2004): 2–7; Jane Mayer, *The Dark Side: The Inside Story of How the War on Terror Turned into a War on American Ideals* (New York, 2008); Eric Lichtblau, *Bush’s Law: The Remaking of American Justice* (New York, 2008); Philippe Sands, *The Torture Team: Rumsfeld’s Memo and the Betrayal of American Values* (New York, 2008); Sands, *Lawless World: The Whistle-Blowing Account of How Bush and Blair Are Taking the Law into Their Own Hands* (New York, 2005). For more self-consciously scholarly accounts advancing the same underlying view, see Edwin G. Burrows, *Forgotten Patriots: The Untold Story of American Prisoners during the Revolutionary War* (New York, 2008); David Hackett Fischer, *Washington’s Crossing* (Oxford, 2006); Louis Fisher, *Military Tribunals and Presidential Power: American Revolution to the War on Terrorism* (Lawrence, Kans., 2005).



law's independence from strategy and war is what lends it legitimizing value in a liberal state.

The problem with the fast-emerging conventional wisdom about law and war in America is that the rupture narrative is almost certainly wrong. And it is wrong for the same reasons that the separation thesis is wrong. Even a cursory look at American history makes it clear that law has not ordinarily operated as an obstacle to the pursuit of those national interests identified by the political leaders of the United States. Law has often been an expression of those interests, channeling and shaping their pursuit, to be sure, but rarely to the point of fatally obstructing them. It has even—as the so-called constructivists in international relations are quick to argue—shaped the perception of those interests themselves. Novak and I may differ as to the reasons for the urgency of the inquiry. But given the power of the mythologies of separation and rupture, Novak's call to arms commends itself to historians everywhere.<sup>10</sup>

DESPITE THE CONSIDERABLE VIRTUES of Novak's essay, it is not clear that the scholarship we have now leaves us as badly positioned as he suggests. Not, anyway, if our goal is to understand the power of the American state. On this score, Novak seems to speak with two voices at once. In one breath, he insists that we need a new conceptual framework, one that is emancipated from the historically contingent analytics of nineteenth- and twentieth-century European social science.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps. But with the next breath he cites as models for the new framework many of the most celebrated and influential scholars of twentieth-century American political history. Scholars ranging from Richard T. Ely and John Commons, to Theda Skocpol and Stephen Skowronek, to Jacob Hacker and Christopher Howard have helped us to understand the distinctive ways in which the American state exercises power. A small group of consensus school historians from the 1950s apparently got it wrong. But putting the beleaguered consensus school historians to one side, surely this is good news about the state of the field. The capacities of the American state cannot be as poorly understood as Novak claims. The catalogue of adjectives that he pulls from the new institutional history of the American state (e.g., "divided," "hidden," "patch-

<sup>10</sup> For useful departures from the rupture narrative, with its sharp separation of law and power, see Philip Bobbitt, *Terror and Consent: The Wars for the Twenty-First Century* (New York, 2008); Benjamin Wittes, *Law and the Long War: The Future of Justice in the Age of Terror* (New York, 2008).

<sup>11</sup> One dimension of Novak's essay that ought to be controversial and that Novak himself leaves unaddressed is the idea that American legal realism and early-twentieth-century social science hold the promise of a better understanding of state power than European social thought. The sharp distinction here between European and American social theory is at odds with the now well-established literature on Atlantic crossings in the world of social policy and social thought. Indeed, the very thinkers on whom Novak relies most strongly—such as Lester Frank Ward, John R. Commons, and John Dewey—are those who seem to have been most influenced by the Continental critique of formal nineteenth-century economics. To the extent that American social thought a century ago charted new paths, they were often (as Dorothy Ross has so powerfully argued) the kinds of "American exceptionalist" routes that Novak eschews. See James T. Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870–1920* (New York, 1986); Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); Louis Menand, *The Metaphysical Club* (New York, 2001); Robert B. Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1993); Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (Cambridge, 1991).

work”) gives evidence of the sophistication and subtlety of a literature that for years has been working to specify with ever greater precision the capacities and incapacities of American institutions. Twenty-five years after Skowronek warned us away from the Hegelian view of the United States as a weak state (or as no state at all), one wonders whom Novak is arguing with.<sup>12</sup>

The scholars Novak leaves out are as striking as the scholars he cites. It goes without saying, of course, that there is a huge literature on the history of American foreign policy. It constitutes an entire field of historical inquiry. Likewise, there is a vast literature on American military history. It too makes up an entire field of specialized scholarship. There is another literature by historians and political scientists seeking to understand how liberal states mobilize for war and empire. We have a booming field of global history now, too, which is principally preoccupied with making sense of the power (and limits) of states in the modern world. It is almost embarrassing to make such observations, because they are so self-evident, but each of these literatures is deeply concerned with the American state and its capacities on the world stage. One would think that each of these interrelated literatures ought to be central for Novak, since, after all, he seeks to understand the history of the American state and its global strength. But these literatures are almost completely missing in his essay. Can it really be the case that Paul Kennedy’s work on the rise and fall of great powers does not appear in Novak’s article? How about John Brewer on the British paradox (analogous to the American case) of a “weak” state and a global empire? Maybe even a smart popularizer such as Fareed Zakaria on the connections between economic success and foreign policy power in the late-nineteenth-century American state? If, as Ira Katznelson has written, the military is the “most important buckle fastening international to domestic affairs,” then surely one cannot ask the questions Novak would like to ask without military history—not if one wants to keep Katznelson’s pants from falling down, anyway.<sup>13</sup>

The consequences of the missing field of international relations are readily ap-

<sup>12</sup> John R. Commons, *Institutional Economics: Its Place in Political Economy* (New York, 1934); Commons, *Legal Foundations of Capitalism* (Madison, Wis., 1957); Commons, *A Sociological View of Sovereignty, 1899–1900* (New York, 1965); Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Organization: A Study of the Larger Mind* (New York, 1909); Theda Skocpol, *Social Policy in the United States: Future Possibilities in Historical Perspective* (Princeton, N.J., 1995); Skocpol, *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992); Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877–1920* (New York, 1982); Jacob S. Hacker, *The Divided Welfare State: The Battle over Public and Private Social Benefits in the United States* (Cambridge, 2002); Christopher Howard, *The Hidden Welfare State: Tax Expenditures and Social Policy in the United States* (Princeton, N.J., 1997). For examples of the American political development literature turned toward international relations, see Alvin B. Tillery, “Foreign Policy Activism and Power in the House of Representatives: Black Members of Congress and South Africa, 1968–1986,” *Studies in American Political Development* 20 (April 2007): 88–103; Gary Gerstle, “Reflections on Americanism,” *Studies in American Political Development* 19 (April 2005): 98–102; Ira Katznelson and Martin Shefter, eds., *Shaped by War and Trade: International Influences on American Political Development* (Princeton, N.J., 2002).

<sup>13</sup> Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000* (New York, 1987); John Brewer, *Sinews of Power: War, Money, and the English State, 1688–1783* (New York, 1988); Fareed Zakaria, *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America’s World Role* (Princeton, N.J., 1998); Ira Katznelson, “Flexible Capacity,” in Katznelson and Shefter, *Shaped by War and Trade*, 82–110. See also P. G. M. Dickson, *The Financial Revolution in England: A Study in the Development of Public Credit, 1688–1756* (London, 1967); Richard Bonney, ed., *The Rise of the Fiscal State in Europe, c. 1200–1815* (Oxford, 1999); James C. Riley, *International Government Finance and the Amsterdam Capital Market* (Cambridge, 1980).

parent. For historians of the period after the Civil War, the awkward “weak state” hypothesis against which Novak inveighs is one that has had its principal application to internal policy, especially the domestic welfare state and social policy. Thankfully, the literature on law and the welfare state has become considerably more nuanced in the past two decades. We can now see legal institutions channeling and shaping American social policy, rather than simply clumsily obstructing it.<sup>14</sup> But among historians of foreign affairs and globalization, the “weak state” hypothesis seems to have exerted considerably less pull. The best studies of the American state in recent years wisely split the atom of the state, distinguishing between different dimensions of state capacity. After all, the famous question posed by the German sociologist Werner Sombart at the turn of the twentieth century was why the United States manifested so little support for socialism in its domestic public policies, not why the United States was so weak in its international affairs. When Sombart wondered about socialism in America, it would have made little sense to ask about American weakness per se. The United States had recently driven the Spanish out of the New World. McKinley and Roosevelt had embarked on an overseas empire in Guam, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico. Secretary of War Elihu Root (one of the country’s most distinguished lawyers) had just presided over a classic imperial counterinsurgency in the Philippines, much like the one the British had just fought against the Boers. The United States was so far from seeming weak in the global sense that English journalist W. T. Stead was predicting the “Americanization of the World.”<sup>15</sup>

If we turn to the literature on American foreign relations and American military history, we find that historians have long been attentive to some of the very things for which Novak calls. We find scholarly monographs and even a bestseller or two describing the ways in which the language of liberty has been deployed to advance American power. There is a long line of histories on the use of private power as a substitute for and supplement to state power. We find entire historical literatures on the ways in which liberal states mobilize private resources and citizenries for war.<sup>16</sup> Scholars such as John Brewer, Brian Downing, Thomas Ertman, Paul

<sup>14</sup> With respect to internal social policy, Novak goes too far when he enthusiastically dismisses what he calls “the myth of *Lochner*.” Thirty years of revisionist scholarship on *Lochner v. New York*, decided by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1905 and striking down a minimum-hours statute for bakery employees, has left intact the proposition that the early-twentieth-century Supreme Court powerfully shaped twentieth-century American social policy. See generally William E. Forbath, *Law and the Shaping of the American Labor Movement* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991); Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings*; John Fabian Witt, *The Accidental Republic: Crippled Workingmen, Destitute Widows, and the Remaking of American Law* (Cambridge, Mass., 2004). Novak’s scholarship has been an important part of the trend toward a more subtle account of the *Lochner* period and its predecessors. See, for example, William J. Novak, *The People’s Welfare: Law and Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996).

<sup>15</sup> Werner Sombart, *Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?*, trans. Patricia M. Hocking and C. T. Husbands, ed. C. T. Husbands (White Plains, N.Y., 1976); Ivan Musicant, *Empire by Default: The Spanish-American War and the Dawn of the American Century* (New York, 1998); James C. Bradford, ed., *Crucible of Empire: The Spanish-American War and Its Aftermath* (Annapolis, Md., 1993); David F. Trask, *The War with Spain in 1898* (New York, 1981); Christina Duffy Burnett and Burke Marshall, eds., *Foreign in a Domestic Sense: Puerto Rico, American Expansion, and the Constitution* (Durham, N.C., 2001); Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2007); Linn, *The U.S. Army and Counterinsurgency in the Philippine War*; Karnow, *In Our Image*; Kramer, *The Blood of Government*; Miller, “Benevolent Assimilation”; W. T. Stead, *The Americanization of the World*; or, *The Trend of the Twentieth Century* (London, 1902).

<sup>16</sup> Robert W. Tucker and David C. Hendrickson, *Empire of Liberty: The Statecraft of Thomas Jefferson*

Kennedy, and Charles Tilly have long emphasized the connections between state power and the capacity of states to raise funds through taxation and borrowing. Niall Ferguson has turned this and related observations into a televised cottage industry. Indeed, the connection between economic growth and global power is so deeply ingrained that we find it on the big screen as well as the flat screen. Think of Clint Eastwood's somber but successful film *Letters from Iwo Jima*. The image of American cars rolling off the assembly line fills the Japanese general Tadamichi Kuribayashi with dread when he realizes that the factories can be retooled to produce tanks.<sup>17</sup>

The point here is not that Novak is wrong to call on early-twentieth-century American social science and American legal realism to help us understand the dynamics of state power in the early twenty-first century. They are undoubtedly useful resources, and often for precisely the reasons Novak cites. These are conceptual frameworks that take as a central task understanding how ostensibly private power related to public power. But there exist any number of places to which one would want to turn first.

Take the legal realist Robert Hale, for example, to whom Novak points with special force. Hale was a superb early-twentieth-century legal thinker who is still underappreciated. His writing offered a very nice illustration of Novak's thesis about the unconventional ways in which American state power has expressed itself. In particular, Hale argued that private power and public authority were conceptually indistinguishable. The ostensibly liberal categories of property and contract were inevitably and unavoidably shot through with the coercive force of the state.<sup>18</sup> This is all wonderful stuff. The problem for Novak is that Hale's work will not carry Novak's argument. Unlike the formal legal literature that Hale rightly critiqued, with its implicit and mostly unanalyzed reliance on a sharp distinction between public and private, the literature on the American state and its global power is not hung up on the public/private distinction. Indeed, one of the central claims of the Cold War consensus was precisely that capitalist economies organized around the rule of law and the allocation of power to the private sphere are (in the long run) best able to sustain the strength of a state on the global stage. George Kennan thought so. So did Harry

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(New York, 1990); Robert Kagan, *Dangerous Nation: America's Place in the World from Its Earliest Days to the Dawn of the Twentieth Century* (New York, 2006); Walter A. McDougall, *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World since 1776* (Boston, 1997); Walter Nugent, *Habits of Empire: A History of American Expansion* (New York, 2008); Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy*; Doron S. Ben-Atar, *The Origins of Jeffersonian Commercial Policy and Diplomacy* (New York, 1993); Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Irony of American History* (New York, 1952); Nicholas Parrillo, "The De-Privatization of American Warfare: How the U.S. Government Used, Regulated, and Ultimately Abandoned Privateering in the Nineteenth Century," *Yale Journal of Law & the Humanities* 19 (Winter 2007): 1–95; Jeremy Scahill, *Blackwater: The Rise of the World's Most Powerful Mercenary Army* (New York, 2007).

<sup>17</sup> Brewer, *Sinews of Power*; Brian M. Downing, *Military Revolution and Political Change: Origins of Democracy and Autocracy in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton, N.J., 1992); Thomas Ertman, *Birth of the Leviathan: Building States and Regimes in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1997); Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of Great Powers*; Charles Tilly, *The Formation of National States in Western Europe* (Princeton, N.J., 1975); Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990–1990* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990); Niall Ferguson, *The Cash Nexus: Money and Power in the Modern World, 1700–2000* (New York, 2001); Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World* (London, 2003). See also Adam Tooze, *The Wages of Destruction: The Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy* (New York, 2007).

<sup>18</sup> Barbara H. Fried, *The Progressive Assault on Laissez-Faire: Robert Hale and the First Law and Economics Movement* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998).



Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, and every American president up to the end of the Cold War. The idea is so widely respected today that it serves as a truism in world affairs.<sup>19</sup>

WHAT WOULD BE NICE TO UNDERSTAND is the relationship between the American constitutional order and the emergence of American power. This is a historical question to which Novak rightly points us, and it is a question that warrants considerable further investigation. How has the American constitutional system shaped the emergence of American strength on the world stage?<sup>20</sup>

To ask the question is of course to see how enormous it is—and to see how many different methods of inquiry are already being deployed to give us leverage on the question. Political scientists (sometimes armed with fancy statistical software packages) are producing fascinating hypotheses about the relationship between constitutional structure and war.<sup>21</sup> Legal historians are venturing into the strange and musty international and military law sections of their law libraries.<sup>22</sup> Students of

<sup>19</sup> George F. Kennan, "The Sources of Soviet Conduct," *Foreign Affairs* 25, no. 4 (July 1947): 566–582; Kennan, "America and the Russian Future," *Foreign Affairs* 29, no. 3 (April 1951): 351–370; Melvyn P. Leffler, *A Preponderance of Power: National Security, the Truman Administration, and the Cold War* (Palo Alto, Calif., 1992); Daniel Yergin, *Shattered Peace: The Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State* (Boston, 1977); Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York, 1992).

<sup>20</sup> Interestingly, historians and lawyers (including me) have been more likely to take the question the other way around, asking about the effects of war on domestic legal and constitutional rights. Here there is another vast literature, to which there have been a number of important contributions in recent years. See John Fabian Witt, "Internationalists in the Nation-State: Crystal Eastman and the Puzzle of American Civil Liberties," in Witt, *Patriots and Cosmopolitans: Hidden Histories of American Law* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007); Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago, 1995); Christopher Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen* (Oxford, 2008); Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton, N.J., 2000); Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York, 1988); Charles C. Moskos and John Sibley Butler, *All That We Can Be: Black Leadership and Racial Integration the Army Way* (New York, 1997); Geoffrey R. Stone, *Perilous Times: Free Speech in Wartime—From the Sedition Act of 1798 to the War on Terrorism* (New York, 2004); Mark Tushnet, ed., *The Constitution in Wartime: Beyond Alarmism and Complacency* (Durham, N.C., 2005).

<sup>21</sup> Tanisha M. Fazal, *State Death: The Politics and Geography of Conquest, Occupation, and Annexation* (Princeton, N.J., 2007); Stathis N. Kalyvas, *The Logic of Violence in Civil War* (Cambridge, 2006); Gary J. Bass, "Are Democracies Really More Peaceful?" *New York Times Magazine*, January 1, 2006; Michael W. Doyle, *Empires* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1986); Edward D. Mansfield and Jack Snyder, *Electing to Fight: Why Emerging Democracies Go to War* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007); James Morrow, "When Do States Follow the Laws of War?" *American Political Science Review* 101 (2007): 559–572, empirically testing compliance with the laws of war; Dan Reiter and Allan C. Stam, *Democracies at War* (Princeton, N.J., 2002).

<sup>22</sup> Adam M. McKeown, *Melancholy Order: Asian Migration and the Globalization of Borders* (New York, 2008); Paul D. Halliday, *Habeas Corpus: From England to Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 2010); David Glazier, "Precedents Lost: The Neglected History of the Military Commission," *Virginia Journal of International Law* 46, no. 1 (2005): 5–81; Christina Duffy Burnett, "Contingent Constitutions: Empire and Law in the Americas" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2008); Ben Coates, "Trans-Atlantic Advocates: American International Law and U.S. Foreign Relations, 1898–1919" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 2010); Mary L. Dudziak, "Law, War, and the History of Time" (USC Law Legal Studies Paper No. 09-6, 2010), [http://papers.ssrn.com/abstract\\_id=1374454](http://papers.ssrn.com/abstract_id=1374454); David Golove and Daniel J. Hulsebosch, "On Equal Footing: Constitution-Making and the Law of Nations in the Early American Republic," *New York University Law Review* (forthcoming); Martti Koskenniemi, *Gentle Civilizer of Nations: The Rise and Fall of International Law, 1870–1960* (Cambridge, 2002); Elizabeth Lutes Hillman, *Defending America: Military Culture and the Cold War Court-Martial* (Princeton, N.J., 2005); Antony Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty, and the Making of International Law* (Cambridge, 2004); Mark Weston Janis, *The American Tradition of International Law: Great Expectations, 1789–1914* (Oxford, 2004); Peter Onuf and Nicholas



American political development are studying the capacity of the American state for war.<sup>23</sup> This hardly begins to exhaust the field. The most significant effect of American law and constitutionalism on American power might even be an indirect one: the capacity of the American legal system and American institutions to sustain economic growth. If, as many have long argued, economic power is closely related to military might, then the capacity of the American legal system to foster markets would surely be a critically important way in which law relates to state power.<sup>24</sup>

When we ask about the historical relationship between American constitutionalism and the power of the American state on the world stage, the answers we get will surely vary from time to time and place to place. Novak suggests that thinking of the American state as “weak” inhibits sound analysis of the global power of the twenty-first-century United States. But the structure of the American state has often been awkward at best with respect to the advancement of its goals.<sup>25</sup> If European observers from the first half of the nineteenth century believed that the U.S. lacked the state capacity to compete with the great European powers, they were probably right. The foreign policy of the 1780s produced constitutional crises so grave as to require a reorganization of the republic on the basis of a new constitution. Even so, the War of 1812 was a comedy of constitutional errors. President James Madison learned firsthand just how little authority existed in the government he had helped to create twenty-five years before. In the 1830s, conflicts with Great Britain along the Canadian border and Indian removal brought further constitutional embarrassments. The constitutional challenges of the Civil War are of course well known.<sup>26</sup>

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Onuf, *Federal Union, Modern World: The Law of Nations in an Age of Revolutions, 1776–1814* (Madison, Wis., 1993); Carl Landauer, “The Ambivalences of Power: Launching the *American Journal of International Law* in an Era of Empire and Globalization,” *Leiden Journal of International Law* 20 (Summer 2007): 325–358; Parrillo, “The De-Privatization of American Warfare.”

<sup>23</sup> Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You*; Katznelson and Shefter, *Shaped by War and Trade*; Skowronek, *Building a New American State*; Bartholomew H. Sparrow, *From the Outside In: World War II and the American State* (Princeton, N.J., 1996).

<sup>24</sup> For a theory of the relationship between American state power and the success of its market economy, see, for example, Barry R. Weingast, “The Economic Role of Political Institutions: Market-Preserving Federalism and Economic Development,” *Journal of Law, Economics & Organization* 11 (1995): 1–31.

<sup>25</sup> This is fast becoming a basic tenet both of the scholarly literature, where institutionally oriented political scientists are pursuing the relationship between state structure and security, and of a popular political discourse in which the attacks of September 11 set off a wide-ranging debate on the fit between the American state and the security imperatives of the twenty-first century. For the former, see Katznelson and Shefter, *Shaped by War and Trade*; Jide Nzelibe, “A Positive Theory of the War-Powers Constitution,” *Iowa Law Review* 91 (March 2006): 993–1062. For the latter, see Bruce Ackerman, *Before the Next Attack: Preserving Civil Liberties in an Age of Terrorism* (New Haven, Conn., 2006); Richard A. Posner, *Uncertain Shield: The U.S. Intelligence System in the Throes of Reform* (New York, 2006); Jack Goldsmith, *The Terror Presidency: Law and Judgment inside the Bush Administration* (New York, 2007); Sanford Levinson, *Our Undemocratic Constitution: Where the Constitution Goes Wrong (and How We the People Can Correct It)* (New York, 2006).

<sup>26</sup> Gordon S. Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789–1815* (Oxford, 2009), 663; J. C. A. Stagg, *Mr. Madison’s War: Politics, Diplomacy, and Warfare in the Early American Republic, 1783–1830* (Princeton, N.J., 1983); Jon Latimer, *1812: War with America* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007); Robert Keohane, “International Commitments and American Political Institutions in the Nineteenth Century,” in Katznelson and Shefter, *Shaped by War and Trade*, 57–81; Dodi-Lee Hecht, “The Voyage of *The Caroline* as Witnessed and Interpreted by Francis Lieber” (unpublished paper, Columbia Law School, 2008); Daniel Farber, *Lincoln’s Constitution* (Chicago, 2004); Daniel W. Hamilton, *The Limits of Sovereignty: Property Confiscation in the Union and the Confederacy during the Civil War* (Chicago,

To insist that state power today implies state power yesterday is to commit the anachronism of reading twenty-first-century strength back onto the military and foreign relations apparatus of the pre-Civil War period—an apparatus that sometimes more closely resembled a Rube Goldberg contraption than a well-oiled machine. There have been times in which the jury-rigged constitutional structure of American policymaking assisted American statesmen. But on more than one occasion, the constitutional structure of the American state has almost collapsed under its own weight, rescued from disaster by some combination of geographic isolation, historical contingency, and plain dumb luck.

For the most part, however, the institutional history of the American constitutional order has not been one of rigidity and near-collapse, but one of adaptability in response to changing international and security settings. Here Novak usefully points us in the right direction. Think of John Adams's Quasi-War with France or Lincoln's constitutional high-wire act for the first two years of the Civil War.<sup>27</sup> Again and again, constitutional limits have flexed to adapt to new strategic settings. As Justice Robert Jackson put it in 1949, courts have usually tempered their "doctrinaire logic with a little practical wisdom" lest the Constitution become a "suicide pact."<sup>28</sup> Jackson's formulation does not even capture the full flexibility of American constitutionalism. Constitutional limits have flexed not merely to protect the republic, but also to advance its ambitions and interests. Think of the long, often sordid constitutional history of American expansion, from Jefferson's acquisition of Louisiana and Andrew Jackson's adventuresome seizure of the Floridas, to John Tyler's constitutionally innovative addition of Texas and the Supreme Court's skillful if legally dubious decisions in the *Insular Cases*, sanctioning American imperial expansion overseas.<sup>29</sup> In the twentieth century, the Supreme Court rarely got in the way of the exercise of executive power in wartime, though it was (sometimes) more assertive when fighting cooled.<sup>30</sup> Since September 11, 2001, the U.S. Supreme Court has refused to rubber-stamp Executive Branch security programs in the "war" against global terrorism. But as Chief Justice John Roberts's 2008 dissent in *Boumediene v. Bush* pointedly observed, the Court has also declined to take steps that bind the

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2007); Mark E. Neely, Jr., *The Fate of Liberty: Abraham Lincoln and Civil Liberties* (New York, 1991); James G. Randall, *Constitutional Problems under Lincoln* (Urbana, Ill., 1951).

<sup>27</sup> Lawrence S. Kaplan, *Colonies into Nation: American Diplomacy, 1763–1801* (New York, 1972); John Lamberton Harper, *American Machiavelli: Alexander Hamilton and the Origins of U.S. Foreign Policy* (Cambridge, 2004); Marie-Jeanne Rossignol, *The Nationalist Ferment: The Origins of U.S. Foreign Policy, 1789–1812*, trans. Lillian A. Parrot (Columbus, Ohio, 2005); Randall, *Constitutional Problems under Lincoln*.

<sup>28</sup> *Terminiello v. Chicago*, 337 U.S. 1 (1949) (Jackson, J., dissenting).

<sup>29</sup> Sanford Levinson, "Installing the *Insular Cases* into the Canon of Constitutional Law," in Burnett and Marshall, *Foreign in a Domestic Sense*, 121–139; Christina Duffy Burnett, "Untied States: American Expansion and Territorial Deannexation," *University of Chicago Law Review* 72, no. 3 (2005): 797–879.

<sup>30</sup> See Samuel Issacharoff and Richard Pildes, "Emergencies and the Idea of Constitutionalism," in Tushnet, *The Constitution in Wartime*, 161–197; *United States v. Curtiss-Wright Export Corp.*, 299 U.S. 304 (1936); *Ex parte Quirin*, 317 U.S. 1 (1942); *Youngstown Sheet & Tube Co. v. Sawyer*, 343 U.S. 579 (1952); Louis Fisher, *Presidential War Power* (Lawrence, Kans., 1995); Fisher, *Constitutional Conflicts between Congress and the President* (Princeton, N.J., 1985); David J. Barron and Martin S. Lederman, "The Commander in Chief at the Lowest Ebb—A Constitutional History," *Harvard Law Review* 121 (2008): 689–804; Barron and Lederman, "The Commander in Chief at the Lowest Ebb—Framing the Problem, Doctrine, and Original Understanding," *ibid.*, 941–1113.

Executive and the Congress all that tightly in their exercise of foreign affairs powers.<sup>31</sup>

Contrary to the comfortable myths of right and left since September 11, constitutionalism and law do not come to American state power from without, as some kind of god outside the machine, reaching into it to exert an external authority. Constitutionalism and law are internal to the power of the American state, constituting it and giving it shape. What we see in these engagements between American constitutionalism and international relations is that law and constitutionalism shape the ways in which the power of the American state expresses itself. In exhorting historians to pay still more attention to these crucial interactions, Novak's essay does us a great service.

<sup>31</sup> *Rasul v. Bush*, 542 U.S. 466 (2004); *Hamdi v. Rumsfeld*, 542 U.S. 507 (2004); *Hamdan v. Rumsfeld*, 548 U.S. 557 (2006); *Boumediene v. Bush*, 553 U.S. 723, 128 S. Ct. 2229, 2279 (2008) (Roberts, C. J., dissenting) (noting "the modest practical results of the majority's ambitious opinion").

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*AHR Exchange*  
A State Both Strong and Weak

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GARY GERSTLE

WILLIAM NOVAK'S ESSAY IS PROVOCATIVE in the best sense of the term: it challenges us to rethink what we thought we knew about the American state. It is bold in conception and execution, as Novak ranges across the entire span of U.S. history and brings to bear on his topic remarkable erudition and a penetrating intelligence. I can think of few other works on the state that are grounded in such a comprehensive knowledge of relevant literatures, not just the critical works of theory, history, and historical sociology but also the illuminating work of American pragmatism and jurisprudence. In developing a critique of interpretations that stress the American state's chronic weakness, Novak also asks profound questions about how it is we study states, and what measures we use to determine whether a state is strong or weak. This line of inquiry leads him to reconceptualize how states exercise their power, and to insist that the true power of the American state can be grasped only if we shift our attention from what sociologist Michael Mann has called the "despotic" power of governments to their "infrastructural" reach.

Novak not only refines our conceptual approach to the problematic of state power but also begins the historical-empirical task of identifying the institutions and practices through which the American state expanded its infrastructural reach across the past two centuries. He takes note in particular of the sprawling and intensely localistic structure of American government, a characteristic that enabled the state to make its presence felt in the most remote stretches of the nation; the dense systems of courts, clerks, and police forces that inserted state power into the daily lives of countless Americans in the most mundane but nevertheless influential ways; and the success of the American state in extending its authority by enlisting the private sector to achieve public aims.

To these examples of infrastructural power that Novak discusses, we might add others. I have in mind in particular the increase these last seventy-five years in the technologies of public knowledge that the American state has at its disposal and through which it has augmented its infrastructural influence. In addition to gathering census data, which it has been doing since 1790, the state enmeshes itself in the lives of its citizens through complex systems of taxation, social security, selective service, and affirmative action that both extract knowledge (and in the case of taxation, money) and shape identities. To take just one example: the ubiquitous ethno-racial classification system that affirmative action has spawned has profoundly organized how we think about American workplaces, universities, and, indeed, ourselves as a

nation.<sup>1</sup> To speak about technologies of state knowledge in this way brings to mind the work of James Scott and Michel Foucault, and indeed, Novak's essay might have benefited from a discussion of how Mann's theory of infrastructural power is similar to or different from Scott's notion of "seeing like a state" and Foucault's vision of individuals in modern societies caught in powerful force fields of public and private knowledge.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, for anyone interested in thinking in new ways about how the American state exercises its power, Novak has mapped a rich terrain for future study.

Novak has also infused his exploration with moral passion, as he seeks to awaken readers to the political danger of insisting that the United States is home to a weak state. How can anyone continue to indulge this myth in light of the power that the American state exercises in the world today? "Coming to terms with the historical rise of the mechanisms of legal, political, economic, corporate, and technological power," Novak argues, will lead to a long-overdue reckoning with American global hegemony and empire.

It may be, however, that Novak's concern with America's current status as world hegemon leads the essay somewhat astray. There is a tendency in the essay to treat America's surge toward global power as the working out of a perpetually aggrandizing and power-seeking state. I am not convinced that America's imperial status today should be interpreted as destiny already manifest in American state-building in the earliest years of the republic. If we accept Mann's contention that all successful modern states exercise infrastructural power, then we have to concede that the existence of infrastructural power alone cannot explain why one state has become so powerful in world affairs. And while the United States has possessed a militaristic and imperialist streak since its early years, apparent in its nineteenth-century expansion across the North American continent, the defeat of rival empires, and the seizing of land that had belonged to Native Americans and Mexico, this "gunfighter nation" was not the same as the "garrison state" that would emerge during the Cold War and that would enforce a Pax Americana on a sizable part of the world.<sup>3</sup>

To merge the gunfighter nation and garrison state into one story ignores, among other things, the historical vigor of anti-imperialist movements in the United States, movements that helped to ensure that America's formal empire in the early twentieth century would be far smaller than the empires of rival imperialist powers such as Great Britain, Germany, France, and Japan. And it overlooks, too, the deep and longstanding antipathy in the U.S. toward what formal empire requires: a large professional army. On the eve of the Spanish-American War (1898), the U.S. Army consisted of barely 25,000 troops. It ballooned into the millions during World War

<sup>1</sup> David Hollinger, *Post-Ethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism* (New York, 1995), 19–50.

<sup>2</sup> James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, Conn., 1998); Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller, eds., *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (Chicago, 1991), 87–104. See also Patrick Joyce, "What Is the Social in Social History?" *Past and Present* 205 (November 2009): 175–210; and Matthew G. Hannah, *Governmentality and the Mastery of Territory in Nineteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, 2000).

<sup>3</sup> "Gunfighter nation" is a term drawn from Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (New York, 1992). Harold D. Lasswell was among the first to use the term "garrison state." See Lasswell, "The Garrison State," *American Journal of Sociology* 46, no. 4 (January 1941): 455–468.



I, of course, but by 1923 it had been reduced to 130,000, the level at which it hovered until the eve of World War II. A fundamental change in the history of American attitudes toward a standing army came only at the end of World War II, when the outbreak of the Cold War impelled American policymakers to insist that the safety of the free world demanded that a sizable part of the military machine that the U.S. had built in World War II be maintained indefinitely. Thus did a large military become a permanent feature of American life, spanning the forty-three years of the Cold War (1946–1989) and, after what now looks like a 1990s interlude of relative peace, continuing with a War on Terror that has no foreseeable end.

My point is that any history of the American leviathan must recognize the changes that the Cold War, or what we might call the “era of permanent war,” ushered in. The post-1945 period made a prophet of Randolph Bourne, and of his declaration that “war is essentially the health of the State.”<sup>4</sup> Permanent war triggered major flows of power to the central state, apparent not just in terms of the emergence of a military-industrial complex but also in terms of the growth of the American welfare state, a development that is usually credited to the New Deal alone. It also legitimated the rise of formidable apparatuses of national security and surveillance and the concomitant strengthening of the executive branch of the federal government. Theories about the “imperial presidency” and “unitary executive” are products of this era of permanent war.<sup>5</sup> And while there are infrastructural elements to this growth in central state power, its driving force is what Mann would label despotic. Among the manifestations of this “despotism” are the hundreds of thousands of Americans who came under government surveillance during the Cold War and the War on Terror and the readiness of the state to violate civil liberties when it perceived national security to be at stake. A state of permanent war renders these violations far more dangerous to the life of the republic than earlier wars with clear beginnings and ends.

Taking note of the war-fed power of the American leviathan in the years after 1945 certainly underscores Novak’s point about how problematic it can be to adhere to the myth of the weak American state. But it also cautions us against advancing an argument for this state’s unremitting strength as a substitute for the older argument about its chronic weakness. The strength of the U.S. state today has resulted as much from specific historical events and circumstances such as war as from enduring structural characteristics and political ambitions that were always pushing this state toward strength. We should resist, then, the teleological tendency to read the current power of the U.S. state back to the beginnings of the American Republic.

IF WE TREAT THE PRE-1945 PERIOD of state-building on its own terms, the argument about the inherent strength of the American state becomes a more difficult one to make. Let me take two examples that Novak brings to our attention regarding struc-

<sup>4</sup> Randolph S. Bourne, “The State,” in Carl Resek, ed., *War and the Intellectual: Essays by Randolph S. Bourne, 1915–1919* (New York, 1964), 69.

<sup>5</sup> Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Imperial Presidency* (Boston, 1973); John Yoo, *Crisis and Command: The History of Executive Power from George Washington to George W. Bush* (New York, 2009); Dana D. Nelson, *Bad for Democracy: How the Presidency Undermines the Power of the People* (Minneapolis, 2008).

tures that he sees as contributing to the strength of the American state but that I see as sources of both state strength and state weakness: first, the broad distribution of jurisdictional power, and second, the public/private character of many state formations in the United States. By broad distribution of power, Novak means the multiplicity of centers of public authority in the U.S. The figures that he marshals—for example, the nearly 90,000 distinct governmental units that make up the American state—are indeed stunning.

Novak is right to be impressed by the success of this system of “horizontal” rule in establishing its legitimacy across a large terrain, much of it thinly populated, and to take note of the importance of America’s system of law in overcoming the fragmentation that one would expect such a complex and overlapping set of jurisdictions to generate. Through law, the United States devised a system of rule that was on the one hand local. On the other hand, the countless local legal jurisdictions and courts were integrated into a chain of legal command that ran directly to a national court that, by the late nineteenth century, was recognized by virtually everyone in America as supreme. A quarter-century ago, Stephen Skowronek recognized the indispensability of a “state of courts” to containing the centrifugal forces in American society.<sup>6</sup> Novak is correct to insist on the accuracy of this insight, and on the need to go beyond it by making the history of what he calls the legal or jural state central to a history of American political development.

In other respects, however, the jurisdictional sprawl of American governance, what we used to call federalism, generated weaknesses that were not so easily overcome. The power of the states endured far longer in American history than many have realized. Sometimes these states, within their jurisdictions, themselves became models of what strong governments could do—a subject Novak wrote about eloquently in his book *The People’s Welfare*.<sup>7</sup> But at other times, these states frustrated the legislative ambitions of the central state. This was true, for example, of the New Deal period (1930s and 1940s), often thought to have constituted a revolution in governance that shifted power decisively from the states to the federal government. As a result, the federal government is finally thought to have implemented the kind of strong central-state policies that progressives had long dreamed about: regulating capital and labor markets, establishing an extensive welfare state, deepening the progressivity of tax policies, and deploying fiscal and monetary measures to manage the business cycle.

The New Deal state did indeed undertake important initiatives in each of these areas, making this moment one of the most successful in American history in terms of imposing public regulation on private market forces. But the careful work that historians and social scientists have done on these New Deal policies across the last generation reveals that, at almost every turn, the ambitions of central-state planners were frustrated by the power and the conservatism of individual states. Congress wrote Social Security and other welfare and relief legislation in such a way as to give individual states effective control over the amount of federal money that would be

<sup>6</sup> Stephen Skowronek, *Building a New American State: The Expansion of National Administrative Capacities, 1877–1920* (Cambridge, 1982).

<sup>7</sup> William J. Novak, *The People’s Welfare: Law and Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996).

spent on welfare within their jurisdictions. With regard to other important New Deal-era legislation, such as the GI Bill of 1944, Congress insisted that critical decisions regarding who would be eligible for benefits and through which educational and commercial institutions the benefits would flow should also be left up to the individual states. One can interpret these policy decisions, of course, to be indicative of “state strength,” if by that we mean the enduring power of the individual states themselves. But I interpret the import of these policies differently. Quite a number of states, especially in the South, used the autonomy granted them by national welfare legislation to weaken central state policies, either by limiting the number of beneficiaries (through racial exclusions, for example) or by diverting substantial sums of federal monies meant for welfare programs into the pockets of party loyalists and supporters. In most periods, the American welfare state has been weaker than its West European counterparts, and the fragmentation of jurisdictional authority between the central government and the states has played a role in making it so.<sup>8</sup>

We might offer a similar critique of Novak’s analysis of the public-private character of state formations in the United States. His emphasis on the interpenetration of public and private spheres as a mode of American governance is a major contribution to our understanding of the American state and the mechanisms of its rule; it opens up a new and vital field of inquiry. But I am less convinced than Novak that explorations of public-private interpenetration will always point in the direction of state strength. He focuses on two dimensions of the public-private relationship. The first is the use by the state of private organizations to achieve its ends, as it did, for example, in regard to internal improvements. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, governments extended public infrastructure by giving corporations charters or grants of eminent domain to build bridges, canals, railroads, aqueducts, roads, and airports. The second dimension of the public-private relationship on which Novak concentrates is the state’s ability through law to penetrate deeply into and shape the character of civil society. As he rightly points out, the flourishing of capitalism in the United States depended at least in part on the willingness of the state to insert into the heart of civil society a detailed system of rules that governed the chartering of corporations, limited their legal liability, enforced conditions of “free” trade and “free” labor, and (in a strange but influential piece of legerdemain) extended to corporations the privileges and immunities given to individuals under the terms of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Paralleling these efforts in the economic realm were equally influential interventions by the state (and the individual states) into the private realm of marriage and family. Through these latter interventions, the states sought to ensure the triumph of monogamy and heterosexuality, ban interracial marriage, make men the masters of their households, and privilege those who lived in these male-dominated

<sup>8</sup> Gary Gerstle, “The Resilient Power of the States across the Long Nineteenth Century,” in Lawrence Jacobs and Desmond King, eds., *The Unsustainable American State* (New York, 2009), 61–87; Anthony J. Badger, *The New Deal: The Depression Years, 1933–1940* (New York, 1989); Alice Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity: Women, Men, and the Quest for Economic Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Oxford, 2001); Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America* (New York, 2005); Suzanne Mettler, *Dividing Citizens: Gender and Federalism in New Deal Public Policy* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998); Kathleen Frydl, *The GI Bill* (Cambridge, 2009); Barry Karl, *The Uneasy State: The United States from 1915 to 1945* (Chicago, 1983); Grant McConnell, *Private Power and American Democracy* (New York, 1966).

households by granting them superior tax and welfare benefits. Historically, the state in America has been far more involved in the “private” realms of the economy and family than many apostles of American freedom—and in particular those who celebrate the true American as the individual who has freed himself from state regulation—have usually been willing to acknowledge.<sup>9</sup> Novak is right to interpret these interventions into civil society as indicative of an important kind of state strength.

But there is another dimension of the private-public interpenetration that Novak neglects: the way in which it enabled private interests to use public power for their own purposes. If the corporations that built the transcontinental railroad were assisting the federal state in accomplishing a key infrastructural aim, they were also profiting handsomely from the terms offered them by the government. And even if we judge in this instance that public-private cooperation benefited both public and private parties, we must still reckon with the new era that the building of the transcontinental railroad inaugurated: one of rapid industrialization and urbanization during which private economic interests got fabulously wealthy through their close associations with the state. Any account of the state during the Gilded Age must come to terms with the degree to which private entities feasted legally and illegally on public resources. State and local governments issued lucrative contracts to build infrastructure, and the federal government gave away or sold for a pittance massive amounts of public land and the minerals that underlay them. Private corporations and their representatives penetrated the two mainstream parties and exerted extensive influence over these parties’ deliberations in state legislatures. Political machines eager to keep themselves in power issued contracts for urban construction to the highest bidders, regardless of whether they could do the job, and spun complex webs of bribes and kickbacks. In many cities, the stench from this public corruption in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries became unbearable. Foreign observers of American politics were frequently stunned by what Daniel Rodgers has called the “porosity” of the American political system to private influence.<sup>10</sup>

Other than the Civil War and industrialization itself, there was arguably no more important issue in late-nineteenth-century U.S. politics than the corruption of public institutions by the allied force of party machines and private economic interests. From the Mugwumps through the progressives and beyond (and including some of the pragmatists about whom Novak writes), political reformers invested their energies in movements dedicated to walling off the state from society or to compelling private interests to submit to public ends. But in the United States, this turned out to be a very hard thing to do. The radical nature of electioneering in America—the large numbers of elected officeholders serving in the tens of thousands of jurisdictional entities that Novak has called to our attention and the frequency with which they had to run for office—in combination with the absence of any provision in the Constitution for public financing of electoral campaigns made the institutions that took charge of elections, the political parties, chronically dependent on private fi-

<sup>9</sup> Amy Dru Stanley, *From Bondage to Contract: Wage Labor, Marriage, and the Market in the Age of Slave Emancipation* (New York, 1998); Nancy Cott, *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation* (Cambridge, Mass., 2000); Kessler-Harris, *In Pursuit of Equity*; Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, N.J., 2009).

<sup>10</sup> Daniel Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), 152–159.

nancing. And this dependence opened the sluice gates to both private money and private influence on state affairs, even during moments of apparent progressive triumph such as the New Deal.

The New Deal yielded important consequences in terms of empowering the state to enlarge its field of economic and welfare activity and to regulate private power in the public interest. But as Jacob Hacker, Jennifer Klein, and others have argued, such progressive victories almost always invigorated private power, too. Thus, for example, the passage of Social Security in 1935 ignited across the next thirty years a marked expansion in private pension plans, sold to the public as an indispensable supplement to what the state was providing. Hacker shows that this explosive growth in the “private welfare state” depended crucially on incentives the government issued to the providers and holders of pensions (in the form of tax breaks and insurance); in that respect, we can see the hand of Novak’s “strong state” in bringing this private welfare state into being. But Hacker also stresses that “the politics of private social benefits” was “far less visible to the broad public, far more favorable to the privileged, . . . and far more dominated by conservative political actors” than the politics of Social Security itself. In other words, even during a moment of progressive advance (in terms of the provision of public welfare), the U.S. state permitted private interests to burrow deep into the centers of public power.<sup>11</sup>

Novak might respond that Hacker’s and Klein’s work is actually evidence of the argument he is trying to make about the strength of the American state, given how indispensable the structure of federal incentives was to the spread of the private welfare state. Fair enough. But if this emphasis on the unrelenting strength of the American state costs us an understanding of the vulnerability of this public institution to private influence, then we will have lost more than we will have gained. For all its strength, the American state has exhibited serious weakness: a chronic inability or unwillingness to corral the influence of private money and private power on American politics. Many of those who once imagined the American state as weak were trying to make sense of this institution’s reluctance or inability to discipline markets and corporations in the public interest. To ignore their insights is to imperil our ability to understand key aspects of the U.S. state, and many other issues in American history, too.

<sup>11</sup> Jacob Hacker, *The Divided Welfare State: The Battle over Public and Private Social Benefits in the United States* (New York, 2002), xiii; Jennifer Klein, *For All These Rights: Business, Labor, and the Shaping of America’s Public-Private Welfare State* (Princeton, N.J., 2003).

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*AHR Exchange*  
The Puzzle of the American State . . . and Its Historians

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JULIA ADAMS

IN "THE MYTH OF THE 'WEAK' AMERICAN STATE," William J. Novak identifies and strenuously contests an enduring scholarly vision of the American state as factually weak and theoretically exceptionalist, a rose among statist thorns.<sup>1</sup> This vision is far from true, he argues. The U.S. state is a leviathan, to begin with, a huge mass—or mess—with more than 89,000 separate units of government. Novak opposes its "characteristic sprawl" and horizontal extension to a typified notion of a modern European state, represented as a vertically integrated rational-legal bureaucracy.<sup>2</sup> In the contemporary United States, in contrast, political jurisdictions jostle and overlap. The U.S. earned its shape historically, because the capital-S State was built up from the periphery, from many local and small-s states' frontier encounters. Conceptually, and to this day, the American state remains impossible to grasp as any kind of integrated federal structure. Yet the U.S. state is clearly a remarkably powerful one despite, or because of, these characteristics. Novak's essay thus begins by pointing to the huge disjunction between a pervasive image of a weak state and the actuality of dominating U.S. political and imperial power, past and present. The U.S. state is simply not a feeble and therefore (in the eyes of the many anti-statist Americans) beneficent outlier. The main puzzle that Novak is raising is how so many in the academy—for his beef is mainly with academic rather than popular visions—came to perceive it as such.

This long-lived misconception has its intellectual roots in three major sources, Novak argues. First is classical European social theory—de Tocqueville is one culprit, along with "Hegel, Marx, Weber, Durkheim, and their progeny."<sup>3</sup> Second is a powerful mid-twentieth-century tradition in American historiography, represented by historians such as Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., that celebrated the U.S. state "as the product of a persistent preference for society over polity, individual initiative over collective action, and private competition and voluntarism over public regulation and state direction."<sup>4</sup> Perhaps these celebratory tendencies were also given new life by recent academic appropriations of the widely accepted neoliberal and

I thank Hans van Dyk, Justin DuRivage, and Dylan Riley for their comments, and Rob Schneider for his saintly editorial patience.

<sup>1</sup> William J. Novak, "The Myth of the 'Weak' American State," *American Historical Review* 113, no. 3 (June 2008): 752–772.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 766.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 761.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 756.

deregulatory doctrines of the later twentieth century, although that is less important in this account. Novak further argues that many scholars, and particularly, he seems to say, many influential American historians, have treated the myth of the weak American state both as fact and as tool of analysis. Consequently, the real relations—the factual power of the U.S. state; its extensiveness and *sui generis* dynamics—have gone unanalyzed. That has unfortunate political implications. Shifting lenses is potentially politically enabling for all of us in a time of developing national and global struggle over political reregulation. If we have a better grasp of American state power, the article suggests, we can better mold and contest it. (An assertive American state does not seem to be a good thing in Novak's view, at least not under the present circumstances.)

This is a provocative and important essay. The “weak state” trope is popularly pervasive in the United States, and the “exceptionalist state” language certainly survives in both social science and historical writings. Novak's effort to make a more sensible place for the American state in more general discussions of state and political power, and to register the specificity of the workings of the U.S. state, is therefore excellent and timely. The same move is currently under way in a range of historical studies of empire, by the way, where it is equally overdue. As a scholar who has studied early modern European state formation—its imperial extensions, boomerang effects, and long-term consequences—I greatly appreciate Novak's muster of argument as well as American historical references in service of this project, as I appreciate other scholars' writings on the repressed history of American empire. Others besides me, perusing these writings, will be motivated to read and learn more about American history, and that will challenge and benefit scholarship, teaching, and of course informed citizenship. I also wholeheartedly concur with Novak's proposed collective project of analyzing concrete relations of sovereignty rather than depending on idealized visions of American “stateness.”<sup>5</sup> Novak aligns this latter project with the general aims of historical sociology, so it is not surprising that it appeals to me.

So the goals are grand, but at first glance the tools that Novak offers do not seem to be the right ones for the job. In fact, some of them seem curiously antithetical to what he envisions. Take, for example, his recommendation that we adopt the philosophy of American pragmatism as a guide to understanding the specificity of the U.S. state. He does this within a starkly drawn opposition between European and American social theory. According to Novak, European theory is more useful for writing about European states, in part because it is a kind of self-understanding of typical European forms of power.<sup>6</sup> Pragmatism is to be preferred for the American case, both because it is more flexible (less conceptually bound than other theories, even celebrating its own dismissal of concepts and theory in favor of process tracing of the concrete “doing of politics”) and because it mirrors the special features of American statecraft. “A pragmatic approach to American state power thus requires an examination of the state in action rather than in theory, from the bottom up rather than the top down, taking account of the periphery as much as the center, horizontal

<sup>5</sup> J. P. Nettl, “The State as a Conceptual Variable,” *World Politics* 20, no. 4 (1968): 559–592.

<sup>6</sup> Novak, “The Myth of the ‘Weak’ American State,” 763.

organization as much as vertical consolidation, and the distribution, separation, and delegation of power as much as its centralization, rationalization, and integration.”<sup>7</sup>

We should consider the possibility that the philosophy of pragmatism and the horizontal, overlapping forms of U.S. state power were both effects of some deeper—or rather affiliated—processes or causal logics. Then we might ask how and why pragmatism arose when it did, especially in its role as a technique of legal and social governance that crosscut many areas of social life, in addition to spanning the conventional dichotomies of public and private. We might also consider it as a peculiarly American form of practical political ideology, and usefully examined as such. But I do not think that is what Novak is arguing for in this essay. Rather, the direction of his argument reinstates American exceptionalism with respect to both the form and the content of historical analysis and state theory. At times, as in the above quotation regarding pragmatism and American state power—and contradicting his initial analytical starting point—Novak takes this to the point of abjuring theory altogether when confronted with the object of the U.S. state. It is wholly unclear to me how he relates this proposed move to the opening meditations on the need to grasp the spreading, tentacular power of the American leviathan.<sup>8</sup>

The essay further urges us to couple the pragmatist outlook on the American state with Michael Mann’s conceptual distinction between despotic and infrastructural power.<sup>9</sup> This well-known distinction refers to two key dimensions of state power: the capacity of state elites to govern unimpeded by either contending political elites or civil opposition, on the one hand, and the state’s penetrative coordination of civil society from the ground up, on the other. It is that latter form of infrastructural power, Novak argues, that has predominated in America “from the founding of the first national governing institutions.”<sup>10</sup> And this is not necessarily “weak” at all. In fact, it has packed quite a punch, extending well beyond American borders.

One is tempted to note, tongue firmly in cheek, that *some* forms of so-called European theory are obviously all right. Mann’s Anglo-American dyad—despotic versus infrastructural—has a pronounced elective affinity with Michel Foucault’s couplet of sovereign versus capillary power.<sup>11</sup> There is also more continuity than is initially apparent between Novak’s application of Mann—and, tacitly, Foucault—and the older Weberian language of state power that he roundly rejects. Max Weber described two major styles of state power. The first, close to the despotic, infuses Weber’s classic definition of the state as the body that in the last instance exercises sovereign force over a contiguous territory.<sup>12</sup> The other, which Weber thought was more difficult to study, was monopoly power, tapping the capacity of a body (person,

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 767.

<sup>8</sup> This serpentine theoretical creature is closely related to Elisabeth S. Clemens’s Rube Goldberg state. See Clemens, “Lineages of the Rube Goldberg State: Building and Blurring Public Programs, 1900–1940,” in Ian Shapiro, Stephen Skowronek, and Daniel Galvin, eds., *The Art of the State: Rethinking Political Institutions* (New York, 2006), 187–215.

<sup>9</sup> Michael Mann, “The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms, and Results,” *Archives européennes de sociologie* 25 (1984): 185–213.

<sup>10</sup> Novak, “The Myth of the ‘Weak’ American State,” 763.

<sup>11</sup> Foucault most clearly limns this opposition in his *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison* (Paris, 1975).

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, Max Weber, “Politics as a Vocation,” in Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York, 1958), 77–128; and Weber, *Economy and Society*, 2 vols., ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (Berkeley, Calif., 1968).

group, or organization) to achieve its own ends by closing off or otherwise subordinating potential contenders. That could include recruiting or harnessing those putative alternatives in a larger hegemonic, including imperial, political project. For Weber, these forms of power were historically variable. His writings on patrimonialism and state formation attempt to capture the invention and evolving forms of sovereignty involved in the making of both empire and more or less consolidated states and the interstate system.<sup>13</sup> They deal with but are by no means confined to early modern Europe.

What Novak takes as a unitary Weberian image of the state, therefore, is really his own reification of an ideal type of consolidated sovereign modern European polity, inappropriately read back into the early modern era, in which patriarchal patrimonial sovereignty was actually far more inchoate, multiple, and family lineage-based.

This is important for three reasons, and I take them in inverse historical order. First, it makes it difficult, if not impossible, to raise the question of whether there has been a transition between an earlier and (to use Novak's language) more pragmatist-friendly twentieth-century American state and a more recent, despotic and imperial polity—and how that relates to the universal tension in modern states, an agency problem pronounced in Weber's work, between the representative and executive functions of the modern state. Historicizing Novak's argument in that way would make it more consistent, even if it leaves open the theoretical question of why such a transition has taken place.

Second, it elides the enormously consequential historical transition between a patrimonial politics anchored in ruler/subject and ruler/staff relations, on the one hand, and a modern rational-legal politics that incorporates a relationship between citizens and their representatives, on the other. However vexed and contradictory that relationship, particularly with respect to women's qualified citizenship, it is still a remarkable historical accomplishment that has reconstructed the core of modern state power. And third, it washes out the developmental similarities between and the interconnections among modernizing European and American states, nested as they were in overlapping imperial projects. Without reference to this final point, how are we to approach the global and multi-tiered question of slavery and state power—in which national states both rested on and enabled local-level racial despotisms that were factually enmeshed in global empires?

Perhaps the most important offshoot of all of this humbling grasping—both Novak's and mine—after terminologies is that we should treat these conceptual languages as sometimes symptomatic, sometimes enabling, but not definitive or exhaustive. Like the various discourses of modernity, our problems with these political concepts are in part due to the ways that they reflect the very processes they are meant to tap, and that their popular adoption necessarily reshapes them as analytical tools.<sup>14</sup> So what is the handiest conceptual language in which to study these varieties

<sup>13</sup> See, for example, Weber, *Economy and Society*; and Max Weber, *The Agrarian Sociology of Ancient Civilizations* (London, 1998).

<sup>14</sup> Elisabeth S. Clemens, Ann Shola Orloff, and I discuss this quandary in our "Introduction: Social Theory, Modernity, and the Three Waves of Historical Sociology," in Julia Adams, Elisabeth S. Clemens, and Ann Shola Orloff, eds., *Remaking Modernity: Politics, History, and Sociology* (Durham, N.C., 2005), 1–73.

of entwined international empires and states in formation? How best to track their seeming twentieth- and twenty-first-century convergence? Was there a genuine historical turning point, and if so, what was it? What do these developments portend? These are crucial questions, ones I suspect that Novak, I, and many others will want to pursue together, in conversation, as well as in our separate disciplinary domains.

In conclusion, Novak's core criticism of the myth of the weak American state seems eminently reasonable as far as it goes—particularly if we apply it mainly to popular audiences, social scientists of a couple of academic generations ago, and some eminent historians. As far as today's historical sociologists go, though, Novak is preaching to the converted. He himself says—and his citation patterns reflect this trend—that sociologists began to reemphasize the state in the late 1970s and 1980s. They have not stopped since. The problem in recent social science and humanities-based work is rather an *overestimation* of the extensiveness and unitary seamlessness of American state power—a Hardt and Negri-style view of the American state as “Empire” writ large.<sup>15</sup> This genre of inflated claims-making got a significant boost during George W. Bush's presidency, becoming a counter-myth to the myth of the weak state. One imagines that the continuation under Barack Obama of many such processes that sociologists excoriated as specific to the Bush “regime” will encourage more nuanced analysis.

With respect to historians, however, who are, I think, Novak's real targets here, one finishes and puts down the “Weak State” essay more than a little puzzled. There simply is not a vibrant American historical tradition of writing about “state-building” that Novak can credibly take to task. American historians are much more wont to talk about “individualism” and “constitutional restraints” than they are to plumb the reaches of state power. This puzzle is heightened by two facts: that the dominant mode of doing American history has been political history, and that American history can itself be read as a long dispute over the issue of the nature of the state. There is a tradition of fighting against strengthening the central state—but that is not the same as arguing, in print, that the state is weak. So the initial puzzle articulated by Novak should actually be underlined and accentuated. That is: why hasn't the mainstream of the American historical discipline addressed these basic questions of American state power? That remains an unresolved puzzle for me as an outsider to and observer of the (sub)discipline.

But perhaps we can briefly explore a couple of possibilities. First, it appears that since the late-nineteenth-century rise of modern American historiography, to be theoretical was to be . . . left-wing, perhaps even (gasp) Marxist. American historians instead elected to be atheoretical, liberal, and consensus-driven. This is neatly reflected in the major books listed in Novak's second footnote, primarily general histories and textbooks. One could compile an alternative list of American historians who have written about the state—but they are on the left. Second, the narrative style of American history has militated against structural analysis of politics, and boosted character-centered stories of the Founding Fathers and other avatars of American political life. And third, this has been and continues to be ideologically contested

<sup>15</sup> Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Boston, 2000).



terrain, on which, so far, and coming from very different places, the culturalists and the political conservatives have prevailed.

Americans have been arguing about the nature of their central state since the Articles of Confederation and the Constitutional Convention. These arguments have defined the definition of “left” and “right” in American politics, for example throughout the back-and-forth between the Federalists and the anti-Federalists, during the protracted struggle over whether to establish a national bank, and certainly throughout the Progressive Era and the New Deal. These discussions about the nature of the state have created the main lines of American political discourse about the nature of regulatory power and the operations of the market, the family, the church, and the civil and associational spheres. But because we inhabit a fundamentally atheoretical tradition in America, those discussions have not been thematized in the academy. When will this change? The sooner the better.

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*AHR Exchange*  
Long Live the Myth of the Weak State?  
A Response to Adams, Gerstle, and Witt

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WILLIAM J. NOVAK

I AM GREATLY INDEBTED to Julia Adams, Gary Gerstle, and John Witt for their extremely thoughtful, conscientious, and constructive critiques of “The Myth of the ‘Weak’ American State.” I wrote that article as something of a manifesto, a self-conscious attempt to step outside the measured tones of a historical monograph so as to take aim at a series of more general interpretive impediments to a newly emerging history of the modern American state. I worried at the time about the inherent risks involved in talking about American history and historiography in such sweeping terms. So I am pleasantly surprised that Adams, Gerstle, and Witt not only engage the article on its own terms, but push the discussion into several new areas and onto an even higher plane of generality and interpretation. In this response, I will follow them there, realizing that satisfactory answers to these speculative questions ultimately depend on historical practice—on the new histories to be written (some outlines of which can already be discerned in these commentaries). Although each of these critics raises a number of issues, I think it is fair to address them within the set of broad themes highlighted by each author: Julia Adams on the problem of theory in American history, Gary Gerstle on the question of change over time in the history of the American state, and John Witt on American war power.

JULIA ADAMS MOST DIRECTLY ADDRESSES the troubling gap between historical depictions of the perennial weakness of the American state and the contemporary aggrandizement of American state power (international as well as national). And she offers up a provocative explanation for the continued hold of the myth of the weak American state—a paucity of theory. Adams argues that “a fundamentally atheoretical tradition in America” has kept the mainstream American historical discipline from addressing “basic questions of American state power.” And she concludes her commentary by articulating the need for a more theoretically ambitious American history—a sentiment that seems to resonate with my own introductory concern that “a true philosophical and political history of the American present continues to elude historians.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> William J. Novak, “The Myth of the ‘Weak’ American State,” *American Historical Review* 113, no. 3 (June 2008): 752–772, 752.

Adams voices a controversial sentiment not easily welcomed by American historians. And some skepticism is warranted. For arguably, American history as a professional discipline has never been more theoretical or ambitious. Social theory citations proliferate, and an exploding number of new subfields, thick monographs, and specialized journals advertise a range of innovative research methodologies and the intensive exploitation of new archival materials. But Adams's charge is not unprecedented. Indeed, it echoes a long and distinguished American historical tradition of wondering whether the very division of labor that has yielded this proliferation of particular historical knowledges has simultaneously narrowed the kinds of questions that historians ask of the American past as a whole. For it is in the kinds of questions asked where Adams worries about theoretical ambition.

So did Richard Hofstadter. As early as 1956, in a powerful essay on "History and the Social Sciences," Hofstadter exhorted historians to widen their interpretive lens and to actively pursue a more analytical, interdisciplinary, and social-scientific approach to history. Hofstadter frankly exposed the limitations of both traditional narrative histories wherein authors "rarely hesitate to retell a story that is already substantially known" and more focused case studies that leave readers "with misgivings as to whether that part of it which is new is truly significant." He urged historians to look beyond their traditional disciplinary boundaries to the broader social sciences (sociology, psychology, political science, economics, and even critical theory) so as to enhance the "methodological self-consciousness" and the "analytical dimension" of their work and bring that work into closer collaboration with the "modern intellectual climate." But Hofstadter did not remain satisfied with a simple historical adoption of social science methods or the simple use of historical materials to illustrate preconceived social theories or political commitments. Rather, he envisioned a general broadening of historical inquiry itself, wherein historians did not "rest content with the completion of a small but sound unit of craftsmanship" but tried instead to "cope with certain insistent macroscopic questions"—the identification and explanation of "the great turning points in human experience, still tantalizingly unexplained or half-explained, still controversial." Hofstadter was under no illusion that historians would ultimately resolve or finally answer such perennial questions, but he understood the historical task at hand—"so big in its implications, so hopelessly complex, . . . so formidably challenging"—to be nothing less than the "representation of the human situation itself."<sup>2</sup>

As late as the 1980s, Thomas Bender continued to prod American historians to take up the challenge first thrown down to the modern historical profession by James Harvey Robinson and Charles Beard in 1907 to devise a "new" history that was interdisciplinary, analytical, realistic, and synthetic and that connected past to present. Bender particularly lamented the lack of synthesis—the degree to which the individual parts of American history continued to be explored at the expense of more general philosophical and theoretical reflection on the whole.<sup>3</sup> Bender's synthetic

<sup>2</sup> Richard Hofstadter, "History and the Social Sciences," in Fritz Stern, ed., *The Varieties of History: From Voltaire to the Present* (New York, 1956), 359, 362–363, 369, 370. See also Ira Katznelson, "The Possibilities of Analytical Political History," in Meg Jacobs, William J. Novak, and Julian E. Zelizer, eds., *The Democratic Experiment: New Directions in American Political History* (Princeton, N.J., 2003), 381–400.

<sup>3</sup> James Harvey Robinson and Charles A. Beard, *The Development of Modern Europe*, 2 vols. (New

history, in other words, sounds a lot like the historical sociology preferred by Julia Adams. Indeed, Theda Skocpol once identified historical sociologists simply by their willingness “to ask bigger questions than most social scientists ever dream of posing.”<sup>4</sup> And few would deny that the classic historical-sociological texts of Montesquieu, Tocqueville, Marx, Weber, and Durkheim or the modern variants of Barrington Moore, Karl Polanyi, E. P. Thompson, and Immanuel Wallerstein offer compelling models of scholarship dealing with a wide sweep of historical time and addressing through historical methods the biggest, broadest, and most pressing intellectual questions of the day—work that actually tries to reckon with the overarching meaning and significance of history for the present.<sup>5</sup>

But while there is much to learn from the theoretical aspirations of classic historical sociology, of late, historians—including American historians—have also been rethinking the relationship of history and theory in compelling new ways. In France, Pierre Rosanvallon is conducting an extraordinarily ambitious inquiry into the meaning and significance of French history from the Revolution to the rise and fall of the contemporary welfare state. His histories are animated by a conscious concern for addressing the largest questions in political theory, social philosophy, and historiography—the relationship of liberty and equality, economy and society, individual rights and social democracy, freedom and oppression, generality and particularity, continuity and change, and revolution. His history, in other words, is rooted first in philosophy—in great questions and works such as Rousseau and Constant on freedom, Guizot and Tocqueville on democracy, Durkheim and Dumont on modernity. His project is rigorously historical in its research, sources, and analyses, yet keenly attuned to the problems of the recent past, the present, and the future: the power of totalitarianism, the pathology of postwar neoliberalism, and the possibility of a more ambitious liberal democratic politics.<sup>6</sup> In the United States, James T. Kloppenberg is working with an equally expansive canvas, from the ideals that animated the American founders to the contemporary fate of the modern American social

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York, 1907); James Harvey Robinson, *The New History: Essays Illustrating the Modern Historical Outlook* (New York, 1912). Thomas Bender, “In Retrospect: The New History—Then and Now,” *Reviews in American History* 12 (1984): 612–622; Bender, “Wholes and Parts: The Need for Synthesis in American History,” *Journal of American History* 73 (1986): 120–136; Bender, “Strategies of Narrative Synthesis in American History,” *American Historical Review* 107, no. 1 (February 2002): 129–153.

<sup>4</sup> Theda Skocpol, “Sociology’s Historical Imagination,” in Skocpol, ed., *Vision and Method in Historical Sociology* (Cambridge, 1984), 8. See also Philip Abrams, *Historical Sociology* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982); Dennis Smith, *The Rise of Historical Sociology* (Philadelphia, 1991); William J. Novak, “Law, Capitalism, and the Liberal State: The Historical Sociology of James Willard Hurst,” *Law and History Review* 18 (2000): 97–145.

<sup>5</sup> See also the efforts of sociologists such as Nikolas Rose and David Garland to elaborate and put into practice Michel Foucault’s idea of a “history of the present.” Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York, 1979), 31; Rose, *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought* (Cambridge, 1999); Garland, *The Culture of Control: Crime and Social Order in Contemporary Society* (Chicago, 2001).

<sup>6</sup> Pierre Rosanvallon, *The Demands of Liberty: Civil Society in France since the Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 2007); Rosanvallon, *The New Social Question: Rethinking the Welfare State* (Princeton, N.J., 2000); Rosanvallon, *L’État en France: De 1789 à nos jours* (Paris, 1990). See also Samuel Moyn, ed., *Pierre Rosanvallon: Democracy Past and Future* (New York, 2006); and Andrew Jainchill and Samuel Moyn, “French Democracy between Totalitarianism and Solidarity: Pierre Rosanvallon and Revisionist Historiography,” *Journal of Modern History* 76 (2004): 107–154. My understanding of much of Rosanvallon’s project is indebted to innumerable conversations with Stephen Sawyer.

welfare state. Kloppenberg's histories of pragmatism, liberalism, and democracy are distinctly philosophical and theoretical endeavors driven by a concern for fundamental questions such as the nature and relationship of autonomy and popular sovereignty. For Kloppenberg, as for Rosanvallon, answers to such fundamental questions are not accessible "at the level of definition or abstract theory."<sup>7</sup> Rather, they are provisionally available only by investigating the way in which such issues have actually been resolved in real human environments in different socioeconomic contexts at specific moments in historical time. History, then, is studied not as a second-order illustration or demonstration of social or political philosophy—some kind of empirical footnote to theory—but as an interpretive and philosophical endeavor in its own right, in Hofstadter's words, a "representation of the human situation itself."

Far from isolating history from theory, as Adams contends, these historians advocate their necessary interdependence. Indeed, Kloppenberg's history of pragmatism, progressivism, and social democracy in the United States and Europe is simultaneously a philosophical reckoning with historicism. By carefully documenting the emergence of historicism in its own original historical moment in the philosophical crisis of modernity, Kloppenberg demonstrates the interrelationship of philosophical pragmatism and historical sensibility as well as their continued epistemological and methodological salience today.<sup>8</sup>

I built directly on this pragmatic historical tradition in outlining alternative avenues for the study of the American state in the second half of my article. Adams criticizes this turn to pragmatism and early American social science as a reinstatement of "American exceptionalism" "abjuring theory altogether" in favor of a "peculiarly American form of practical political ideology."<sup>9</sup> Here she is mistaken. As Daniel Rodgers, Morton White, and even Richard Hofstadter have made clear (along with Kloppenberg), American pragmatism and social science (as well as sociological jurisprudence) did not represent a flight from European theory so much as a full engagement with and further development of the ideas of Kant, Hegel, Marx, Darwin, Austin, Dilthey, and Weber.<sup>10</sup> And that is precisely why I find their neglect in histories of American law, liberalism, and statecraft so puzzling. James, Ward, Dewey, Cooley, Mead, Thomas, Veblen, Commons, Ely, Cohen, and Hale were anything but American exceptionalists, and they offered up some of the most critical, philosophically informed, and theoretically sophisticated reflections on modern conditions. Many of the same intellectual and cultural impulses that built and sustain

<sup>7</sup> As Kloppenberg argues, "Only historical accounts can show how real people juggled, or balanced, or held in suspension" competing public and private pressures and ideals. And "only historical analysis can reveal whether, or to what extent, the problems identified or the solutions proposed by . . . theorists have connected with the lives people have led and the choices they have been forced or enabled to make." James T. Kloppenberg, *The Virtues of Liberalism* (New York, 1998), 9; Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870–1920* (New York, 1986).

<sup>8</sup> Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory*. For a complementary perspective from philosophy, see Robert B. Pippin, *The Persistence of Subjectivity: On the Kantian Aftermath* (New York, 2005); Pippin, *Modernism as a Philosophical Problem: On the Dissatisfactions of European High Culture*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1999).

<sup>9</sup> John Witt also seems to agree with Adams's critique, although he is characteristically ambivalent as to whether these thinkers were actually exceptionalist.

<sup>10</sup> Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998); Morton White, *Social Thought in America: The Revolt against Formalism* (New York, 1949); Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Boston, 1955); Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory*. For the exceptionalist interpretation of American social science, see Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (Cambridge, 1991).



the myth of the weak American state conspire as well against recognizing the most vital theoretical and philosophical traditions in modern American history.

PRAGMATISM, PROGRESSIVISM, AND THE ROOTS of American modernity are also relevant to the concerns of Gary Gerstle. Gerstle's careful and thoughtful commentary introduces a number of important themes, but his most challenging critique is that "The Myth of the 'Weak' American State" inadequately addresses change over time in American state-building. Indeed, he suggests that there is almost a teleological (perhaps anachronistic) tendency in the article to read "America's current status as world hegemon" back into a reluctant nineteenth-century past. As Gerstle nicely turns the phrase, the "'gunfighter nation' was not the same as the 'garrison state.'" <sup>11</sup> This is obviously an important criticism. And it goes to the heart of the difficulty of writing about the complicated relationship of history to the present.

I have two responses. First, Gerstle is clearly right that this short manifesto did not fully reckon with historical time, that its analysis was more structural and synchronic than temporal and diachronic, and that it thus necessarily glossed over some important disjunctions and transformations in the history of the American state. And it is certainly necessary to acknowledge the significant differences in American state capacity, structure, and function in 1787, 1868, 1912, 1937, and beyond. Indeed, one of my primary motivations for writing the article was to shatter the monolithic one-dimensionality of the weak state trope so as to make room for histories emphasizing change and variation (as opposed to endless iterations of the tired theme of American uniqueness, laggardness, statelessness, limitation, and patchwork). One such change is at the center of my own current research into the decline of local, common-law self-regulation in the nineteenth century and the rise of a modern American administrative regulatory state in the twentieth century. <sup>12</sup> The reason pragmatists and progressives such as Ernst Freund, Roscoe Pound, and Walton Hamilton are particularly helpful in thinking about the American state is precisely because they were there at a key moment of *transformation*, trying to reconcile nineteenth-century ideals and individuals to the institutions and conditions of modernity. Gerstle is thus wholly correct to warn about the dangers of replacing mythology with teleology, a perennially weak state with a continually emerging global hegemon. What is always needed is a developmental story—an ineluctably historical account of the changing conditions out of which contemporary policies and practices emerge, as well as a historical and critical approach to our most authoritative ways of knowing something about them. Moments of great transformation and periodic crises in legitimacy are

<sup>11</sup> Gerstle further elaborates some of these themes in his important essay "The Resilient Power of the States across the Long Nineteenth Century: An Inquiry into a Pattern of American Governance," in Lawrence Jacobs and Desmond King, eds., *The Unsustainable American State* (New York, 2009), 61–87.

<sup>12</sup> William J. Novak, *The People's Welfare: Law and Regulation in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996); Novak, "Police Power and the Transformation of the American State," in Markus Dubber and Mariana Valverde, eds., *Police and the Liberal State* (Stanford, Calif., 2008), 54–73; Novak, "The Legal Origins of the Modern American State," in Bryant Garth, Robert Kagan, and Austin Sarat, eds., *Looking Back at Law's Century: Time, Memory, Change* (Ithaca, N.Y., 2002), 249–283.

particularly important places to look for historical insight into the power and possibilities of the American state.

But while acknowledging the centrality of historical change to any satisfactory rendering of the American state, it is equally important to warn against the opposite tendency. At points, both Gerstle and John Witt seem to place great explanatory weight on the rush of “specific historical events”—a concatenation of contingent occurrences ranging from unexpected but explainable acts like war to wholly inscrutable stuff like Witt’s conception of “plain dumb luck.” Without denying an important role for contingency and change, any truly developmental history of the American state must also reckon with those definite patterns, stubborn trends, and continuities of form that evade explanation in terms of simple event, accident, serendipity, or any easy understanding of temporality. For there are uncanny similarities and persistent tendencies—regularities and recurrences—in the practices of American governance over time that demand explication. The changing fields of social, political, economic, diplomatic, and cultural activities and events that make up American history were simultaneously enabled, constrained, and shaped by the durable and distinctive structures of the American state. William Sewell has written extensively about the complex relationship of historical time and the underlying structure and logic of capitalism in modern economic development.<sup>13</sup> We could use a similarly nuanced historical understanding of the logic and structure of liberalism, democracy, and statecraft in modern American political development (remembering that capitalism holds no monopoly on contradiction). My article attempted to outline some persistent structural factors that seemed to define the distinctive politics and policies of the American state from the founding to the present, including localism, federalism, infrastructural power, the distribution of authority, public-private governance, and the American rule of law. It attempted to do so without reducing such factors to incidences of “weakness” and without implying that they did not change over time.

THE SUBJECT OF TIME (PRESENT AND PAST) also intersects with John Witt’s principal concern. When this article first appeared, war was in the air (as well as on the ground). Discussions of war, executive authority, emergency power, empire, torture, military rules, and the rule of law were omnipresent in discussions of the American state—indeed, at times displacing almost all other concerns. My own introduction bore this imprint, and Gerstle and Witt’s commentaries take it to the next level. And clearly, any adequate history of the state needs to explain these present conditions in recent American military assertiveness. But in explicating the present through history, it is important not to unnecessarily shorten the time horizon within which we account for contemporary events. Gerstle, for example, argues for a sharp historical rupture created by the Cold War rise of the garrison state and the “era of permanent war.” He finds the roots of Guantanamo anchored in the specific circumstances of this post-1945 “era of permanent war,” not in the nineteenth century.

<sup>13</sup> William H. Sewell, Jr., “The Temporalities of Capitalism,” *Socio-Economic Review* 6 (2008): 517–537; Sewell, *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation* (Chicago, 2005).

While this position clearly resonates with an American predisposition to accentuate the importance of the very recent past, my first inclination is to think, "Not so fast." Do we really want to discount the hold of the fiscal-military priorities of modern state-building identified by John Brewer or Max Edling as early as the eighteenth century? Or in a more theoretical mode, aren't the nineteenth-century worries of Alexis de Tocqueville or John Stuart Mill about certain despotic potentialities emerging within the democratic reorganization of modern social and political life still relevant to this discussion? Especially in the rush of current events, it is more important than ever to keep in mind the long, relevant history of the unfinished projects of modernity.

It is equally important not to allow transitory present policy emphases to overly dictate historical research priorities. After all, the current war and military exigencies that so completely animate Witt's commentary were all too soon followed by the return of issues of economic and financial emergency. But as Witt's essay makes clear, present crises do provide opportunities to redress imbalances in historiographical attention. And I wholly welcome his disquisition on the centrality of war to the history of American law and statecraft. I have only a couple of objections, which arise primarily from the way in which Witt rhetorically refashions what is clearly an independent research project into a critique of this particular article. First, as a general matter, is there really any controversy about or news in the proposition that war is a central element in nation-state-building? This seems to me one of the founding truisms of social science inquiry into modern political conditions—the discrete subject matter of whole fields of research and writing in historical sociology, foreign policy, and military history (as Witt reminds us). Here, I simply concur with Witt that "it is almost embarrassing to make such observations, because they are so self-evident." I quibble more with his contention that Fareed Zakaria is helpful in advancing themes developed by the likes of Charles Tilly, William McNeill, or Steven Pincus.<sup>14</sup> My article tried to mention and deal with as many different areas of American policymaking and historiography as was possible in a short survey. On war and American state-building, the article explicitly cited Max Edling (whose work, of course, relies on John Brewer), Mark Wilson, Theda Skocpol, Stephen Skowronek, Louis Galambos, Bartholomew Sparrow, Michael Hogan, James Sparrow, and the exact text by Ira Katznelson in *Shaped by War and Trade* that Witt relies on to generate an infelicitous metaphor about the disconcerting consequences of neglecting military history.<sup>15</sup> One wonders whom Witt is arguing with here. And why is he pushing so strenuously against a wide open door?

My article was about the myth of the weak American state. While Witt's arguments about the significance of war and foreign policy are axiomatic, they do not really speak at all to the interpretive problem of persistent mischaracterizations of American state incapacity. Indeed, like American penal policy (e.g., mass incarceration and the death penalty), American war and military power are the easy cases. At least, it has been a very long time since anyone seriously contended that American

<sup>14</sup> Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States, AD 990–1992* (Oxford, 1990); William H. McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society since A.D. 1000* (Chicago, 1982); Steven C. A. Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650–1668* (Cambridge, 1995); Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven, Conn., 2009).

<sup>15</sup> Novak, "Myth," footnotes 8, 10, 12, and 14.

military power was decidedly weak, underdeveloped, or laggard as compared to other contemporaneous state regimes. So while all kinds of myths and cognitive dissonance and disjunctions between rhetoric and reality haunt the history of American foreign policy, the myth of the weak state is not currently among them.

AND AT THE END OF THE DAY, it is the myth that is still important. For on the one hand, one could read these three commentaries and conclude that the work is done. Like the revisionist histories synthesized in the original article, Adams, Gerstle, and Witt seem more than willing to agree that the American state is “more powerful, capacious, tenacious, interventionist, and redistributive than was recognized in earlier accounts of U.S. history.”<sup>16</sup> Indeed, they even suggest (as did I) that the real heavy lifting was done some time ago. As Witt provocatively puts it, if everyone “from Richard T. Ely and John Commons, to Theda Skocpol and Stephen Skowronek, to Jacob Hacker and Christopher Howard” has “helped us to understand the distinctive ways in which the American state exercises power,” what could there be left to do?

But while the article and these essays document a great deal of progress on the theme of American state power, I remain uneasy. For significant traces of the myth of the weak American state persist in some classic revisionist texts just as they successfully work their way into the interstices (and footnotes) of these commentaries—in Julia Adams’s exceptionalist reading of American pragmatism, in Gary Gerstle’s partial reliance on “state weakness” to frame his discussion of conservatism and private interest, and in John Witt’s perpetuation of both “the myth of *Lochner*” and the notion of the American state as some kind of “awkward” “Rube Goldberg contraption.” This tenacity is troubling. For all three of these commentaries close with extraordinarily insightful analyses of the fundamental, unresolved problems of power in modern American life. Adams, like Max Weber, worries about monopoly power—the capacity of a body of persons to “achieve its own ends by closing off or otherwise subordinating potential contenders.” Gerstle similarly emphasizes corruption and the historic “porosity” of the American political system to private money and private influence. And Witt documents the long interrelationship of the mobilization of private power and the expansion of American global influence. These are important issues, and they have been at the forefront of American political and social science inquiry since its inception. But despite the proliferation of alternative modes of explanation, I fear the tendency will remain to first explain such configurations of power by reference to a “weak state” heritage and an exceptional American liberal tradition especially solicitous of private rights, individual interests, and a self-regulating market. This reflects an almost pathological (or is it nostalgic?) failure to take account of the vast transformations in modern social, economic, and political life that sociologists, political economists, historians, and legal scholars have been reckoning with for more than a century now. And it continues to obscure the actual mobilization of state power and resources on behalf of some and at the expense of others that remains a hallmark of the American experience. As the United

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 758.

States continues along its current path of looking for solutions to the ongoing, frustratingly complex problems of modernity in the simple, libertarian, free-market rationales of an imagined past, I am afraid that the legitimating power of the historic myth of the weak American state might prove irresistible—perhaps even irreversible.

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## Featured Reviews

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WILLIAM V. HARRIS. *Dreams and Experience in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2009. Pp. xv, 332. \$49.95.

"He came to Cape Malea in early spring, with the intention of sailing for Rome. This was his project, but he had a dream that a tall, elderly lady embraced him and asked him to stay with her before he went to Italy. She claimed to be the nurse of Zeus, and she wore a crown adorned with every product of land and sea. Apollonius thought the vision over and realized that he must first sail to Crete" (p. 28).

That dream-vision happened sometime in the first century C.E. It was experienced, according to Philostratus (ca. 170–247 C.E.), by the wandering wonderworker Apollonius of Tyana (Philostratus, *Vita Ap.* 4.34). The vision is typical of a very common dream genre that William V. Harris terms the epiphany or messenger dream. He traces this genre from early antiquity (Homer) to the sixteenth century.

Philostratus illustrates the bare bones of the epiphany dream. It consists of "the appearance to the dreamer of an authoritative personage who may be divine or represent a god, and this figure conveys instructions or information" (p. 4). There are less obvious elements associated with this type of vision. Harris maintains that a typical epiphany dream usually contains three elements. First, "attention is all or mostly focused on a single visitor to the sleeper"; in Apollonius' dream this is the old woman. Second, "the visitor is authoritative—he/she/they may be deceptive, and the dreamer may resist, but the dreamer always knows that the visitor is likely to be truth-telling or to deserve obedience"; third, "the visitor conveys an admonition or pronouncement, the meaning of which is clear to the dreamer or eventually becomes clear" (pp. 36–37). Apollonius was so clear about the old woman's message that he changed the route of his voyage.

Apollonius's dream is instructive for modern readers in two other ways. These relate to the hermeneutic pitfalls to be associated with the epiphany dream. The first: the description of this dream comes not from Apollonius of Tyana but from Philostratus. Filtering and, presumably, embellishment must have taken place by the time the ancient reader received Philostratus's

text. In this case Philostratus was writing a novel, a genre well known for its enthusiastic, often ironic, and thoroughly embellished dream narratives. There is therefore very little likelihood that the dream described reflects an accurate version of what actually happened to Apollonius while he slept. The second: the dream relates the experience of a powerful or at least a very prominent and charismatic individual. The epiphany dream seems regularly to be associated with these types of individuals. Harris speculates on the origins and association of this type of dream with the dominant as follows: "how did a powerful ruler exercise power in preliterate archaic Greece? He sent messengers, though not usually in disguise. And it is evident from the Homeric poems that archaic Greeks had no difficulty at all in supposing that the gods were willing to disguise themselves, and were willing to make use of messengers" (p. 37). Why should this mode not be transferred to dreams as well? Such nocturnal epiphanies are quite likely to have been stock in trade for the prominent individual. They were presumably used as a means for bolstering prestige and power.

But was the epiphany dream just a social and literary fiction or was it sometimes real? The skeptical may not necessarily be convinced that the epiphany or messenger dream was anything other than a sociological confection. Harris, for much of his book, seems to incline that way too. He regularly provides strong reasons for not believing in the reality of ancient dreams. The ancients invented dreams, he suggests, because they were happier with the practice of lying than we are; because they disliked stories with "loose ends or incoherencies," and so were inclined to iron out dream descriptions; because "the people who were said to have received significance dreams tended . . . to be the great"; and because the Greeks and Romans had "an uneasy suspicion that dreams . . . might reveal hidden truth" (p. 122).

Despite this salutary skepticism, Harris is convinced that at least some people really did experience epiphany dreams. Some of his dream narratives preserve the typ-

ically “bizarre or illogical” nature of the real dream. Incubation reports, Harris considers, show the signs of being real. Dream incubation, the ancient practice of seeking dreams to provide advice on healing, was common. It occurred at temples dedicated to the god of healing Aesculapius. Harris is convinced that reports of this experience (which were sometimes reported not just in words, but also visually through reliefs) are just eccentric enough to preserve the truth. He suggests that “this was very far indeed from being an exclusively literary convention, mainly because of the epigraphical and also sculptural evidence. Gods, especially Asclepius and Serapis but others too, were commonly held to have appeared to dreamers, and to the waking as well, and to have required commemoration.” He also believes that this credulity may have been encouraged by the “plenitude of ancient statues” (p. 31). Seeing lots of statues might make a person more inclined to think that they could communicate. I am not sure that modern Roman Catholics have been affected in this way. But there is some ethnographical evidence that epiphany dreams still go on, or at least are spoken about in Haiti, Mayan Mexico, Morocco, and Zululand.

Perhaps the reality of the epiphany dream, if in fact there is a reality beyond literary convention, is best associated with preliterate societies. Harris, I think, is sympathetic with this line of speculation, but he would not wish his readers uncritically to follow such a simple cause and effect form of logic. The epiphany dream began to disappear only from the sixteenth century onward, and an increase in literacy in this period does not seem to have been the main causative reason. Rather the reasons were, first, that the epiphany dream was something experienced by powerful and charismatic individuals whose claims were taken on faith; second, that Western Christianity was ambivalent about dreaming; and, third, that the literature of this period seems to find such dreams less and less credible.

One of the surprises in Harris’s study is the diversity of opinion in antiquity on the trustworthiness of the messenger and predictive or prophecy dream. The scholarly *communis opinio* has been that in most eras of the Greek and Roman worlds people believed that the knowledge dreaming could provide was real. But Harris detects a widespread skepticism concerning the value of dream prophecy in both the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. He cites Diogenes the Cynic (ca. 404–323 B.C.E.): “To those who were excited about their dreams he would say that they do not care about what they did while awake, but got very busy about the things they imagined in their sleep” (p. 159). It is, then, only during the Hellenistic period that much of the evidence points toward a new and growing belief in the efficacy of dream prophecy. This shift seems to match a decreased interest on the Greeks’ part in the naturalistic explanation of dreams and of nature generally: “The study of ‘nature’ lost its initial impetus, and the intellectual barriers were insuperable . . . By late Hellenistic times at least, the stultifying effect of authority, embodied in

written text, was doing its inevitable harm” (pp. 270–271).

And what of the Romans? Harris argues that traditional Roman religion made scant use of the predictive dream. There seems little sustained interest in it until the first century of our era, when “a mild and somewhat alien increase in belief and trust [in dream prophecy] may be hypothesized for the Latin-speaking zones” (p. 202). In the century to follow prediction by means of dreams was “believed in by all men” (p. 216).

What did the Greeks and the Romans dream about, when they were not seeking the sort of predictive or advisory dreams associated with incubation, or when they were dreaming of wise messengers? Harris guesses that “their dreams are reflected to some extent in the themes which Artemidorus [who wrote a text on dream interpretation, the *Oneirocritica*, during the second century C.E.] most pays attention to in his handbook, such as teeth, dancing, wearing garlands, sex, fire, the gods, and flying . . . We may suspect that they had more health-related and medical dreams than we do . . . We are on firmer ground with wish fulfillment dreams, erotic and otherwise, and with anxiety-dreams” (pp. 95–96). Now that sort of material would be fascinating to hear about, but it is not what the book examines. How could it? There is insufficient evidence for such an enterprise.

Harris, quite reasonably, has little to say about dreams in the modern sense—by this I mean the dreams referred to in the previous paragraph, the sort of dreams that were so attractive to Sigmund Freud and his followers and that have attracted deconstructionists and other post-modernists. Records of dreams of the sort that interest modern readers have not been reliably preserved within the written records of ancient Greece and Rome (and Harris is excellent at showing just why this is the case). And even if they had been, the literary records of antiquity cannot be trusted on such matters. They preserve little of the unguarded intimacy or even fecund sloppiness that might enable them to purvey, unintentionally, the sorts of evidence that the analyst or the deconstructionist can feel confident to interpret. Dream literature was very popular in the 1990s because, like the subject’s involuntary twitch or slip, so revealing to policemen and to analysts, it was thought to offer an involuntary glimpse of the internal mechanisms of the individual or of even the collective psyche. Jack Winker’s well-known essay “Unnatural Acts: Erotic Protocols in Artemidorus’ *Dream Analysis*,” in *The Constraints of Desire: The Anthropology of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece* (1990)—not cited by Harris—offers a striking version of this critical mode.

Harris has produced what, in some regards, will become a canonical text. Like all such it will have a tendency to quiet debate (something Harris is quite aware of, albeit in different circumstances). Harris is, and I say this as a compliment, very good at the canonical. The study of literacy and of the emotions has not been quite as blithely speculative since the publication of his earlier books, *Ancient Literacy* (1989) and *Restraining Rage*:

*The Ideology of Anger Control in Classical Antiquity* (2002). I suspect that his polished, above all skeptical, occasionally trusting argument may kill off the more speculative elements of the study of the ancient dream

too. If ancient dreaming was as he'd describes it, then that, I am sure, may be a good thing.

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RICHARD A. GOLDTHWAITE. *The Economy of Renaissance Florence*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2009. Pp. xviii, 649. \$55.00.

This book is a distillation of a half century of analysis and research by one of the most prominent historians of the Italian Renaissance. Its reading covers not only late medieval Florence, Tuscany, and Italy but stretches across Europe from London to Constantinople and from the earliest signs of the Commercial Revolution in the eleventh century to the seventeenth century. Florence is the center point—and it is here that Richard A. Goldthwaite reflects on his vast knowledge of primary sources, especially hundreds of account books housed in the Archivio di Stato, Firenze. Surprisingly, there has been no previous attempt to write an economic history of Renaissance Florence, but Goldthwaite's book is not a simple survey. Instead, his aim is to correct what he considers three "failures" in the historiography of Renaissance Italy: a narrow chronology; the *campanilismo* of confining analysis to a single city without comparison to other places, especially to regions north of the Alps; and descriptive as opposed to analytical history. Yet, at the same time, this is a readable account written by a historian, not by an economist or even an economic historian. The reader encounters no models or mathematical formula, little theory, few technical terms, tables, or charts—fewer than might have been warranted given the scope and richness of materials inherent in this book.

The design of the book is complex. Yet Goldthwaite organizes deftly this vast subject covering four centuries (with references to developments spanning six centuries) around numerous and entwined topics: international trade and banking, shifting markets and mercantile networks, transport revolutions, business education, accounting, banking structure and organization, insurance, development of religious doctrine on credit and ill-gotten gains, coins, minting, monies of account, government finance, manufacturing of textiles and other commodities, guilds, workers' crafts, conditions of labor, local markets, charitable institutions, and more.

The book opens with a descriptive introduction of the Commercial Revolution (late eleventh to the early fourteenth century) and Florence's place in it. Florence arrived late on the scene, behind the banking and commercial centers of Pisa, Lucca, and Siena. Its growth in the thirteenth century was rapid, however, and by the fourteenth century it had become the dominant economic power in Tuscany. This extraordinary advance is largely hidden from history. In contrast to the period

from second half of the fourteenth century to the seventeenth century, for which the Florentine archives present perhaps the most detailed picture of any regional economy in Europe, Florence's early records are fragmentary and inferior to those of other major Italian cities.

The book is divided into two parts, one devoted to Florence in the wider world of international commerce and banking and the other to its local, urban economy. Banking features prominently in both parts: in the first, international banking; in the second, local banks, pawnbrokers, charitable banks such as the hospital Santa Maria Nuova, the orphanage of the Innocenti, the confraternity of the Bigallo, the Monte di Pietà in the sixteenth century, and, by the second half of that century, the state finance of the Medici grand dukes. In both parts, four large chronological periods structure the analysis: first, the misty period of Florence's emergence from the eleventh to thirteenth century, its expansion outside its immediate region and the development of its nascent cloth industry; second, from the mid-thirteenth to mid-fourteenth century, the expansion of its international networks of trade and banking, which then reached their widest geographic extent, from England in the northwest to the Levant in the southeast; third, the post-Black Death period to the end of the fifteenth century, which witnessed the growth of the Florentine territorial state, the development of new forms of international banking, the revival of its wool industry with new markets for higher quality woolens, and the expansion of its silk industry. The fourth phase, the sixteenth century, has been the least studied. In this phase Florence began to lose its competitive edge to newcomers, such as the Hapsburg-sponsored bankers of southern Germany and later to more serious competition from northern Europe, as well as old rivals, most prominently, the Genoese. With the shift in fairs and international emporia from Lyons to Antwerp and then to Amsterdam, Florentine bankers and merchants lost out; their numbers abroad dwindled; and, unlike the Genoese, they failed to tap into and profit from the new Atlantic economy.

However, in Goldthwaite's analysis of shifting markets and Florentine flexibility, this century did not spell the city's economic downturn. Instead, buttressed by increased exports of wool and silk, Florence flourished as never before. Florentine artisans continued their long tradition of diversification and "import substitution,"

developing for the local economy consumer items that it had previously imported (such as glass and paper), and even exporting these goods to places such as the Levant. The combination of high-quality craftsmanship in the local economy and export profits from "its forward sectors"—high quality woollens and silk—underpinned a dynamic "middle class," prosperity, and luxury production and consumption through the century. In addition, the Medici grand dukes (from 1537 onward) ushered in a long period of peace and imposed a light tax burden. Local banking (especially with the transformation of the Monte di Pietà into a deposit bank) created new investment opportunities for Florence's dynamic class of artisans and shopkeepers. As a result, the local economy continued to thrive even after Florence's export markets in textiles began to slump: in 1620 the assets of Florence's Monte di Pietà, comprised largely of artisans' and shopkeepers' savings, had trebled since the 1540s. They now amounted to three million ducats, exceeding by far previous banking reserves even those of Florence's international super banks of the Commercial Revolution (the Bardi and Peruzzi) or the Medici at their height in the mid-fifteenth century. The definitive downturn in Florentine fortunes came only with the Thirty Years' War.

Goldthwaite weaves together this long and complex history with numerous arguments. First, although Florence may have lost its lead as a regional economy by the sixteenth century, its "artisan entrepreneurial energy" was from the thirteenth century on "informed by the ways of the capitalist—what we might call the spirit of capitalism" (p. 357). What capitalism means for Goldthwaite, however, is never spelled out; certainly, it did not hinge on the development of labor as a commodity. Second, he argues effectively that Florence's economic success depended on its "flexibility" and "diversity." The book illustrates the complexity of this success. As seen above, the intricate parts of the Florentine economy, although interrelated, did not always march to the same drummer. International banking and commerce declined with the prominence of Antwerp in the sixteenth century, and its mercantile network, once the largest and most dynamic in Europe, lost its hegemony. At the same time, textiles and local manufactory for home consumption expanded. Third, Goldthwaite argues that the weakness of Florence's guild system, at least after the mid-fourteenth century, and the *laissez-faire* policies of the Florentine state, at least until the mid-sixteenth century, in large part account for the flexibility, diversity, and prosperity of the local economy. In addition, later state intervention with the enlightened policies of the Medici dukes boosted the economy through subsidized workshops for luxury production housed at the Palazzo Vecchio and then the Uffizi, and especially with the establishment of Livorno as a free port attracting foreign merchants to Tuscany banned by others at the height of the Counter Reformation. Fourth, as with his earlier work (and against most recent work by political and social historians), Goldthwaite argues vigorously that Florence experienced

unusual, even unique, social mobility in comparison with other Italian city-states and regions north of the Alps throughout the four phases of this long economic history.

Goldthwaite's picture of the Florentine economy is not, however, one of unlimited accomplishment. He analyzes its shortcomings and attempts to explain why in the sixteenth century it began to lose out to other competitors and ultimately failed to develop industrial capitalism in the eighteenth century. Despite factional cut-throat competition in the political sphere from the twelfth century on, Goldthwaite argues that this competitive zeal did not cross into the economic sphere, stimulating technological innovation, cost-cutting, vertical integration of industries, and calculated stockpiling as developed in the Low Countries and England in the sixteenth century. Here Florence cannot claim to have been "a modernizing economy" that generated sustained growth or an upward spiral of consumption "leading to anything like the 'consumer revolution' of the eighteenth century" (p. 607).

This book should drive new research in archives at Florence and elsewhere. Throughout, Goldthwaite is quick to point out the dark spots where his conclusions are presently tenuous given the historiography and where new research is needed. This becomes especially true for questions relating to the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For instance, with the feminization of Florence's labor force, first with silk production in the fifteenth century, then with woollens in the seventeenth, where did the men go? Or why were Florentines so competitive in politics but restrained from such nasty practices when it came to economic relations with their fellow citizens? Goldthwaite points to vast archives yet to be tapped, such as the mounting numbers of private account books of banks in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries along with those of public and charitable institutions such as the Monte di Pietà.

Certainly, a book covering such a wide remit laced with bold conclusions cannot be beyond criticism. Historians will find objections and even internal contradictions, such as Goldthwaite's claims for Florence's unique social mobility against the backdrop of the growing importance of the silk industry in the fifteenth century, which led to a polarization of the industrial work force. With silk production, ninety percent of the workers were women and children, "who earned well below the minimum wage" (p. 326), while ten percent constituted a new aristocracy of labor, who could earn three times that of other skilled artisans (p. 325). He claims that the guild system was weak in Florence but (except for a passing mention of guild structure in Venice) here does not follow his own dictum that such claims need to be analyzed with comparative data. Besides, the strength of the guilds may explain one puzzle for Goldthwaite: why the competitive zeal of Florentines amongst themselves in politics did not spill over into economics. Further, he claims that the Florentine state did not "intervene to regulate wages or impede the normal functioning of the labor market" (p. 490), but



the claim ignores laws promulgated immediately after the Black Death and especially the restrictions and incentives the government imposed on rural laborers through the early fifteenth century. In fact, Goldthwaite's economy of Florence gives scant attention to the agricultural history of its large and variegated territory; the section entitled "Agriculture" comprises fewer than four of his 632 pages of text. In addition, he mentions only in passing regulation of prices, either by the guilds or the price "recommendations" of the Medici dukes. Finally, vital bibliography is missing from the notes, such as Robert S. Lopez when discussing the Com-

mercial Revolution, David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch, when discussing Catasto law and practice, Klapisch again when discussing domestic servants, Steven A. Epstein when discussing the economy of Genoa, and nearly everyone when discussing the Ciompi and its economic demands and policy. But historians across a wide range of fields from art history to politics will be indebted to this new and courageous synthesis, which in effect is an economic history of late medieval and early modern Europe viewed from the perspective and remarkable records of Florence.

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PIER M. LARSON. *Ocean of Letters: Language and Creolization in an Indian Ocean Diaspora*. (Critical Perspectives on Empire.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xx, 378. Cloth \$99.00, paper \$35.99.

Pier M. Larson's book is particularly valuable to the English-speaking world in providing a glimpse of a part of the Indian Ocean that has been more important to the French, who have filled scholarly libraries than the Anglo-American world. An English-language account of the francophone part of the Indian Ocean is useful to those who are not able to digest the academic details in French.

Studies of African diasporas have been overwhelmingly focused on transatlantic movement, and this trend has gathered added momentum from the bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade. Larson's book, concerning the largest African diaspora in the Indian Ocean during the early modern period, is important because it addresses another aspect of African population movements. Although confined to the western Indian Ocean, it complements the sparse but growing scholarship on the remainder of this vast body of water. As someone with an interest in other parts of the Indian Ocean, I welcome Larson's interesting trawl through Malagasy archival material, which attempts to show that creole languages, cultures, and ideas have been overvalued as objects of study at the expense of indigenous peoples and their culture.

Together with other scholars, Larson refers to the Indian Ocean when he really means the western Indian Ocean. Consequently, he risks minimizing the very diversity and extensive nature of the cultures he is seeking to promote. In *The Portuguese in the East: A Cultural History of a Maritime Trading Empire* (2008), I argued that studying hybridized music and creole languages that evolved in other parts of the Indian Ocean would add to our understanding of creole studies in the Indian Ocean.

Larson correctly states that "The tendency among scholars of slavery is to think of the western Indian Ocean through the logic of the Atlantic and to assimilate Mascarene islands to those of the colonial Carib-

bean." He is also correct in saying that "The analogy works to a great extent, but there are important differences" (p. xvii). Geographical proximity to Africa, and the political alignment of the creole islands, a central aspect of Larson's study, draw them apart from the Caribbean islands. Cross-continental migration is not an important concern because these islands are part of Africa. Hence, Larson is able to draw attention to the cultural heterogeneity in these colonial spaces. It is this condition, as much as anything else, that has been neglected in favor of creolization.

Larson demonstrates and explores the importance of the Malagasy language among forced African migrants throughout the western Indian Ocean. In the early nineteenth century, it has been estimated that Malagasy was more widely spoken among African slaves than Swahili (exact numbers remain elusive). Existing accounts, therefore, of French Creole have overestimated the role of the superstratum language, European French. Larson finds multilingualism and not the replacement of one tongue by another in this context. Consequently, more attention needs to be given to the role and influence of Malagasy in the evolution of French Creole throughout the region. However, while Larson discusses Malagasy literature and attempts by the Malagasy people following the abolition of the slave trade to impose the southern dialect of Malagasy as the language of administration throughout the "Big Island," there is no analysis of structure, grammar, or lexicon of either Malagasy or French Creole with a particular focus on the substratum language, Malagasy. Closer attention to these topics would provide readers with more precise evidence of the real significance of Larson's wide-ranging survey of the field.

Larson has made a strong argument for a less Eurocentric and unbiased view of languages in contact. He is correct to criticize creolization in its original application by linguists focusing on the Atlantic and Indian



Ocean worlds. For a global picture of contact languages, we need to turn to John A. Holm's two-volume *Pidgins and Creoles* (1988, 1989). I have found that the identity of forced African migrants in areas around the Indian Ocean manifests itself in different forms. I believe that music and dance are the best indicators of an African legacy among Afro-Asians.

Larson presents us with a 260-year span (1600–1860) of linguistic development and change. He covers what is termed the “Western Indian Ocean,” the boundaries of which are not defined but include Madagascar, Mauritius, Réunion, and Comores. Over a longer span of time (1500–1900), it is estimated that around half a million people spoke Malagasy as their first language. As late as 1800, Malagasy speakers formed the largest ethnolinguistic group (twenty percent) moving within and from the western Indian Ocean. They moved in all directions as far as the Cape of Good Hope in the south; the Persian Gulf to the north; and Ceylon (Sri Lanka), the Indian subcontinent, and even Java and Sumatra to the east. I have come across a significant number of slaves originating from Madagascar in the Sumatra factory records of the East India Company.

Larson points out that although the languages of slaves in the Indian Ocean have attracted many scholars, there has been a neglect of the role of the slaves' ancestral languages in colonial societies. By focusing on language rather than ethnicity or cultural practice, he demonstrates the endurance of these ancestral tongues in societies perceived as creolized. This challenges the presupposition that European creole was indispensable for interlingual communication. He goes further arguing that francophone *créolité* and Malagasy were entangled with each other.

We must not, however, forget that the Indian Ocean was already a region where the exchange of trade goods and ideas was already occurring when the European na-

tions broke into the commerce of the area. Larson gives us a view from within the western Indian Ocean to show how the Malagasy responded to the presence of different European powers and the framework imposed by them.

As a case history of the Malagasy language, Larson's book is important. He reveals archival material ranging from New Zealand to France, England, Wales, Mauritius, and Madagascar. Larson has translated and made known the existence of archival material illustrating the existing legacy of Malagasy. He points out that Europeans learned Malagasy principally for missionary purposes, giving a fascinating account of the first Malagasy dictionaries.

Although Larson is a historian, he shows considerable interest in etymology. For example, in a mid-nineteenth-century archival document that lists Malagasy Christians in Mauritius, he identifies Malagasy, European, Biblical, and mixed names. I have seen the same pattern in the slaves from Madagascar who worked for the East India Company in Sumatra.

*Ocean of Letters* crosses several academic specialties. It contains a mixture of existing knowledge with a novel account of the use of the Malagasy tongue during the period of European colonization in the western Indian Ocean and the politics of language use. Larson summarizes the approaches of current scholarship to the African diaspora in the Indian Ocean. He brings to the fore the complexities of cross-cultural interactions in asymmetric power relationships in the western Indian Ocean during the early modern period. He reminds us that these situations resulted in transforming indigenous peoples, a phenomenon common to other parts of the Indian Ocean also, although it might have been with different combinations of European powers.

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ULBE BOSMA and REMCO RABEN. *Being “Dutch” in the Indies: A History of Creolisation and Empire, 1500–1920*. Translated by WENDIE SHAFFER. (Ohio University Research in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series, number 116.) Singapore: NUS Press. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2008. Pp. xx, 439. \$28.00.

INEZ HOLLANDER. *Silenced Voices: Uncovering a Family's Colonial History in Indonesia*. (Ohio University Research in International Studies, Southeast Asia Series, number 119.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2008. Pp. xxvi, 278. \$28.00.

The history of Dutch colonialism in Southeast Asia is often glossed over in contemporary transnational efforts to assess the meanings of European imperial leg-

acies in Asia. Such analyses tend to concentrate primarily on British India, which has become the subject of critical discussions from a wide range of political

points of view and postcolonial perspectives. If a comparative dimension is added, historians tend to focus on French Indochina rather than the Dutch East Indies. This omission may result from linguistic barriers, hampered further by Dutch colonial historians' apparent lack of interest in participating in international debates concerning comparative colonial histories in Asia. It is therefore a gratifying opportunity to review two English-language books concentrating on colonial culture in the Dutch East Indies, in which the area's distinctive historical features of profitability and hybridity take center stage.

These two books, although published in the same year and in the same series, represent two radically different approaches to writing the history of Dutch colonial culture in the Indonesian archipelago. Inez Hollander records the compelling story of her own Dutch ancestors, who had gained wealth and status thanks to the cultivation of rubber and coffee on a family-run plantation near Malang in East Java. Her primary sources consist of family correspondence, personal diaries, and business reports. Hollander's stated purpose is to create an honest family history. Her specific desire is to uncover the truth about the torture of a great uncle who died in a Japanese prison in Bandung at the end of World War II. She also wishes to unearth the tragic details surrounding the murder in Surabaya in October 1945 of his two daughters, aged fifteen and thirteen, by a mob of nationalists who were fanatic supporters of the independent Republik Indonesia proclaimed on August 17, 1945.

On the whole, Hollander's chronicle about her ancestors is done with empathy and psychological insight and is visually enhanced by family photographs, even if her tendency to clutter the text with rhetorical questions concerning the feelings, opinions, and habits of her deceased great aunts and uncles is awkward. She surrounds her story, however, with an account of Dutch colonial rule in Java since the seventeenth century by relying on sometimes dubious secondary sources. As if to compensate for the silences in her own family history, further reinforced by her idiosyncratic convictions about the lacunae in the historiographical record, Hollander employs a narrative voice that comes across as judgmental and shrill. First, she criticizes historians in the contemporary Netherlands for their reluctance to interrogate European racism and the exploitation of the native inhabitants of the Indonesian archipelago. The author then proceeds to accuse the same historical establishment of being too reticent in addressing the realities of violence perpetrated upon vulnerable European residents emerging from Japanese internment camps during the fall of 1945. She claims that, in the contemporary Netherlands, "it is taboo to compare the suffering of Holocaust victims to the hardships of Europeans, Eurasians and Indonesians who fell victim to the Japanese." This is followed up with a statement that is even more unfortunate: it is "counterproductive to sweep the war in Asia under the rug just because it did

not take place in Europe or has not been adequately portrayed in Hollywood movies" (p. 125).

Is this a calculated attempt to provoke a ghoulish *Historikerstreit* with regard to the relative significance of human suffering based on skin color, geographical location, or memorial practices employed by either scholars or film directors such as Steven Spielberg? The question boils down to why Hollander, whether deliberately or inadvertently, overlooked the research of a long list of historians such as Herman Bussemaker, Esther Captain, Mary C. van Delden, Peter Keppy, Ethan Mark, Stef Scagliola, and others who have analyzed in painstaking detail the personal anguish endured by (Indo-)Dutch residents during the Japanese occupation as well as the post-World War II independence struggle. While scholars and regular citizens in the United States may be ignorant about the suffering of (Indo-)Dutch residents in colonial Indonesia during the 1942–1949 era, this poignant history has been fully chronicled in the Netherlands and is quite familiar to the public at large.

Reading Ulbe Bosma and Remco Raben's book is an entirely different experience. This book embodies history writing at its empirical best. It takes readers on a well-documented diachronic journey, beginning in the early seventeenth century, through interconnected trading posts in coastal Southeast and South Asia, where Dutch men and a few Dutch women settled, worked, procreated, and then moved on or died. The authors rely on archival sources and private collections consulted in Austria, Indonesia, the Netherlands, and Sri Lanka; they also examine a plethora of contemporary diaries, letters, and newspapers, as well as a full range of the secondary literature. As a result, they are able to paint a vivid but nuanced portrait of Dutch colonial culture overseas.

Bosma and Raben emphasize that Dutch settlements constituted sociopolitical worlds in which European status was necessarily interwoven with regional commercial opportunities and slave-trading networks, as well as the particular ethnic and religious mixtures of the local population. They challenge the "common picture" of colonial societies as shaped by unequivocal racial hierarchies, in which newcomers from Europe functioned as "lords and masters" while the native masses did nothing but toil in rice fields. By devoting generous attention to the social and economic contributions offered by subaltern soldiers, mestizo converts to Christianity, and multitudes of slaves—among them a large number of baptized and/or manumitted slaves—who occupied the crucial middle zones of colonial communities, the authors are able to argue that this "attractively simple image of colonial society . . . is false" (p. 60).

Achieving economic might and political prerogatives in such disparate places as Batavia, Makassar, Malacca, Galle, or Colombo was grounded in a reliance on the benefits of a Dutch education, coupled with the patronage and spoils that access to the Dutch East India Company's (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, or VOC)

vast commercial infrastructure could provide. European status and power depended to a great extent on local affiliations that were perpetually reinforced or altered through family alliances. The authors show that, since the early modern era, women served as the glue that bolstered the cohesion of local elites. The book's meticulous information concerning the ups and downs of particular Dutch families, whose offspring until the early nineteenth century moved frequently between Batavia and Dutch communities elsewhere in Asia, indicates that in many instances a shrewd marriage with a highly placed local widow or potential heiress—whose skins were often darkly colored—was one of the prerequisites in securing social status and material success.

Bosma and Raben's narrative, richly illustrated with historical detail and dozens of black and white prints and photographs, undermines the prevailing assumptions about the inevitability of white-skinned superiority and the universality of brown-skinned subservience. Instead, the authors emphasize that Dutch colonialism in Asia forged a thoroughly creolized community. Until twentieth-century notions of modernity tried to introduce new racial attitudes in Dutch East Indies society, this was a hybrid world in which "class, profession, geographic origin, religion, education as well as skin color contributed to placing an individual within the social hierarchy" (p. 24). Even during the decades prior to World War II, however, age-old "patterns of ethnic rapprochement and mixing" continued to hold sway despite concerted political efforts to apply new racial taxonomies and valuations (p. 343). In sum, their findings conform to the argument made by other scholars that

in colonial Indonesia, Europeans' allegedly natural superiority was legitimized by beliefs in a mythical whiteness, because in reality Dutch elites were hardly white-skinned and blue-eyed. Instead, they often had a skin color that betrayed centuries of intermarriage with regional populations hailing from many corners of Southeast and South Asia. This distinctive Dutch habit of creolization prompted British newcomers to Ceylon after 1796 to express their bewilderment about the community of "Dutch burghers" and dismiss them as a "mixed-race breed with extraordinary habits" (p. 82).

Wendie Shaffer's expert translation of Bosma and Raben's book has made available a valuable addition to the burgeoning transnational and/or (post)colonial literature focusing on Europe's imperialist legacies in Asia. My only regret is that, not unlike their fellow historians in the Netherlands, these authors also seem reluctant to engage the research of more theoretically oriented colleagues in the Anglo-American scholarly world. Although they occasionally refer to the important work on colonial Indonesia by scholars such as Benedict Anderson, Jean Gelman Taylor, or Takashi Shiraishi, on the whole this book is constructed as an autonomous historiographical enterprise in which other historians' alternative interpretations are only rarely taken into account. This omission does not at all diminish its merits, even if the book misses the chance to interject the Dutch case into the lively contemporary discussions on the comparative transnational history of European colonialism in Asia.

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BARBARA ENGELKING and JACEK LEOCIAK. *The Warsaw Ghetto: A Guide to the Perished City*. Translated by EMMA HARRIS. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2009. Pp. xxix, 906. \$75.00.

The publication of an English translation of Barbara Engelking and Jacek Leociak's 2001 detailed study of the Warsaw Ghetto is a valuable contribution to the historiography of the Holocaust. But the book is also of broader methodological interest to historians given the strategy of making so central to the text the mapping out of the former ghetto. Maps are not simply afterthought or illustration but lie at the heart of this volume that is part historical text, part historical atlas. If the humanities are undergoing a "spatial turn," then surely cartography will play a much more central role in both future research and publications, and here the mappings offered by Engelking and Leociak are suggestive.

The range of maps reflects the authors' decision to approach what was the largest ghetto in Nazi-occupied Europe both thematically and chronologically. In the center of the volume is a series of thematic mappings that show the ghetto as territory traversed by tram lines; as institutional, economic, and social space; and as site

of resistance. At the end of the volume, three large maps adopt a more chronological approach. The shifting shape of the ghetto before and after the mass deportations in 1942 is mapped out, alongside the few traces of ghetto buildings and the ghetto street pattern that remain in contemporary Warsaw. The third of the three fold-out maps found in an envelope at the end of the volume reveals the *raison d'être* for this massive volume. It shows how indistinct the physical traces of the ghetto are in contemporary Warsaw, given the history of Nazi destruction in order to create a park and postwar rebuilding of the Muranów housing estate. This sense of contemporary absence and erasure frames Engelking and Leociak's attempt to "reconstruct the topography and setting" of the Warsaw ghetto that "is hidden from us by earth, asphalt, the foundations of new houses, and oblivion" (p. ix). Drawing on a variety of published and unpublished wartime documents alongside postwar testimony, Engelking and Leociak

painstakingly seek to recreate this destroyed place and its destroyed population. In part at least, they are highly successful in this endeavor.

Given that their focus is on the space within the ghetto walls, Engelking and Leociak pay relatively little attention to the broader story of the restructuring of this city—as with other Polish cities—into German and Polish, as well as Jewish, spaces (see Gordon J. Horwitz, *Ghettostadt: Modż and the Making of a Nazi City* [2008]). This emphasis results in a failure to consider fully the significance of broader German policy upon the place and people of the ghetto. Here the authors would have benefited from the important work of Christopher Browning, which is strangely absent from a bibliography that tends to be a little dated and somewhat patchy (see Christopher R. Browning, “Nazi Ghettoization Policy in Poland: 1939–41,” *Central European History* 19, no. 4 [1986]: 343–368). While they do map out changes to the ghetto boundary on one of the valuable maps at the end of the volume, they do not draw from that map within the text, which offers a primarily descriptive narrative of boundary changes through a rendering of history as chronicle. My sense, and this is something I have tried to do in my own work on ghettoization in Budapest, is that mapping out the shifting shape of the ghetto as it was planned, implemented, and subsequently reshaped provides a way to examine the shifting motivations of ghetto planners and managers (Tim Cole, *Holocaust City: The Making of a Jewish Ghetto* [2003]). This lost opportunity is one of a number in a book that is more successful at description than analysis.

However, what this essentially narrative study does achieve is a tremendous sense of place. Through lengthy citations from contemporary and postwar texts (at times the book has the feel of a documentary reader), appendixes in tabular form, and cartography, Engelking and Leociak bring the former ghetto and its population back to life. In part, the book uncovers the ghetto as a material site made up of a complex and variegated network of streets and buildings. This sense of spatial complexity is overlaid with a chronology that traces the major events in the life of the ghetto. At times, such as for the early period of ghetto formation, Engelking and Leociak write a month-by-month chronicle of boundary changes. During the key events of mass deportations in the summer of 1942 and the uprising in the spring of 1943, they turn to day-by-day reportage. In both the text as well as the three chronological maps at the end, they paint a picture of a shifting ghetto, in particular after mass deportations in the summer of 1942 reduced the place to something closer to a work camp. After the crushing of the 1943 uprising, a concentration camp was set up at the site of the former ghetto, with four transports of Jewish prisoners being brought from Auschwitz in the second half of 1944 to recycle the ghetto rubble for building materials. During 1943 and 1944, Jews continued to hide in cellars amid the rubble.

Alongside recreating the evolving topography of the

ghetto, Engelking and Leociak repeople the space. Here their focus shifts to a more thematic approach, dealing with “institutions,” “economic life,” and “community life.” Beginning at the top, with the personnel and structure of the *Judenrat* and Jewish Police, Engelking and Leociak then outline the vast range of official and unofficial health, welfare, and educational institutions and organizations within the ghetto. While the vast array of institutions described does tend toward a rather list-by-list approach, broader themes such as the conflict between official *Judenrat* organs and community self-help activities are explored, as well as the importance of social stratification within the ghetto. For example, these two tensions came together with official attempts to limit the spread of typhus in the ghetto through the delousing of entire streets and an order that typhus patients go to one of the official ghetto hospitals. However, some paid to be treated at home, an illegal hospital was discovered in the ghetto in March 1941, and the ghetto elite sought to get their hands on Rudolf Weigel’s anti-typhus vaccine through the black market.

Along with institutional space, Engelking and Leociak portray the ghetto as an economic space of both production and consumption. What this meant for an average ghetto family in the spring of 1942 is conveyed through analysis of income and expenditure. This approach suggests that almost half of family income was derived from selling possessions. Trading goods on the streets was a common ghetto experience, which the Jewish Council attempted to regulate. Just under three quarters of family income was spent on foodstuffs, an amount that would have increased in the summer of 1942 when the cost of bread on the black market rocketed.

However, while the ghetto as socially stratified space is developed well, the ghetto as gendered space is hardly addressed. A table does show the population by gender and age in October 1942 (p. 51), but the gender imbalances of the population made visible here are never explored. The absence of gender from the analysis is a major gap, given that contemporaries such as Emanuel Ringelblum (p. 666), as well as the more recent historiographical literature, recognized the Warsaw ghetto as gendered landscape. This absence reflects a lack of engagement with the broader historiography of the Warsaw ghetto in particular and social histories of the Holocaust in general.

One theme that has emerged as being centrally important to social histories of Holocaust ghettos is expounded well by Engelking and Leociak in their chapter on cultural life as “moral resistance.” It is hard to say where they got the figure of somewhere between five and ten percent of the ghetto population having “enough energy and opportunity [and I would add money] to satisfy their cultural or spiritual needs” (p. 531). Throughout there need to be more footnotes to substantiate claims. The use of Harvard referencing perhaps mitigates against the kind of dense citation that we value so much as historians. But while the precise



proportion of the population that had the money to participate in the cultural life of the ghetto remains unexplored, what Engelking and Leociak do well is represent the extent and range of the cultural landscape of the ghetto. Here they draw extensively on the advertisements within the official ghetto newspaper—*Gazeta Żydowska*—to identify entertainment and dining establishments in the ghetto. These are discussed within the text in general terms but are more powerfully conveyed through the visuality of tables and cartography. Lengthy appendixes chronologically lay out community cultural events, the repertoire of ghetto theaters, and programs of classical musical performances. In addition to this chronological listing are geographical lists of bookstores, reading rooms, and lending libraries, as well as entertainment and dining establishments. This diverse cultural landscape is made visible in the mapping of the “social life” of the Warsaw ghetto that also marks the residences of key ghetto authors.

The value of this text lies primarily in the maps and appendixes rather than in the prose. More positively, the tables and maps offer the possibilities of an innovative visual rendering of this complex place and its people. More negatively, the prose contains weaknesses caused by a rather uncritical use of sources. While the listing and mapping of a network of secondhand bookstores and lending libraries points to the importance of books within the ghetto, in the section on “literary life,” the authors assert that “books could also be objects of desire” and that “love of books could lead to suicide” on the basis of single quotations from two postwar memoirs. Not only do Engelking and Leociak tend to extrapolate a more general claim too quickly from a particular case, but they treat the particular case found in postwar memoirs rather naively.

Throughout the text, sources are taken at face value. At times this approach is especially problematic. For example, “three literary passages” that are used to “provide portraits of those streets, places, and people” making up predominantly Jewish parts of the city in the late nineteenth century are cited without any acknowledgement of the antisemitic tone adopted by their authors (p. 11). Similarly, a quote from a 1938 literary guide to Warsaw that rendered the Jewish district as “that festering big-city wound, [which] lives up and takes on a sick energy in the warmth of the spring sunshine. The microbes of the gloomy ghetto crawl out, for that moment, from their stinking shelters” needed contextualization (p. 18). Simply reproducing antisemitic statements such as these within the text as evidence is a particularly problematic example of a broader issue, a tendency toward source reproduction without criticism.

While this is a flawed work, it is also methodologically suggestive. In the context of the so-called “spatial turn” in the humanities, the centrality of cartography to the book is something that deserves further consideration by historians more generally and particularly those who write of such strikingly spatial processes as ghettoization. There remains a dearth of maps in much historical research and publishing. What Engelking and Leociak do so well is to show how, through carefully researched and plotted maps, it is possible to visualize a place that was erased by the twin processes of Nazi retaliation to the ghetto uprising and the postwar socialist rebuilding of Warsaw that amounted to the final “taming of the ghetto” (p. 807).

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## Reviews of Books

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### METHODS/THEORY

SETH C. BRUGGEMAN. *Here, George Washington Was Born: Memory, Material Culture, and the Public History of a National Monument*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2008. Pp. xi, 260. \$24.95.

Seth C. Bruggeman's book on George Washington's birthplace highlights many of the ongoing debates about public history. More than just a narrative history of the site, this work provides an introduction that details the personal experiences that led Bruggeman to study the presentation of the first president's birthplace. In addition to his discussion of this national monument, Bruggeman provides a broader insight into the history of public commemoration from the Renaissance through the nineteenth century, highlighting the changing ways in which sites and objects have been revered.

Bruggeman's primary task is to discuss Washington's birthplace in the Northern Neck of Virginia and the ways in which the area has been presented to the public. He takes the reader from the origins of the site with the placement of the first commemorative marker by George Washington Parke Custis in 1815 to the disagreement about the portrayal of the birthplace between the Wakefield National Memorial Association and the National Park Service, much of which centered on issues of gender and the debate over the role of motherhood in the promotion of the location.

The issue of historical archaeology then came into play when the foundations of what was believed to be Washington's actual birthplace were exposed. Referred to as "Building X" because its authenticity was still in doubt, the structure was a U-shaped building "about fifty-eight feet long, nineteen feet wide, and with chimney foundations at both ends" (p. 95). Despite this discovery, the construction of the Memorial House continued, even though it was an imaginary replica of the birthplace house that had burned in 1779 and there was no evidence of its actual appearance. The debate over the replica house versus the discovered foundations led to conflicted presentations of Washington's birthplace, which vacillated between the idea of the past represented in the replica Memorial House and the reality of the past represented in the work done by historical archaeologists. The combination of a private group that sought to present an idealized vision of Washington's

birthplace and a public organization, the National Park Service, sowed the seeds of controversy over the proper way to present and memorialize U.S. history at such a place.

The furnishing of the Memorial House, originally done without regard to eighteenth-century tastes, was clearly not representative of what one might expect to see in a colonial-era home, even an imaginary one. To provide greater attempted authenticity, Louise du Pont Crowninshield was hired to refurnish the home in keeping with eighteenth-century norms. For over five years she brought in a wide variety of furnishings to redecorate the interior, which, while completely imaginary, at least vaguely resembled what one might have expected to see in a home of that type in colonial days. Her efforts signaled a new era in historic preservation, one in which a more serious attempt to portray the past would help bolster a site's reputation.

With the arrival of the Cold War, Washington's birthplace took on a political meaning, as was the case with other historic sites such as Colonial Williamsburg. Historic preservation of the American past served to promote traditional ideals against those of any group or individual who, in the minds of many Americans, plotted to destroy the country's future. By the 1970s, the site had moved to planting crops in the surrounding fields and creating a living history presentation.

In many ways, Bruggeman's story of Washington's birthplace mirrors the experiences of other colonial historic sites as they moved from the control of private supporters to that of trained professionals. He does a good job of presenting this transition within the context of a relatively small historic site. In addition, his personal experiences are useful for younger historians who are thinking of pursuing a career in public history. He therefore represents himself not only as a scholar but also as a visitor who has toured the site and observed its presentation.

While there is much to like about Bruggeman's account, the narrative thread occasionally gets lost as he stops to inform the reader of the historical context of his argument. Placing this argument in a separate chapter or more smoothly weaving it into the framework of the book would allow the reader to better understand his overall points. In addition, his personal experiences,

while useful to some readers, tend to ramble and lose those who do not necessarily grasp his desired meaning.

These are a few minor problems with a book that should receive serious consideration from all historians interested in the presentation and interpretation of the past. Bruggeman's study adds an important piece of the puzzle to our understanding of public history and the ways in which the past has been presented to general audiences during the last eighty years.

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GEORGIY KASIANOV and PHILIPP THER, editors. *A Laboratory of Transnational History: Ukraine and Recent Ukrainian Historiography*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2009. Pp. vi, 310. \$40.00.

Each generation of historians seeks to develop its own perspective on the past. In the current age of globalization the desire to move away from the overwhelming influence of national history—so dominant for so long—is especially strong. Not surprisingly, therefore, some historians in and outside Ukraine have started to look for new ways of interpreting the country's history. Their efforts, reflected in this volume edited by Georgiy Kasianov and Philipp Ther, deserve to be welcomed as an attempt to seek an innovative approach. However, they also raise some questions. Does what they propose constitute a better way of explaining the past than the efforts of their predecessors? How do they deal with the central problem of causation, of explaining why certain key events and processes occurred? Only a satisfactory response to queries such as these can justify the replacement of the ethnonational model with other approaches to history.

In the first and theoretical part of the volume the central argument is a plea for the diversification of research topics. This proposal is presented as a much-needed alternative to the homogenizing tendencies of national historiography. Kasianov notes such characteristic features of nationalizing historiography as ethnic exclusiveness and teleological thinking and emphasizes the intellectual and conceptual limitations of these views. However, he does not propose alternative ways of approaching Ukraine's past. Nor can he explain why Mykhailo Hrushevsky's national history of Ukraine, despite its failings, is still the fullest account of what happened in that country. Mark von Hagen deals with the porousness of national borders and stresses how approaches such as borderland studies or local history can greatly add to our understanding of Ukrainian history. Most radical is Ther. He argues that the time has come to replace national with transnational historiography, stating that it is more productive now to concentrate on area history and the interplay of cultures and communication, that is, on transfer history. The problem with all of these approaches is that while they might elucidate some aspects of historical reality they do not ex-

plain why people acted or historical processes developed as they did. Andreas Kappeler is more balanced. He acknowledges the need for new approaches but argues that their value lies in complementing or enriching rather than replacing the more traditional or national approaches.

Paradoxically, the essays in the second, empirically oriented part of the book are written in the context of the national paradigm. Natalia Yakovenko discusses the various terms applied to the territory of what is now Ukraine while Oleksiy Tolochko deals with the impact of "short," Cossack-oriented and Polish-influenced history of the land as opposed to the "long," Kievan oriented one that stresses ties with Russia. Alexei Miller and Oksana Ostapchuk look at the political and national ramifications of Ukrainians choosing the Cyrillic alphabet while John-Paul Himka, in dealing with the documentary film *Between Hitler and Stalin: Ukraine in World War II* (2003), criticizes the tendency of the Ukrainian diaspora to emphasize national victimhood. Yaroslav Hrytsak, referring to comparative research done on L'viv and Donetsk, notes the relevance and irrelevance of nationalism in contemporary Ukraine. Meanwhile, Roman Szporluk, citing the views of numerous luminaries in East European and Russian studies, treats the Polish and Austrian dimensions in the creation of a modern Ukrainian national identity. While interesting and useful, this collection of essays, in stressing the need for developing new approaches to the study of Ukrainian history, only demonstrates how much remains to be done in order to develop it.

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#### COMPARATIVE/WORLD

FRANCESCA TRIVELLATO. *The Familiarity of Strangers: The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2009. Pp. xiii, 470. \$50.00.

Francesca Trivellato's book accomplishes what so many who study the history of the Jews try to do. She has written a history whose principal subject is Jews but that fully qualifies as a historical work that enlightens us about a period as a whole. This is a far more difficult task than it may seem. Jewish history challenges the scholar to write both vertically and horizontally at the same time. One could study the history of Jewish commerce in a neat vertical casing: in the early Middle Ages, Jews were merchants (although there were fewer than often thought); they passed on to being moneylenders in the High Middle Ages (if only for the lack of choice) and then reemerged as merchants in the early modern period. In all three cases, they were accused of monopolizing the field and exploiting clients. To study Jewish economics this way is, of course, a study of attitudes toward Jews. It says little about commerce and its role in the larger economy. Going the other way, one could study Jewish merchants in the early modern pe-

riod as just another brand of dealer in the growing Atlantic or other maritime trade, ignoring Jewish specificities and again ending with a half picture.

As Trivellato shows, these specificities did exist, but they may properly be understood only in the context of early modern international commerce, especially as this commerce was pursued through family-centered general partnerships, but also through highly sophisticated networking, whose nature, in the author's words, is "not amorphous, boundless, and spontaneous, but inscribed in social norms, legal customs, and rules for communication that gave them stability" (p. 275). No less important to this study is understanding the economic theories underpinning this kind of venture and what they have to say about changing patterns of trade in the eighteenth-century Mediterranean, and to some extent the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean as well—although Trivellato cautions that scholars should not allow economic theory to blur the centrality of the role of trust, which was crucial in relations between individuals when closing deals and in keeping a business afloat. Many readers will find the heavy dose of economic theory daunting. However, economics cannot be reduced to plunking a dime down on the counter for a piece of candy. And for so many scholars, deep discourse of this kind is both a boon and essential.

By documenting both the practical and theoretical, the book follows two, if not three, generations of the Silvera and Ergas families in their early successes as international merchants, but then their ultimate failure, brought about by an astonishing case of poor judgment, when an opportunistic family member in Aleppo contracted to sell a big stone whose glitter was far greater than its true worth. By concentrating on these two families, the book, for all its complexity, has lure of a whodunit, especially in the "big diamond" chapter. The entire story of the Ergas and Silvera families is rivetingly told, pieced together from thousands of letters the Ergas and Silvera wrote and left behind. These letters' number and distribution alone (we must not fail to mention the achievement in their categorization and analysis) are a tale unto themselves. Of nearly 14,000 letters in all, 4,000 each went to Venice and Genoa, the former being a key intermediary with partners in the North and East; direct contacts with Amsterdam numbered only 600. Five hundred letters went to Aleppo and London, and smaller numbers to other tens of places. But Genoa in the early eighteenth century barely had a Jewish community. Commercial advantage, it appears, could supersede the restraints of religion.

It would have been easy to make this study another episode in the adventure of those now known as "port Jews," this marvelously useful term applied to draw attention to Sephardi merchants whose commercial endeavors are said to have forwarded Jewish modernization. Instead—the term itself seems downplayed to steer clear of a "type"—Trivellato measures her protagonists by focusing on modes of business partnerships, the use of tribunals, and ways of contracting, and

by contrasting the general partnership to larger, often state and monopolistic mercantilistic endeavors that had the clout to control prices and supply.

We observe these phenomena through the optic of Jews living in a unique environment, that of Livorno, whose extraordinary communities, too, are discussed in detail—Jews formed up to ten percent of the population—where insertion into the units of civic governmental structure was by way of an extremely high level of autonomy with respect to intracommunal affairs, in the unique absence, furthermore, of the ghettoization that existed even in Medici Florence. As for the Jewish community, Sephardim dominated it, rigidly, but ultimately had to contend with and cede power to Jewish arrivals from other places in Italy and even North Africa who were not Sephardim and not ready to be controlled rudely.

The loss of Sephardi primacy notably parallels the lessening of Sephardi commercial preeminence, which itself was tied to grand changes in colonial, military, and international politic powers—to make the point of interdependence of Jewish and non-Jewish factors once more. That primacy's end was also hastened by the reforms proposed by Duke Peter Leopold after 1765, which challenged the corporate existence of the community by questioning the possible insertion of Livornese Jews into a general civil scheme of law and governance that was already becoming ever more the rule in Jewish communities in Italy where *ius commune* held sway.

Comparing Livorno's community with those in Amsterdam, London, and Marseilles, moreover, demonstrates that there was "no linear correlation between mercantile policies of toleration and the legal and social acceptance of Jews." One must also not confuse the ghetto's absence in Livorno with the arrival of secular modernity: in the hierarchic and socially rigid times of the first half of the eighteenth century, the time when the story of the book unfolds, one could look, talk, do commerce, dress, perhaps even eat like a non-Jew, but as a Jew (in fact, for the most part even as a convert) one did not, indeed could not, *become* a non-Jew. No Jew was ever so completely accepted, nor did anyone expect this transformation to happen. Yet it is precisely here that the traditional issues of Jewish history intersect with the interests and history of general economic and social theory, and both profit by the contrast. By highlighting, Trivellato says, the specificities of a particular (Jewish) trading diaspora one may delay creating a general theory of cross-cultural trade. But this has the advantage of avoiding "totalizing interpretations that conceive trading diasporas as either antiquated remnants of a premodern world or idyllic consortia of cooperative kith and kin" (p. 277). Moreover, since Sephardim (constituting a trading diaspora) were not expected ultimately to assimilate as were members of other trading diasporas, studying the former offers a more nuanced picture of market and community relations than that which can be gleaned from scrutinizing the latter. It is at this point where we see, too, how (Jew-

ish) family strategies in calculating dowries and the like and the maintenance of family wealth were elements in creating partnerships. The institution of Levirate marriage was maintained to this end through at least 1670, and, even afterward, it remained a factor for some of the Sephardi merchants as they sought to control the devolution of their estates. Socially one had to marry "in," but "in" did not necessarily mean to marry a cousin.

There was also the question of law. Trivellato emphasizes that though the courts were based on justice for all following the same laws—and that Jews who knew the ropes could fair very well—at the same time, a slip by an individual could bring retaliation on the group. The findings in this vein are most important, and perhaps they should be linked to the apparent anomaly that the charter of the Jews of Livorno, which gave them infinitely more privileges than Jews elsewhere in Italy, was based on the charter issued to the Sephardi merchants of Ancona by Pope Paul III in 1543. This charter, like the *livornina* of 1591–1593 recognized effective corporate status for these Jews, theoretically impossible in *ius commune*, as legal commentators constantly reemphasized. Yet the 1543 charter was revoked in 1555 by Pope Paul IV (just after he ordered the Roman ghetto area walled in) when he burned twenty-five of these merchants at the stake for Marranism. Was this historical paradox? Or do we gain great insight into the extremes possible in the centralized, confessional state the pope ruled? This same kind of clash—to be sure without the violence—also seems to underlie the struggle of Duke Peter Leopold to homogenize laws and regularize the civil status of Jews throughout his apparently deconfessionalizing, yet hopefully centralized state. Here, too, eighteenth-century realities were militating against the Sephardi status quo, questioning once more just how far the image of the port Jew may be taken to unravel the mysteries of the Jewish emancipation that was just over the horizon.

This is a signal book, a model to be emulated, a tour de force in modern historiographical skill, one of the best I have ever read.

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JOHN R. BOCKSTOCE. *Furs and Frontiers in the Far North: The Contest among Native and Foreign Nations for the Bering Strait Fur Trade*. Foreword by FELIPE FERNANDEZ-ARMESTO. (The Lamar Series in Western History.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 2009. Pp. xx, 472. \$35.00.

There is a view that until recently Alaska existed on a periphery outside even the periphery of the world system. However, this book indicates that such was not always the case. The Alaskan region where aboriginal peoples, Russians, British, Americans, and others engaged in fur trade played an important role in supplying resources to China and Europe from the eighteenth to

early twentieth centuries. During this period, Alaska was linked in several ways through the fur trade to contemporary political-economic centers around the world.

John R. Bockstoce describes the historical development of the fur trade in the region in separate chapters focusing on trade among the indigenous peoples, their trade with the Russian-American Company (RAC), the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC), and foreign whaling and trading ships. He then describes the impacts of fur trading activities on the indigenous societies.

Although trading activities between Chukchi in the Chukotka Peninsula and Alaskan natives across the Bering Strait before the nineteenth century have been documented, there is very little detailed information relating to these activities. Bockstoce, with careful use of existing written documents, demonstrates that this trade was developed through the Ostrovnoe trade fair, which was established by Russian officials on the Maly Anui River, 800 miles west of the Bering Strait, in 1789. This trade created an enormous demand for furs among the Chukchi who were not able to obtain them locally and thus were required to obtain them through trade with the Alaskan peoples. This trade involved the Chukchi and Siberian Yupik on the Siberian side, and Yupik, Inupiaq, and other indigenous groups on the Alaskan side. The Siberian natives exchanged reindeer furs, tobacco, tea, alcohol, local products, and European goods. In return, they received a variety of furs such as fox, beaver, river otter, and marten from Inupiaq and Yupik traders in Alaska. Bockstoce demonstrates that aboriginal people from more than fifty ethnic groups were skillful traders, interacting with the RAC and the HBC as the two companies competed with each other for Alaskan furs. In the mid-nineteenth century, RAC traders attempted to intercept furs that the Alaskan natives traded to the Chukchi, while the HBC traders in inland Alaska tried to intercept furs that the indigenous people traded to the RAC posts.

In 1848, Thomas Roys discovered the Bering Strait whaling grounds. Following this discovery, American whaling vessels and trading ships from Hawaii, San Francisco, and other ports began whaling in the Bering Strait and Chukchi Sea regions. These ships traded rum, tobacco, and other European goods to the indigenous people of the Bering Strait region in exchange for furs such as arctic fox, wolverine, river otter, mink, marten, and ermine, and for walrus ivory and baleen. Several indigenous middlemen accumulated wealth and power through this trade in the 1860s and 1870s. However, the trade with the whaling and trading vessels had negative consequences for indigenous societies on both the Alaskan and Siberian sides. The author points out that several factors in combination brought about destructive changes in the aboriginal societies: ready availability of alcohol, the introduction of foreign diseases, drastic decreases in whale, walrus, and caribou populations, and decreases in indigenous populations.

The most valuable contribution of this book is that the author has succeeded in describing fur trading ac-



tivities in the Bering Strait region as a whole by carefully synthesizing information from primary sources such as ship journals, ship log records, and traders' journals and documents, as well as secondary sources. This book shows that several groups of Alaskan natives can be considered as skillful traders, similar to hunter-gatherers per se. This may change scholarly images of Alaskan natives in history.

Although this reviewer agrees with Bockstoe's findings, it should be pointed out that there are potential problems with the sources of information for this book. The author completely depends on writings by Europeans and Euro-Americans and did not employ any data from the indigenous groups themselves. Because the fur trade involved interaction among the European and indigenous traders, information and perspectives of several sides should have been taken into consideration. Although this is not Bockstoe's fault as a historian, the writing about the trade is one-sided. For example, the author records that the Inupiaq people in Point Barrow region were aggressive and cunning against British visitors. However, it is debatable whether the representation is objective. This reviewer would have liked to have seen Bockstoe include oral traditions or similar kinds of data from the indigenous people in the book. Nonetheless, this is an important and epoch-making book, which all students of aboriginal history and culture of Alaska should read.

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CHRISTOPHER L. MILLER. *The French Atlantic Triangle: Literature and Culture of the Slave Trade*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 571. Cloth \$99.95, paper \$27.95.

Christopher L. Miller has undertaken a sweeping examination of how the slave trade has been (mis)understood and (mis)represented from the eighteenth century to the present in what Miller calls the French Atlantic triangle, i.e., France, the Caribbean, and Africa. Miller asks: how is it that an institution that was so central to eighteenth-century France can largely be written out of memory? Even the colonial consequences that have lasted to the present, Miller argues, have hardly challenged this collective amnesia. The implicit comparison is with the English-speaking world, with its very different abolition movement and a well-developed genre of literature by people of African descent. Miller argues that there was no equivalent in French to Olaudah Equiano or Quobna Ottobah Cugoana. His study reveals, however, that the French Atlantic slave trade has been well represented in French literature and cinema, both in France and in the Caribbean and Africa. In following the "ripples" of the topic through time and space, Miller attempts to reconcile the contradiction between the historic importance of the slave trade to France and the fact that this history is obscure. Miller has made a major contribution

to the study of how slavery and the slave trade are remembered, or not, specifically with respect to the francophone world and with implications that are much broader.

Miller grounds his study in an examination of French involvement in the slave trade historically, but the French Atlantic triangle that is revealed in the book is more than the trade among France, western Africa, and the Caribbean that was based on the movement of slaves and slave-produced commodities. Miller's "triangle" is a literary one, showing how French involvement in the transatlantic slave trade and therefore in slavery has been represented in literary form, and by extension, in cinema. He is concerned with issues of memory and how literature both reflects what is remembered and influences what is forgotten. By exploring literature in historical context of literary writing during the era of slavery and abolition, roughly from the early eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century, Miller provides a platform on which to carry the examination of selective memory to the present. He uses twentieth-century literature from the Caribbean and West Africa to find the voices that complete the triangle.

The book is divided into four parts, beginning with the period of the slave trade in the eighteenth century and the literary response of the period. In the second part, Miller examines French women writers during the era of the French Revolution and its aftermath, including Olympe de Gouges, Madame de Staël, and Claire de Duras. In the third part, Miller demonstrates how French male writers transformed the sentimentality of the women writers, which tended to promote abolitionism, into a hostile realism that saw in slavery and the slave trade adventure and intrigue. Instead of an abhorrence of violence, which characterized female writing, Miller shows that such authors as Prosper Mérimée ("Tamango," 1829), Baron Jacques-François Roger, Eugène Sue, and Edouard Corbière exploited violence and sexuality for literary purposes. Finally, in the last section, Miller looks at the French Atlantic triangle from "below," that is from the perspective of the Caribbean and Africa. To do this, Miller jumps one hundred years, from Corbière's *Le Négrier* (1832) to Aimé Césaire's *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* (1939), and from literature to film.

The book is flawed in one respect. As Miller notes, there was no equivalent to Equiano in French, which seems to be the reason he skips to the twentieth century to include voices from the Caribbean and Africa. Yet, he also acknowledges that a number of the leaders of the revolution in St. Domingue and in the new state of Haiti wrote on the subject. One wonders why this genre was not more fully explored, since the implications for understanding the French Atlantic triangle in the age of slavery and abolition would seem important. While Haiti and the St. Domingue revolution are major themes in the literary works that are studied, the writings of the literate elite in Haiti are not. Miller's nuanced discussion of the various works of fiction led this



reader to want to know more of the view from Haiti. Miller's triangle leaps 100 years to find voices that were there in the contemporary era of his authors. Admittedly, a fuller treatment of these sources would have required a slight redefinition of the project. The jump to the twentieth century does have the important advantage of recognizing the need to examine French literature and perhaps theater in the period after the 1830s.

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ROBERT C. ALLEN. *The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective*. (New Approaches to Economic and Social History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 331. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$27.99.

This is a book that all students of the industrial revolution should read. Robert C. Allen offers a wide-ranging, stimulating analysis of the factors that made Britain the first industrial nation by placing technological development within the context of laborers' wages and the availability of energy resources. He does this through drawing on newly compiled statistical series for Britain, through comparisons with the progress of industrialization in other countries, and through simulation models that show why alternative explanations of industrialization fall down conceptually.

Throughout the book there are plentiful signs of engagement with the vast historiography on the industrial revolution. David S. Landes offered a still important account of the technological development of industry in *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present* (1969). E. A. Wrigley explained the importance for British industrialization of the transition from an organic economy to a mineral fuel economy in *Continuity, Chance and Change: The Character of the Industrial Revolution in England* (1988). Christine MacLeod highlighted the ingenuity of British industrialists in *Inventing the Industrial Revolution: The English Patent System, 1660–1800* (1988). Allen goes beyond these analyses of technology, mineral resources, and mechanical invention to provide an original argument that ties them together and links them to other economic factors that were triggers for industrial and economic growth in Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

His overall argument is that high wages in England and abundant supplies of capital and cheap energy stimulated the demand for new technology, and that at the core of British industrialization lay the development of macro-inventions—notably the steam engine, cotton spinning machinery, and the smelting of iron by coke—that resulted from this mix of factors. He then argues that the prevailing wage and price structure in Britain stimulated a demand for new technology and was not replicated elsewhere in the world in the later eighteenth century. Thus, for example, the introduction of cotton spinning machinery in France and India lagged behind Britain because in those countries labor-

ers' wages were low while energy inputs were expensive. Allen extends his arguments to show that the United States and Germany outcompeted Britain in industrialization after 1850 because of the success of British micro-inventions that adapted the macro-inventions of the eighteenth century and made them cost effective and exportable.

Allen's lucid book will be of great utility for lecturers teaching surveys of the industrial revolution to undergraduates. Individual chapters would make good assigned core reading for seminars. Instructors and students can gain a taste of the arguments by listening to Allen's freely available podcast "Why Was the Industrial Revolution British?" (<http://www.ehs.org.uk/downloads.asp>). This was presented as the Tawney Lecture to Britain's Economic History Society in 2009, and repeated later in the year as the Keynes Lecture in Economics sponsored by the British Academy. Allen's book will also stimulate discussion among professional historians, through both attention to the details of his arguments and consideration of related themes that have proven contentious in discussions of British industrialization. For example, he suggests that direct connections between the scientific revolution and the industrial revolution need more precise research before they can be accepted as important.

Through a prosopographical analysis of inventors in chapter ten, he shows that only some leading macro-inventors of the industrial revolution had definite links to the formal world of Enlightenment science; at least as many of these men produced their inventions through experimentation, learning by doing, and an iterative process. Allen argues that the agricultural productivity underpinning British industrialization can be found in both enclosed and open-field farms, but that of greater importance for industrialization was the growth of urbanization and the demand for coal as domestic fuel and as the prime energy source for metal production. He suggests that Britain's success in global trade in the early modern period directly affected the wage and price structure in the British economy, and that this created the demand for new technology. By casting the argument in this way, he brings together external stimuli and internal demand as interacting factors stimulating aggregate economic growth. Although Allen covers developments in Britain, most of his data are for England rather than Scotland where, presumably, laborers' wages were much lower. Was industrialization delayed in Scotland until after c.1820 because the wage structure does not fit Allen's argument? Is he really arguing in favor of an English industrial revolution rather than a British one? These and other questions will give readers of Allen's book matters to ponder for some time to come. There is no doubt, however, that this is a major contribution to the historiography of industrialization.

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BRIAN DELAY. *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War*. (The Lamar Series in Western History.) New Haven: Yale University Press, in association with the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University. 2008. Pp. xxi, 473. \$35.00.

This innovative political history presents a compelling interpretative framework for the U.S.-Mexican War of 1846–1848. It expands the usual roster of historical actors to foreground the tribal units and confederations of the Great Plains and the U.S. Southwest: the Comanche, Kiowa, Apache, and Navajo peoples. Brian DeLay shows that independent indigenous peoples developed distinct political cultures and coordinated strategies through networks of alliances that spanned Mexico and the United States during the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century. They articulated an agenda that leveled material demands on both American and Mexican authorities and exacted terrible reprisals for slain warriors according to “the politics of vengeance.” These Native American wars fill the main script of DeLay’s narrative, focusing on the first half of the nineteenth century and overshadowing the conflict between Mexico and the United States. He argues that the multitiered and interethnic forays, ranging from the Great Plains southward into Mexico as far as Zacatecas and San Luis Potosí, constituted the principal theater of war, leaving in its wake abandoned ranches, towns, and villages. These wars produced the “deserts” that rendered the Mexican north all the more vulnerable to the Anglo-American revolt in Texas (1835), the U.S. invasions of the 1840s, and the forced cession of additional territory in 1853. Indeed, these were not merely parallel wars. Rather the War of a Thousand Deserts shaped the binational war and affected its outcome. Within this scenario the Comanches occupy center stage during the first two parts of the book, but as the story unfolds, they share space with Kiowas, Apaches, and Navajos. These four tribal groups are the most commonly named, although many other Native Americans played vital roles as protagonists of their own political ends and defenders of their cultural life ways during this period of geopolitical upheaval and territorial realignment.

Three-quarters of the book deals with the three decades leading up to the U.S.-Mexican War, from Mexican Independence to the U.S. invasions of 1846–1848. The final two chapters narrate the binational war in both its military and political phases, and the epilogue extends this history, in summary fashion, to the end of the century. In this final chapter DeLay highlights the consequences of both wars for Mexico, the United States, and the tribal peoples whose patterns of warfare and raiding began to erode the resource base on which their subsistence depended. U.S. military forces following the Civil War and Mexican state-building after the losses of mid-century—through the War of the Reform, the French Intervention, and the centralist politics of the *Porfiriato*—curtailed their freedom of movement at

the same time that the collapse of the bison herds and episodes of drought and disease threatened their very survival. Forced resettlement north of the Río Grande and reduced access to raiding in Mexico turned these once mighty equestrian tribes into refugees of sorts, obliged to accept rations and settle in reservations carved out of deserts that were partly of their own making.

DeLay dialogues well with Mexican historiography for this period, particularly with historians and anthropologists like Antonio Escobar Ohmstede, Leticia Reina, José Cuauhtémoc Velasco Ávila, Héctor Cuauhtémoc Hernández Silva, Luis Aboites Aguilar, and Josefina Vázquez Zoraida, who have focused their research on northern Mexico and on the contentious relations between Mexican settlements and raiding bands of nomadic Indians that traveled freely in the relatively unpatrolled borderlands between Mexico and the United States. He captures the major issues of Mexico’s prolonged political debate between federalists and centralists, resulting in weakened public administration, the failure to mount effective defensive policies, and the loss of over one-half of Mexico’s national territory. DeLay deals forthrightly with Anglo-American racism and the United States’ failure to uphold Article XI of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, by which the American government committed to preventing raiding parties from invading Mexican territory; the article was abrogated in the Gadsden Purchase of 1853, when Mexico ceded even more territory to the United States.

DeLay’s archival sources are wide and varied, with references to several Mexican state archives. His interpretations of politics and the security issues of northern Mexico, however, rely heavily on official newspapers, in which governmental decrees, editorials, and correspondence were selectively published. At times he seems to accept at face value the dramatic rhetoric of northern political factions that battled one another, confronted the central government, and exaggerated the abandonment of the northern frontier. DeLay observes somewhat obliquely that not all the raiders were tribal peoples: Mexican intermediaries and Anglo-American livestock rustlers and bison-hunters often accompanied raiding bands or disguised themselves by “playing Indian.” One set of historical actors who receive only brief mention in this history are the sedentary indigenous communities whose territories and polities were sorely challenged during this period.

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THOMAS ADAM. *Buying Respectability: Philanthropy and Urban Society in Transnational Perspective, 1840s to 1930s*. (Philanthropic and Nonprofit Studies.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 239. \$39.95.

The past few decades have seen a remarkable revival of interest among historians in the rich traditions and

complex worlds of philanthropic entities. As the creaking Western welfare states tapped into the capacities of nongovernmental organizations, and the robber barons of our new Gilded Age channeled some of their fortunes into charitable enterprises, research into the history of the "third sector" has mushroomed. Thomas Adam's study of nineteenth-century philanthropies and urban society is a welcome addition to this burgeoning field. Despite some limitations, this carefully researched and sympathetic analysis brings a much-needed transnational and intercultural perspective to the subject.

Adam devotes the first half of his study to exploring the lively transatlantic exchanges that fostered the establishment of museums, free libraries and social housing in Europe, Canada, and the United States. Topics in his book range from George Ticknor's efforts in the 1830s to use Dresden's Royal Saxon Library as a model for the public library in Boston to the importation of Olivia Hill's London housing experiments into Germany and North America in the latter part of the century. Adam is keenly aware of the ironies of the transfer process. As the curious case of George Fisk Comfort's Metropolitan Museum of Art shows, sometimes "the replica had become the model that was replicated in the country of origin and sold as something amazingly new and alien" (p. 6).

Part two of the book places the philanthropic activities of wealthy elites in the broader context of class formation and urban politics. Invoking Thorstein Veblen, Adam understands philanthropic giving as a public performance designed to display conspicuous wealth and establish social status. He pays particular attention to the role philanthropic giving played in the struggle for domination between different factions of the leisure classes. As new and old urban elites vied for power, museum associations, social housing companies, and other philanthropic enterprises became major battlegrounds. Comparing various urban centers, Adam maintains that in Leipzig and New York the different elites created parallel institutions, whereas in Toronto and Boston the old elites absorbed "socially ambitious and economically powerful new men" into the existing philanthropic culture (p. 112).

This section of the book also shows how philanthropic activities helped break down gender and ethno-religious boundaries, and opened up opportunities for women and Jews to assert themselves in the public sphere. Likewise, Adam argues convincingly for understanding philanthropies as trans- and subnational social formations, rather than simply as precursors to the welfare state. Moreover, by analyzing donations and membership lists, Adam offers intriguing evidence for his argument that philanthropy was a "social tool for the integration and exclusion of various social groups" that contributed to "the formation of hierarchies" similar to economic and marriage strategies (p. 11). However, his thesis that philanthropy offered a "cultural countergovernment" to urban elites who had lost control over political life is debatable (p. 9). While middle-class con-

cerns over urban political influence were real and palpable, the elites remained largely sheltered from such worries. Adam's later reference to philanthropies as a second layer of domination parallel to the political realm thus more aptly describes the reality of urban power relations.

One may quibble with the book's selection of activities and places. Why focus on museums and social housing but ignore settlements and other icons of late nineteenth-century reformism? Why discuss New York, Leipzig, Boston, and Toronto but neglect Chicago, Frankfurt, or Birmingham? While this is a minor concern, a larger conceptual problem remains. The two parts of the study do not hang together very well. The transatlantic exchange aspect is central to the first part but largely drops out of sight in the second part. Indeed, the book moves methodologically from intercultural transfer studies in part one to a straightforward comparative analysis in part two. Locations and causes also change in the process. Dresden or London, for example, while prominent in the first part, do not feature later on. Moreover, in comparing the places linked via the transfer circuit, Adam largely ignores the vast discrepancies between a teeming immigrant metropolis such as New York and a mercantile burgher city like Leipzig. Perhaps this gap could have been bridged more effectively if the author had engaged with the range of interpretive approaches pioneered by urban historians such as Sven Beckert in *The Monied Metropolis* (2001) and Marcus Gräser in *Wohlfahrtsgesellschaft und Wohlfahrtsstaat* (2008).

One final criticism needs mentioning. Although the book's title claims to take the story up to the 1930s, the narrative largely stops around 1910. Crucial turning points in the history of the third sector are largely ignored. There are few, if any, references to the impact of World War I on the transatlantic networks, the transformation of social housing in the interwar period, the ravages of the Great Depression, or Nazi efforts to destroy German philanthropic culture. Nonetheless, this richly documented book offers many new insights into philanthropic activism and urban society between Jacksonianism and the Progressive era.

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MATTHEW HILTON. *Prosperity for All: Consumer Activism in an Era of Globalization*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 315. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$26.95.

In his new book, Matthew Hilton seeks to understand how and why "the definition of consumer society has shifted from a focus on access to one of choice." He does so by examining consumer activism in a global context. Consumer activism, Hilton argues, was not merely about advancing the interests of shoppers. Nor were consumer organizations established merely to save shoppers a few pennies on their purchases. On the contrary, as Hilton explains, more often than not when consumers organized, they did so to protest the "inequities

of the system of manufacture and distribution" mobilizing "around consumption to make a wider political point" (pp. 1–2). It is this wider political point that is the subject of Hilton's study.

Tackling a topic as broad as global consumer activism in the second half of the twentieth century could have easily proved unmanageable. But Hilton makes it doable by examining international organizations. Possessing a rich comparative knowledge of consumer activism, he traces the conflicts within international consumer organizations as well as their battles with organizations of international governance such as the United Nations and the World Trade Organization. He shows how both the efforts of activists and the contests between various groups determined which consumer rights would prevail.

While Hilton focuses largely on international organizations, he does devote some attention to the efforts and experiences of groups at the national and even local level, ranging from the Consumers Union and Nader's Raiders in the United States to the Consumers Association of Penang in Malaysia. He examines the product testing movement in the 1950s and 1960s across Europe and North America, arguing that national organizations became the nucleus of a global movement. He insists that into the 1960s, their politicized consumption was "as much about access to affluence as it was about choice for those already enjoying comfort and luxury" (p. 72).

Hilton's global approach illuminates certain themes in the development of twentieth-century consumer activism that might be easily missed in a more narrowly focused study. His account of fishermen in Kuala Juru is a case in point. Hilton describes the ways in which economic development in the late 1960s and early 1970s threatened to destroy the livelihood of fisherman in this Malaysian village. For help, the fishermen turned not to a producer organization but to the Consumers Association of Penang (CAP). CAP saw no contradiction between its mission as a consumer organization and its efforts on behalf of fishermen. Because its focus was on the consumer right of access rather than choice, assisting the fishermen as producers was the best way to provide them with the opportunity to participate in the consumer economy.

The notion of access versus choice is also central to Hilton's discussion of battles within the global consumer organizations. Hilton is interested in the ways in which the international consumers' movement influenced organizations such as the World Trade Organization and the United Nations. But he sees much of that influence determined by internal debates within the ranks of the global consumer movement. It was decisions like that of the International Organization of Consumers Unions (IOCU) to try to increase its influence by securing "a seat at the table" that helped to emphasize the consumer right of choice over that of access.

The similarities between the IOCU's experiences as Hilton describes them and those of other consumer ac-

tivist organizations such as the international cooperative movement at the turn of the twentieth century, Consumers Research in the 1920s and 1930s, and Consumers Union in the 1930s and 1940s are striking. Like these earlier efforts at consumer activism, the IOCU began with an ambitious, social-oriented agenda centered on expanding access to a consumer society. But like these earlier efforts, it too eventually settled for improving the lot of those who were already able to participate in that society. Hilton argues not altogether convincingly that in the case of the IOCU, the shift from challenging capitalism to coming to terms with it was not a matter of complacency or compromise so much as defeat. The IOCU, he insists, did not realize that in choosing a seat at the table, it was undercutting whatever power it might have had.

While Hilton is certainly interested in the impact that IOCU decisions had on the consumer movement, he is even more interested in what the internal and external dynamics of global consumer activism reveal about the process of globalization. He points to the ways in which battles within the IOCU mirrored debates over the globalization process, specifically whether the global North had a responsibility to increase access for the global South or whether the focus should be advancing choice, an approach that would serve the interests of the North at the expense of the South.

The far-reaching nature of Hilton's study is also evident in his discussion of network activism. Hilton argues that well before the current rise of networks, the consumer movement had already begun networking. They were well positioned to do so. They had a thriving international presence, and they were accustomed to focusing on issues rather than ideology, something that Hilton points out was essential to the success of networks in bringing about change. In his case study of the effort to ban the sale of baby formula in Third World nations, he points out how such a network could make room for both a socialist who worried about capitalism and imperialism and a conservative who celebrated motherhood.

Hilton's fascinating, comprehensive book, impressively researched, and persuasively argued, is a major contribution to scholarship on consumer history, global history, and the twentieth-century experience.

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JAMES SCHWOCH. *Global TV: New Media and the Cold War, 1946–69*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2009. Pp. xv, 220. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$25.00.

This book provides both less and more than the title suggests. Readers hoping for an international or transnational history of television during the first quarter century of the Cold War will be disappointed, as James Schwoch concentrates on American actors and policies. Schwoch discusses far more, however, than the growth of television. He deals with other information technol-



ogies, such as computer systems, and explores the thinking of U.S. officials about psychological warfare, propaganda, and national security. The result is a book that is both rewarding and frustrating. It is an ambitious and informative study, but, at times, it devotes too much attention to tangential or tedious subjects.

Schwoch's primary goal is to explain how television became "the dominant form of global media" (p. 2). The author at first focuses on occupied Germany, where concerns about Cold War security led to decisions that influenced the early development of TV in Europe and the policies of the International Telecommunication Union (ITU). Subsequent chapters discuss the United States Information Agency's increasingly ambitious programs to shape mass opinion in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and also address the work of social science researchers, sponsored both by private foundations and federal grants, to gauge the effectiveness of those efforts. Schwoch then examines the American quest for live transatlantic television, a goal finally achieved with the launch of the first Telstar satellite in July 1962, fifteen months after the Soviets telecast live scenes across Europe of the celebrations that followed the orbital space flight of cosmonaut Yuri Gagarin.

By the early 1960s, according to Schwoch, a "discursive shift" occurred, as communications experts began framing their arguments about global media in terms of "world citizenship" rather than "East-West security" (p. 60). As one communications specialist asserted, global television would inaugurate "a new era of massive and immediate contact among all peoples" in which "a single broadcast" would "touch the minds of millions" (p. 127). Yet the change in rhetoric may not have signaled a significant shift in goals, as U.S. policies still aimed at achieving dominance in global TV and using that advantage to spread American values and influence. Still, Schwoch maintains that the advocates of global TV began viewing the world through the lens of globalization, even if that term was not part of their contemporary vocabulary. The final chapter ends with the televised images of the Apollo 11 moon mission in July 1969, the "first big blockbuster" program on global television, which was also "an all-American production" (p. 154).

Schwoch concentrates on the development of the infrastructure—technological, organizational, and ideological—that made global television a reality by the end of the 1960s. Some of his discussions are fascinating, as he provides absorbing detail about the IBM 305 computer, popularly known as RAMAC, that provided programmed answers to questions about American life from visitors to the American National Exhibition in Moscow in 1959. Also valuable is his examination of the Ford Foundation's sponsorship of communications research during the 1950s and the work of the Sprague Committee, a presidential advisory panel in 1959–1960 that advocated widespread publicity of American achievements in science and technology to improve the international image of the United States.

A few sections of this book are less engaging. The text

contains a far too lengthy discussion of the South Atlantic Anomaly, an area where the Earth's radiation belts interfered with communications satellites as a result of U.S. and Soviet high-altitude nuclear tests during the early 1960s. Sections on ITU membership, meetings, and policies are overly detailed and technical. While quotations often provide a flavor of contemporary thinking, some are needlessly long, including a few that fill the better part of a page.

Schwoch concludes with an epilogue that indicts the administration of President George W. Bush for "globophobia" (p. 172), a refusal to see the contemporary world as "a multiverse" rather than a universe (p. 169). The discussion of the Bush administration comes as a surprise, since Schwoch provides no analysis of the development of global television during the three decades between the Apollo moon mission and the beginning of the twenty-first century. One cannot be sure whether Bush's alleged failings are the result of a singular myopia or a variant of a longstanding attitude that views American values and ideals in universal terms, a theme that Schwoch himself addresses in earlier chapters. Complicating this discussion is an extended metaphor of television and globalization as a double helix, like a molecule of DNA, which Schwoch pushes well beyond any useful explanatory value. In addition, the author sometimes lapses into jargon, as when he asserts, "Globophobia becomes a geopolitically discursive extraterritoriality that denies the credence of all other discursive disciplines and extraterritorial possibilities" (174). More polemical than analytical, the epilogue hardly provides a fitting conclusion to an otherwise rich, sophisticated, and valuable analysis of the genesis of global television.

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## ASIA

SHIHAN DE SILVA JAYASURIYA. *African Identity in Asia: Cultural Effects of Forced Migration*. Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener. 2008. Pp. xiv, 164. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$28.95.

In this brief book, Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya assembles a potpourri of evidence for the presence of Africans and their descendants in western, southern, and eastern Asian societies. The scope of the book is vast, stretching from the Arabian peninsula to China and Southeast Asia. The primary geographical concentrations in the narrative, however, are "the Middle East," "South Asia," and "Southeast Asia." The emphasis as the title indicates is on "identity," with a preference for musical forms practiced by Asians of African descent that might permit a localization of the origins of said musical forms in parts of Africa. This book is based primarily upon a selective reading of secondary literature relating to the themes of the work, but includes some of the author's



own research on Sri Lanka and Indo-Portuguese creole language.

The book commences with a discussion of "east-bound Africans" in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean slave trades, but unfortunately very little evidence in terms of numbers, origins, and destinations is provided here despite available estimates of these figures. It would have been useful to understand some of the facts of forced migration that underlay arguments about cultural flows. The narrative then turns to the "problem" and "paradox" of African identities in Asia. "Successful assimilation contributes to the problem of identifying Asians with African ancestry today," de Silva Jayasuriya writes (p. 19). Despite the "successful assimilation" of Africans in Asian societies, however, she argues that many African "survivals" remain and in other cases can be identified historically before subsequent disappearance. It is this last premise that underpins the book, of course, and not "successful assimilation." Unfortunately, de Silva Jayasuriya introduces us to this paradox between assimilation and African identity, but does not resolve it. Subsequent chapters collate evidence for the historical presence of Africans in various Asian societies and then focus on surviving cultural practices, such as music and language.

De Silva Jayasuriya's book will most likely be read by specialists of Africa and the Indian Ocean, who will make their way through the book to harvest what is of interest to them. And there is much useful material here. *African Identity in Asia* brings together evidence from a variety of studies on a range of issues related to Africans and African cultural resonances in Asia. There are sections on the various European slave trades and colonial uses of captives (slave traders indigenous to the Indian Ocean largely fall out from the narrative), on the important military roles of Africans in South Asia, on ethnonyms employed to designate Africans in certain times and places, and on African practices of music, language, and dance.

Despite its division into thematic chapters and ventures into a variety of culturally related issues, the book is too disorganized, and its writing is too imprecise, to serve as a useful general introductory text. Undergraduates will pick out bits and pieces of things, but they will get lost looking for an argument in the choppy flow of the narrative. It is a shame that Markus Wiener, the publisher, did not bring a stronger editorial hand to the work, thereby improving the book's quality before publication. *African Identity in Asia* simply was not ready for press. It reads in many places like raw research materials gathered and subsequently strung together. Why the rush? The reader bumps along from one set of ideas and facts to the next without understanding the linking logic, which the author may not have fully worked out.

Despite such flaws sometimes common to very broad syntheses, important practical and theoretical issues arise from de Silva Jayasuriya's book. How can Africans in Asia be both "successfully integrated" and bearers of "survivals" from the mother continent? What are the implications of talking about the "survival" of African

cultural forms in Asia when debate about cultural practices in the Americas has for decades deeply problematized (if not rejected) the notion of survivals? Why is it a "dilemma" today that "a politically-immobilized community . . . lacks an awareness of their African ancestry" such that scholars must reconstruct it for them (pp. 23, 135)? Why should scholars or activists push for emphasis on African identities that Asians themselves have shed, and what are the benefits of such projects for these Asians or for scholarship? Are there really distinctly different models of "Atlantic" and "Indian Ocean" slavery (p. 12), or can we find a range of types of slavery in each oceanic rim? In her history of African cultures in Asia, de Silva Jayasuriya reminds us of the importance of solving these central problems.

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DIETER KUHN. *The Age of Confucian Rule: The Song Transformation of China*. (History of Imperial China.) Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2009. Pp. 356. \$35.00.

As historians of the Song dynasty (960–1279) always point out, the Song was special. Commerce, culture, and Confucian learning flourished then in ways never seen before and perhaps never matched since. Dieter Kuhn, an authority on medieval Chinese material culture, mortuary practice, and textile technology, characterizes this era as "one of most humane, cultured, and intellectual societies in Chinese history, and perhaps in all of world history" (p. 9). One hopes his work will find a larger audience, for he has much to teach to general readers, world historians, and China specialists alike.

The book comprises twelve chapters. The first four constitute a political history that begins, properly, with the decline of the Tang dynasty's (618–907) political and social order in the early ninth century and ends with the Mongol conquest. The following eight thematic chapters take up intellectual history, the civil service examination system and bureaucracy, ritual and family life, arts and technology, cities, economic production, and financial issues. A final section treats medicine, clothing, cosmetics, and footbinding.

This book boasts many strengths. First, the Song period for Kuhn constitutes nothing less than "the most decisive rupture in the history in imperial China" (p. 1). He often contrasts the Song with the Tang, doing so with particular effectiveness in the discussion on dynastic capitals. Where twilight curfews, announced with 800 drumbeats, restricted residents of Tang-era Chang'an to their walled wards (p. 190), the denizens of Song-era Kaifeng and Lin'an partook in a flourishing, nonstop nightlife that would be the envy of most twenty-first-century North American cities. Second, throughout the dynasty non-Han peoples ruled areas now considered parts of north China proper, including Beijing. The politics, fiscal policies, family systems, burial customs, religious practices, and urban life of these peoples receive unusual attention, which under-

scores the multi-ethnic character of China and the cultural distance between the Han and their adversaries. Third, Kuhn's discussion of the state bureaucracy and examination system ranks as perhaps the most succinct treatment of these vital institutions that this reviewer has ever read. We learn the vital details of educational policy, exam curricula, changing rates of exam success, career paths, official salaries, and even vacation time. The sections on financial matters, transportation, and agricultural production offer a similar wealth of well-presented information. One would like to know perhaps more about land tenure and rural class relations, since the peasantry constituted the overwhelming majority of Song Chinese.

Kuhn's treatment of Confucianism, however, raises questions. Regrettably, no chapter is devoted exclusively to this topic. Confucianism is bundled in chapter five with brief accounts of Buddhism and Daoism and then in chapter six with a description of the ancient prose movement. The account focuses on five Northern Song figures and the synthesis of Zhu Xi (1130–1200), which repeats Zhu's highly political construction of his intellectual lineage (pp. 100–106). This now-dated paradigm misses the classical revival's rich complexity, as elaborated by Peter K. Bol, Hoyt Tillman, and Thomas A. Wilson. In addition, Kuhn portrays the Learning of the Way as the prime mover of the era's dynamism. He writes, "Confucianism was reshaped and rationalized . . . to open up new possibilities in the design of capital cities, in commerce and fashion, technology and science, painting, music, and literature. The revamped Confucian ideology that emerged from the philosophy of the Cheng brothers, Zhu [Xi], and other Song philosophers, its rationality and worldliness, permeated all levels of society" (p. 277). In this view, a "rationalistic" Neo-Confucian *Weltanschauung* trickled down readily and shaped all corners of society.

The glories of Song civilization, however, drew from many sources, not only scholar-officials. To say, "Throughout Chinese history, the literati were regarded as the true artists" (p. 168) neglects the reality that most Song masterpieces came from the brushes of court painters such as Zhang Zeduan, who executed that iconic rendering of pre-industrial urban China, the *Qingming shanghetu* (pp. 198, 201), and whom contemporary literati disparaged. Indeed, Neo-Confucians frequently presented themselves as struggling with a heedless court, careerist literati, and unruly commoners. Song emperors and officials viewed merchants and commerce with considerable misgivings (pp. 197, 208), and prescriptive Confucian family manuals often failed to restrict women's behavior (pp. 142, 196). The "technocrat" Shen Gua (1031–1095), with his great curiosity in technology and the natural world, represents a remarkable, oft-cited, but exceptional case, who had very few followers or imitators (pp. 182–183).

As in the other volumes in the Belknap Press's History of Imperial China series, maps, illustrations, tables, and diagrams abound. Few factual errors mar the work. It must be said, however, that the 962 ban on cre-

mation proved utterly ineffectual, that the Grand Canal ended in Hangzhou in the Southern, not Northern, Song, and that the author of the best-known account of Kaifeng was Meng Yuanlao, not Yuan Menglao (pp. 151, 209, 203). Such quibbles aside, Kuhn has produced a lucidly written, skillful work of synthesis that draws on scholarship in several languages and deserves a place on the bookshelves of historians everywhere.

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PETER K. BOL. *Neo-Confucianism in History*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 307.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. 2008. Pp. xi, 366. \$49.95.

In this sweeping and masterful book, Peter K. Bol demonstrates the crucial importance of neo-Confucianism as a philosophy and a social movement in China from the eleventh to the seventeenth century, which affected not just literati culture but Chinese government and society as a whole. Bol argues that neo-Confucianism defined a new relationship between elites and the state. It provided the basis for local leadership and community activism by literati upon which the state came to rely for its survival, and in so doing changed the course of late imperial Chinese history.

Bol takes issue with a body of literature arguing that neo-Confucianism provided the ideological justification for an increasingly autocratic state in late imperial China. He establishes that, on the contrary, neo-Confucianism, which initially developed in opposition to government policy in the eleventh century, at all times provided a basis of moral authority independent of the central government. Rather than serving an autocratic state, the neo-Confucian movement generated constraints on the government both locally and at court. Another point that Bol makes, where he again challenges previous interpretations, is that neo-Confucianism did not develop in response to the spread of Buddhism and Daoism in China. Reinforcing arguments in his earlier work, Bol asserts that neo-Confucians provided an alternative both to the intrusive government activism of the New Policies (*xinfa*) of Wang Anshi (1021–1086) on the social front and to the Ancient Literature (*guwen*) movement, which saw moral values as inherent in proper literary and cultural production, on the philosophical front. In contrast to Ancient Literature writers, neo-Confucians emphasized commitment to an ideology that gave primacy to individual moral behavior independent of superficial literary forms.

In a refreshingly personal and readable style, Bol lays out for the reader the content of neo-Confucian doctrine and social practice as they evolved in response to political, social, and economic developments in China over seven centuries. He begins his account by tracing the dramatic changes in China between 750 and 1050 that produced the historical conditions for the rise of neo-Confucianism, including the spread of private

wealth, especially in the south, and the rise of a broader elite, the “community of the educated,” focused on the local community who were not beholden to the government for their prestige, wealth, or identity. He then switches to philosophical developments in the same period and details the eleventh century debates out of which neo-Confucian ideas arose and their close connection to political developments. His next chapter provides an overview of neo-Confucianism over the next six centuries, including its internal debates, adaptations, and periodic tensions with the imperial court.

The last four chapters of the book cover four essential aspects of neo-Confucianism and their significance for Chinese history. Chapter four, “Politics,” details how neo-Confucians asserted that moral authority, needed to rule effectively, resided not with political rulers but with learned scholars like themselves who inherited it from Confucius. This moral authority could only be gained through a process of self-cultivation and learning, as understood by the neo-Confucians. As detailed in chapter five, “learning” entailed a process of cultivating the ability to perceive the “coherence” (*li*, often translated “principle”) in all things, including one’s own mind, which in turn allowed one to become conscious of the moral guides within oneself and to apply them to the world around oneself. This theory of learning, Bol argues in chapter six, was based on a fundamental “belief” or “conscious commitment of faith” (p. 195) in the unity of coherence (*li*) in all things and one’s innate ability to perceive it through a mental state of quietness and awareness, not unlike Chan Buddhist enlightenment. Many readers will perceive a profound religiosity in Bol’s articulation, but Bol avoids the word “religion,” and thus sidesteps current debates over whether or not neo-Confucianism should be defined as a religion. Bol’s last chapter, “Society,” demonstrates how neo-Confucianism promoted social activism by literati that reached down to the local community and affected non-elites. Voluntary communal leadership became an extension of local government, which the state came to rely on but could not fully control. These local leaders provided the basis for the late imperial political and social order and remained in place even after neo-Confucianism was displaced by Evidential Learning as the main preoccupation of leading thinkers in the seventeenth century.

This book adds a new dimension to our understanding of late imperial Chinese history. It stands to become the definitive interpretation of neo-Confucianism in China, and its conclusions should soon be included in standard narratives of Chinese history. A major strength of Bol’s book is how he situates his analysis within a vast array of previous scholarship in both Western and Asian languages and how he incorporates in his meticulous primary source research both well-known thinkers and lesser-studied writers to create a richly detailed and convincing portrait of neo-Confucianism over time. In brief but intriguing final comments (and a provocative cover photo), Bol suggests that the legacy of neo-Confucianism may offer a resource for Chinese

seeking shared values in our own troubled times, and indeed the book, now available in Chinese translation, offers timely historical background for understanding the popular revival of Confucianism in China today.

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PAUL CLARK. *The Chinese Cultural Revolution: A History*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 352. Cloth \$80.00, paper \$22.99.

Recent years have seen important scholarly challenges to the standard periodization of China’s history into the Mao and the reform eras. Attention to continuities of social and political practice across the Mao/post-Mao divide—for example in the prevalence of a personalist style of politics, the mass campaign style of political control, or the “rise” of the individual subject—relocates the significance of the Mao years within a broader historical temporality that allows for more nuanced interpretations of the recent past. Linked to this have been scholarly attempts to rethink the historical legacy of the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976) and to confront the ideologically laden erasures of the “ten years of chaos” narrative. Little to date, however, has focused on cultural dimensions of the Cultural Revolution, and certainly not with the precision and detail that Paul Clark brings to his analysis of it.

Clark argues that cultural production and activity were more diverse, dynamic, and creative than the “cultural desert” view of the Mao years suggests. The old adage “eight hundred million watching eight shows” might have had a point—revised and re-revised versions of the “model operas” regularly played to audiences the length and breadth of the country for ten years—but experiments with opera, ballet, the fine arts, and other artistic forms produced many other innovations. The appeal of the model operas and the cultural activities derived from them, so Clark argues, were often due to their success in combining innovation with pre-revolutionary traditions. Away from the famous Beijing-centered productions, local performances of the model operas drew on familiar local aesthetic styles, sometimes in ethnic minority languages, that were appreciated by local audiences. New musical compositions and ballet productions were a hybrid blend of Western and Chinese cultural forms. Red Guard and amateur involvement in cultural and artistic groups led to innovative forms of street theatre; and attempts to mobilize amateur interest led to the performance of new skills in acrobatic tumbling and in artistic production. Despite the requirement that such activities respect the ideological guidelines to which all cultural activity was subjected, the spaces for creativity of production and performance that the Cultural Revolution spawned met with considerable audience acclaim.

Clark marshals intricate detail to support his case. The rich footnotes are full of references to provincial journals and newspapers of the time, revealing debates

held in new music schools about the appropriate ways to sinicize Western music and promote folk-based music, or about official involvement in decisions about how to incorporate folkdance and martial arts into the new "homegrown" ballets of the time. He discusses the minute differences between different local productions of the same opera, and draws on numerous accounts, collections, and memoirs written since 1976 to reveal the diverse interests of the personnel involved.

That audiences eagerly responded to the innovation and creativity of the time was undoubtedly the case. They doubtless also responded enthusiastically to the allure of Wu Qinghua, the heroine of the Red Detachment of Women, in her famous solo dance. A poster of a still from the mid-1970s film version featuring Wu Qinghua in light red silk jacket and trousers, leaping with split legs high in the air, back arched backwards and arms held high, decorated many homes and student dormitories. But anecdotal evidence, Clark's and others', suggests other audience responses, from outright boredom to satire and appropriation for other ends. However, Clark's methodology limits the validity of his assertions about both kinds of responses. Figures for audience numbers at model opera performances that were published under official auspices at the time are not a reliable guide to levels of enjoyment. That large numbers of people were obliged attend such performances as part of their work unit's cultural activities says little about their level of appeal. By the same token, brief references to, for example, Yunnan officials' complaints about the obscenity and vulgarity of their audiences in mines, villages, and government organs, or anecdotal evidence about audiences' cynicism are too thin to substantiate arguments about negative audience responses. There is a useful, though brief section on underground literature and on the cultural tensions that erupted in the establishment in the early 1970s. But without access to the audiences, themselves differentiated by cultural background and social and political status, it is difficult to assess how these cultural products worked on their publics.

In contrast, Clark's analysis powerfully evokes the uncertainties, tensions, and fears that seems to have engulfed much of the cultural production of the time. Under the punishing controls exercised by Jiang Qing and other figures setting cultural policy, artists and producers had to walk a tightrope between success and failure. Summary halts to production schedules; closures of film studios and disbanding of local cultural groups; relentless work schedules; and bullying and cajoling of the combined forces of directors, actors, singers, and artists made all those involved potentially vulnerable to the unpredictable directives from their superiors.

Clark provides detailed analysis of the productions and performances of the model operas and their influences on other aesthetic forms, notably film and ballet. He gives less attention to music and drama, even less to art and posters, and deals with architecture in less than two pages. He therefore denies himself access to some of those aesthetic forms that would have better

substantiated his arguments about diversity and the wider historical context. However, he makes a strong argument: that from their hybrid innovations of traditional operatic forms to their conviction in the transformative power of art and drama, Cultural Revolution cultural developments are best analyzed within the context of China's twentieth-century modernity. It makes a very welcome addition to recent scholarly attempts to explore experiences of the Cultural Revolution that go against the grain of mainstream accounts. Nevertheless, without much ethnographic evidence to the contrary, both he and his readers are left with little alternative but to agree with Mao Zedong's assessment when in July 1975 he complained that "There are too few model performances. Moreover things with just a tiny flaw get criticized. There's no sign of one hundred flowers blooming."

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HERMAN OOMS. *Imperial Politics and Symbols in Ancient Japan: The Tenmu Dynasty, 650–800*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2009. Pp. xxi, 353. \$48.00.

With this book, Herman Ooms, best known as a scholar of Tokugawa Japan, joins a growing number of Western scholars of prehistorical and ancient Japan. Ooms promises the reader "a fine grained examination of both the power struggles shaping and shaking the newly formed state structure [in the late seventh and early eighth century] and the representations called into service to mobilize and further state as well as factional ends" (p. xvi). While the book is filled with information gleaned from the early Japanese historical chronicles, supplemented by recent archaeological evidence, Ooms only partially fulfills his promise of a fine-grained study.

Ooms claims that in the period under study new forms of symbolic legitimization were wielded by Emperor Tenmu (r. 673–686) and his heirs, as they sought to justify emergent social, political, and economic relations. They represented themselves to others, including foreigners, in grandiose, even cosmological, terms. Each chapter title points to one of the forms of symbolic legitimization. Chapter one, "Bricolage," centers on the genealogical fabrication of an imperial extended family descended from the gods; chapter two, "Mythemes," focuses on mythological themes in the *Kojiki* (712), a "history" that blends myth, songs, and actual events; chapter three, awkwardly entitled "Alibis," turns to the creation of a court liturgical calendar; chapter four, "Allochthons," shifts attention to the important roles immigrants from the Korean peninsula and China played in ancient Japan; chapter five, "Liturgies," returns to court ceremonies and their dispersal over the land; chapter six, "Deposits," seeks to excavate Daoist elements buried in the texts of ancient Japan; chapter seven, "Articulations," argues that "The new form of royal power constructed in the late seventh century was an articulation of Daoist mythemes" (p. 154); chapter eight, "Plottings," briefly looks at selected po-



litical machinations in this era; chapter nine, "Spirits," focuses on the emergent belief in *goryō*, haunting spirits of those unjustly killed in the political turmoil; and, finally, chapter ten, "Purity," abruptly brings the work to a close with a terse argument that "Purity as a distinct politico-religious value emerges in the *Nihon shoki*'s historically reliable part toward the end of Tenmu's rule" (p. 253).

Ooms claims that Tenmu was not only portrayed as a Daoist transcendental master in the *Nihon shoki*, the early eighth-century historical chronicle; he and his descendants were master manipulators of Daoist signs, portents, and geomancy. Indeed, the short-lived Tenmu "dynasty" was, he maintains, predicated upon "control over the field of political semiotics, centered on yin and yang" (p. xvii). Historians—and especially historians of religions—will wish for more concrete evidence for Ooms's claims concerning Daoism. Oddly enough, Ooms rarely engages in scholarly debate by laying out alternative positions and, then, marshalling evidence for one or another of these. Rather, he too quickly makes sweeping assertions, as though the scholarly disputes were of little significance. For instance, immediately after Ooms quotes the warning of Anna Seidel, a noted scholar of Daoism, that "What many authors . . . call Taoist practices at the Japanese court—divination, five-element sciences, time-keeping, calendar-making, astrology, prognostication, omen-lore, etc.—were Chinese traditions cultivated at every Chinese court" and transmitted separately from Daoism, he summarily dismisses this warning without providing any evidence to the contrary (p. 134).

Part of the problem is that Ooms tries too hard to portray Tenmu and his followers as unique historical agents of change, when, in fact, they were one group among many maneuvering for power and prestige, all using the same culturally available rites and symbols. The main textual sources for this period are the *Kojiki* (712), *Nihon shoki* (720), and *Man'yōshū* (late 700s), all showing the "hand" of Tenmu's faction, but also preserving clear evidence of the contestation over whose account of the past would hold sway. Similarly, while Tenmu and his successors tried to claim an exclusive prerogative to perform certain rituals, many others besides the self-styled "heavenly ruler" (*tennō*) also performed them. By limiting his purview to Tenmu's court, Ooms ignores evidence that would complicate his story.

There is much of interest and import in this book. Scholars already familiar with the period will be able to savor some of Ooms's original insights; novices and undergraduates will be lost. The text is also marred by far too many instances of awkward phrasing, mangled grammar, anachronism, and questionable claims of causal relationships.

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YUMA TOTANI. *The Tokyo War Crimes Trial: The Pursuit of Justice in the Wake of World War II*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 299.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center. 2008. Pp. xiv, 335. \$39.95.

The International Military Tribunal for the Far East, more generally known as the Tokyo Trial, set the framework for Japanese remembrance of World War II. The trial served the immediate purposes of punishing Japanese war leadership, as promised in the Potsdam Declaration, and educating the Japanese population about Japanese war crimes in what the tribunal construed to have been a fifteen-year conspiracy of aggression. In what is arguably the best English-language monograph on the Tokyo Trial since Richard H. Minear's *Victor's Justice: The Tokyo War Crimes Trial* (1971), Yuma Totani provides an engaging narrative and a useful historiography of the trial and its repercussions for the last 60 years. Whereas Minear approached his subject in the context of disillusionment with contemporary American ventures in Vietnam and a natural discomfort with the righteous American hegemony exercised in the Tokyo Trial, Yuma Totani views it in the context of the evolution of international law across the twentieth century. Totani praises its successes as valuable steps in establishing the principles of civil as well as military command responsibility, and the ascendancy of international humanitarian law over the doctrine of state sovereignty.

Totani revises conventional understanding of the tribunal in several respects. She provides a very readable account of negotiations among Allied principals regarding the handling of Emperor Hirohito from the Potsdam Declaration forward, convincingly arguing that Douglas MacArthur had far less influence over the emperor's fate and the conduct of the tribunal itself than is commonly assumed. In Totani's retelling, Hirohito's "immunity" from prosecution was less a conscious exemption than a deferral of decision until such time he was no longer needed to facilitate compliance with occupation reforms. Also, while it has long been known that Joseph Keenan was a less-than-effective lead prosecutor, here he comes across as an egoistical and incompetent alcoholic whose frequent absences and questionable insistence on interview instead of documentary evidence severely hindered the effectiveness of the multinational prosecution team.

The trial was vested with authority to try the novel "Class A" crimes against peace, and Totani explains the applicability of guilt by conspiracy under the narrow legal definition of the term as used in the trial: to wit, mere involvement in the execution of a series of aggressive acts rather than planning of a long-term war of conquest. Crimes against peace did not carry the death penalty, and the Tokyo Trial's mandate did not prevent judges from finding leadership responsibility for the more conventional "Class B" war crimes against enemy soldiers and "Class C" crimes against civilians. Totani disproves the common misperception that the trial gave



short shrift to Japanese war crimes against Asians, in part through her discussion of prosecution strategy. Intensive evidence of a select few incidents of war crimes—in the most famous case, the atrocities perpetrated in the Japanese capture of Nanjing—was combined with *prima facie* evidence that such incidents were widespread across the theaters of war. Prosecutors argued by inference, and the trial ruling accepted, the idea that the military and civilian leadership could be expected to know of such crimes and hence bore responsibility either for directly authorizing them or for negligence in permitting them to happen repeatedly. This reader found intriguing Totani's reflection on similarities in the Nuremberg trial of Joachim von Ribbentrop and Ernst von Weizsäcker, and Japanese ministers Hirota Kōki and Shigemitsu Mamoru. For example, even though Japanese government practice precluded a civilian official like Shigemitsu from intruding on army prerogative to end POW mistreatment, the trial judgment still found him culpable. While this seemed the epitome of "victor's justice" to postwar right-wing nationalists and progressive foreign observers (e.g., Minear) alike, to numerous contemporary Japanese observers as well as Totani, the judgment constituted a positive step toward establishing a more viable international humanitarian law that transcends state sovereignty. Might Minear be correct in the short run and Totani in the long run?

Justice Radhabinod Pal's dissenting opinion—that the trial was illegitimate *ex post facto* law and selective victor's justice—has been appropriated in convoluted form by Japan's postwar right in highly public efforts to reject the trial judgments in totality. Where Minear credits Pal with his protest about the *ex post facto* and selective nature of the proceedings, Totani discredits his dissent as out of step with the larger current of history at best, and willfully uninformed at worst. Totani's book is not without its own biases. For example, to this reader's sensibility she too readily allows ideologically suspect and problematical Japanese translations of Pal's postwar speeches to color her presentation. Nevertheless, she ultimately recognizes these problems in her own sources and succeeds in providing the attentive reader a multifaceted depiction of the best and worst of the Tokyo Trial and its historiography. Without a doubt, Totani's monograph will become required reading, paired with Minear's work, in graduate seminars and undergraduate research papers for years to come.

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ADEEB KHALID. *Islam after Communism: Religion and Politics in Central Asia*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 241. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$21.95.

This book is the first comprehensive survey in any language of Islam in Central Asia. Its focus, however, is on the modern era, from the Russian colonial period to the contemporary "politics of antiterrorism." Published in

the contentious environment that followed September 11, 2001, it is an impassioned response to what Adeeb Khalid sees as the distortions that various observers have offered about the region—and about Islam more generally. As a challenge to the seductive lens of counterterrorism, Khalid's debunking of fantastic myths about Central Asian radicalism is the chief accomplishment of the book. It should be required reading in Washington, D.C.

Khalid has skillfully constructed a concise and readable primer on key concepts and debates in the study of Islam. This is no easy task. At the same time, Khalid relates well-informed arguments about Soviet rule. This grounding in multiple historiographic contexts makes the book very useful for those without prior exposure to these issues.

This book is an accessible guide to Central Asian studies in the Soviet and post-Soviet periods—but that is a mixed blessing. Like many recent histories of the USSR, the book focuses narrowly on the Soviet construction of ethno-national territories and identities. Khalid also highlights familiar themes about how the regime assaulted Islamic institutions and practices, and how the Bolsheviks tried to isolate the region, while seeking to make secularized Muslims a model for corolligionists abroad. Still, Soviet Muslims were not, he shows, a potential fifth column, as some in the West had imagined. Much of the book integrates the region into an updated narrative of Soviet history, but of a manichean variety that treats the whole enterprise as an unremitting disaster. Khalid uses the label "utopian" four times on a single page to characterize Bolshevik thought (p. 62). It treats the region's populations, except for a numerically small elite, as passive victims. Presumably, archives will one day reveal evidence of more complicated and varied ways of enduring—and engaging with—Soviet rule. But this book relies primarily on a patchy secondary literature, though without much attention to anthropological studies of gender, religiosity, or other issues.

For a book that relentlessly takes others to task, often justifiably, for various essentialisms, a notable tension runs throughout the text. Khalid himself cannot escape juxtaposing a normative Islam, which he discerns in "the rest of the Muslim world" (for example, p. 135), with Central Asian understandings of "[B]eing Muslim" that "came to mean adherence to certain local cultural norms and traditions rather than adherence to strictures that were directly validated by the learned tradition" (p. 83). It is this idea of Islam—beyond the context of time and place—that Khalid repeatedly invokes to judge the beliefs and practices of Muslims in Central Asia, which, in the end, he finds deficient in almost every respect, drawing attention to the widespread use of alcohol and to "superficial" knowledge of Sufi ritual and other practices (pp. 120–121). And despite his sensible methodological admonitions against simplification, Khalid assumes an omniscient point of view that produces totalizing declarations about the experiences, attitudes, and dispositions of entire groups without an-

alyzing the internal disagreements, variations, and shades of gray that readers are constantly admonished to recognize about Muslims in the abstract. Within this vast and diverse territory, moreover, a single region is made to stand in for the whole: Uzbekistan furnishes examples in support of most of Khalid's claims, and personal anecdotes from its capital, Tashkent, substitute for more substantive analysis available in other scholars' fieldwork-based accounts. Generalizations about Uzbekistan are problematic enough. Attention to southern or eastern Kazakhstan, Ismaili communities along the Afghanistan-Tajikistan borderland, or anywhere in Turkmenistan—to cite just a few locales—might have yielded a far less homogenizing portrait.

One can empathize with Khalid's emotional defense of Central Asians against charges of "extremism." It is, however, a much more challenging task to interpret how diverse populations have thought about politics over time, and on their own terms, than to declare them all "apolitical" without providing substantive evidence from archives, published sources, or fieldwork, or even interrogating what that claim means. Having accepted Soviet claims about the isolation of the region, Khalid finds it hard to explain the new forms of piety and activism that emerged in the late Soviet and post-Soviet eras. Describing the aftermath of an Uzbek government massacre of protestors in Andijan in 2005, for example, he makes the sweeping contention that discontent in Uzbekistan "is not articulated in Islamic terms" (p. 198). Why men and women might be drawn to alternative religious languages, Islamist ideas, or even to militancy goes unexplored. Instead Khalid stays on safe terrain, pointing to the obvious uses that local regimes have made of the specter of Islamic radicalism.

Despite these contradictions, however, the book is a valuable rebuttal to sensational representations of Central Asia and a revealing introduction to the politics and historiography of Islam in the region.

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JEFFREY HADLER. *Muslims and Matriarchs: Cultural Resilience in Indonesia through Jihad and Colonialism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 211. \$39.95.

This important book not only takes up some of the central issues that have preoccupied scholars of Minangkabau in the past but also strikes out in new directions. The title immediately points the reader toward existing analytical templates such as the interaction between Islam and local custom in central Sumatra, questions of continuity versus change in Indonesian history, and the impact in Minangkabau of both religious conflict and colonial intrusion. Certainly all these topics are discussed and form part of the central argument which threads its way through Hadler's seven chapters, but some of the most interesting and innovative parts of the book are not adequately reflected in its title. What Hadler succeeds in evoking is "a world of motion" which

draws us into the intimate spaces of Minangkabau life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and traces many of the intersecting strands of Minangkabau thought as these were challenged and reshaped in the process of becoming "modern." In this sense, and in its innovative juxtaposition of unexpected sources and close insights, the book deserves to be considered alongside other pioneering studies of change and modernity in Southeast Asia such as Takashi Shiraishi's *An Age in Motion: Popular Radicalism in Java, 1912–1926* (1990) and Anthony Milner's *The Invention of Politics in Colonial Malaya* (2002).

Hadler describes two questions as driving his research. These are firstly, why was it that Minangkabau produced so many "dynamic and ideologically diverse first-generation Indonesian leaders"; and secondly, how did the Minangkabau "matriarchate" survive the challenges it faced from colonialism and national government? The answers to both questions, he argues, lie in the ideological struggle which began when Wahhabi thought was introduced to Minangkabau in the first decades of the twentieth century, and in the subsequent Padri War. The ideological perspectives of key thinkers and leaders from Minangkabau was forged, Hadler argues, in the ferment of new ideas that reached right down to the level of the household and family as colonial rule intensified. Similarly, he suggests, dialogue with the Wahhabis and, in later years, the involvement of Minangkabau women in debates about the shape of the family gave the "matriarchate" a resilience which helped to preserve it in the face of colonial reforms.

These are not the kind of arguments that lend themselves to irrefutable proof and the evidence is necessarily suggestive, rather than conclusive. The "matriarchate" is how Hadler chooses to describe the matrilineal residence patterns and matrilineal inheritance practiced in central Sumatra, and the term implies a degree of homogeneity across time and locale that not all readers will find useful. The suggestion that a dynamic generation of Indonesian leaders who hailed from Minangkabau was "incubated" in the ferment of challenge and debate taking place in Minangkabau during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is persuasive, but we may also wonder whether "contention unending" was not something that predated the Wahhabis. Disputation certainly manifested itself in earlier periods of Minangkabau history when the royal dynasty acted as mediators in the ritualized opposition between members of the two Minangkabau *laras* or moieties, a friction that often paralyzed movement between different regions in the highlands and intercourse with the coast.

Anyone who has worked with the local and colonial sources for this period of Sumatran history will quickly recognize the depth of scholarship and knowledge of Minangkabau that Hadler brings to this study. He has unearthed a rich body of nineteenth and twentieth-century materials, such as the memoirs of the Padri leader Tuanku Imam Bonjol and the moderate religious scholar Syekh Jalaluddin. He also makes fruitful use of

newspapers, pamphlets, novels, and *adat* texts. One of his discoveries is the importance of a category of sources known as *schoolschriften*, or school writings of young Minangkabau students and teachers working in the colonial education system in the late nineteenth century. Not only does Hadler demonstrate that these materials help to usher in a new literary voice in Minangkabau, he also reveals how Dutch colonial officials appropriated the text of *schoolschriften* and published them verbatim, although in Dutch translation and under their own names, in the raft of new colonial scholarly journals that emerged in this period. This conclusion alone should change the way in which scholars approach these voluminous repositories of colonial knowledge.

Hadler brings to his presentation a gift for the pithy phrase and some beautifully expressed passages such as his evocation of the “house memory” of Minangkabau families in which the house was “marked in blood and time.” This book is a considerable achievement that should be essential reading for anyone interested in the history of Minangkabau and in the wider discussion of modernity in Southeast Asia.

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#### CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

IAN MCKAY. *Reasoning Otherwise: Leftists and the People's Enlightenment in Canada, 1890–1920*. Toronto: Between the Lines. 2008. Pp. x, 643. \$49.95.

Ian McKay provides a reconnaissance of the beginnings of Canadian socialism—what he calls the “first formation” of the Canadian left. In describing his project as a reconnaissance, McKay eschews the sentimentalism and sectarianism that have characterized so much of left scholarship. To reconnoiter something is to obtain information of military value about your enemy: “A left that understands its own past, that ‘acknowledges its own determination,’ has a far better chance of strategic interventions in the present” (p. 2). McKay’s ambition is to awaken in us a desire to rethink how and why we write history. It is a political project that is highly reflexive, intellectually challenging, and historically grounded.

The focus here is on the emotive force of ideas and of new ways of seeing. In compelling fashion, McKay shows us that early Canadian socialists saw themselves as the guardians of scientific evolutionary theory. The revolutionary science of social evolution provided them with a vocabulary and an alternative ideological framework through which the world could be understood. If Darwinism provided a vocabulary and frame for this new practice of leftism, it also afforded socialists with a sense of optimism that history was on their side. McKay discovers working-class autodidacts weaving evolutionary theory and revolutionary politics together into socialist Darwinism. The working-class enlightenment was therefore characterized by openness to sci-

ence and by new ways of thinking. An alternative discursive space was thus opened up to critique industrial capitalism and the liberal order.

On the whole, McKay shifts our attention from electoral politics or specific events toward the struggle to create an alternative language of politics. “Socialisms do not fall from the sky,” McKay observes. “They emerge, dialectically, from the practical experiences and problems confronted by human beings” (p. 118). This work provides us with an intellectual origin story for Canadian socialism. The achievements of early socialists were substantial, providing a “partial but invaluable first draft of a genuine realm of freedom” (pp. 210–211). The first formation was particularly adept in “making socialists,” as this generational cohort would have a far-reaching impact on Canadian socialism and Canada itself.

As a result, McKay rescues early socialists from obscurity and from the derision of those who question their views on religion, race, and gender. McKay spends a great deal of time showing us that the first formation was relatively enlightened on these fundamental issues. Indeed, he takes the movement’s organizational weakness, and its lack of links to Canadian trade unionism, as a point of strength. For example, it allowed Canadian socialists to resist Nativism and to forge links with South Asian immigrants in British Columbia. Early socialists were likewise free to oppose World War I. Whereas the war bitterly divided left movements throughout the Atlantic world, the war actually unified the Canadian left. This broad solidarity was on display in Winnipeg in 1919, an unprecedented “experiment in radical democracy” (p. 482). Once acquired, this new knowledge was not easily killed or suppressed.

McKay’s book is essential reading for historians of labor and the left as well as of North American history more generally. It is one of those rare books that inspire you to throw out your undergraduate lecture notes and to start anew. That said, McKay’s focus on words and ideas leads him to emphasize individual “thinkers” rather than collective action. I am not altogether sure why McKay casts trade unions and laborism outside the house of socialism. Nor does he spend enough time on agrarian socialism. The resulting focus is decidedly urban, with a clear preference for the socialist hall rather than the workplace. The agents of change are therefore restricted to a revolutionary and literate few. None of this, however, detracts in any way from what is a monumental study. I very much look forward to the next two books in McKay’s planned trilogy. Certainly, the left nationalists of the 1960s and 1970s who wrapped themselves in the Canadian flag to do battle with U.S. corporations were not so very different from the first formation socialists who used scientific evolution as a rhetorical weapon to bludgeon their adversaries.

By way of conclusion, we too live in a transformative age when working people and their unions are under siege and where the notion of the “blue collar middle class” is becoming an oxymoron. A book like this one

provides us with hope that it is still possible to reason and live otherwise.

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ARIELA J. GROSS. *What Blood Won't Tell: A History of Race on Trial in America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 368. \$29.95.

In this book Ariela J. Gross provides a compelling account of law's role in the formation of race in the United States. Divided into eight chapters, the study begins with the theoretical claim that race is not simply a matter of heredity or law but also an important part of the "common sense" of average people, thereby constituting a social formation that is at once hegemonic and unstable (p. 10). To show just how unstable, Gross focuses on trials—not the usual landmark cases like *Dred Scott* and *Plessy v. Ferguson*, but a different type of legal proceeding: the "racial identity" trial designed to determine whether a particular person is white, black, or something else (p. 9). By recovering fascinating tales of individuals whose racial identity was questioned in court, Gross makes the convincing argument that legal adjudications of racial ambiguity were important precisely because they indicate the manner in which race was not simply "a fact of nature" or "property of blood" but "a powerful ideology" that incorporated "appearance," "performance," "associations," and "cultural practice" (pp. 8, 9). While other scholars, most notably Barbara J. Fields, have also stressed the ideological nature of race, it is Gross's emphasis on cultural practice that helps to distinguish her book from other recent legal histories of racial formation, most notably Peggy Pascoe's *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America* (2009). While Pascoe echoes Gross in asserting that law was critical to the "making" of race in the United States, Gross goes one step farther by showing how much of the "common sense" of race had relatively little to do with legal prohibitions against blood-mixing or miscegenation and more with the manner in which people behaved and the company that they kept (p. 10).

Indeed, the most fascinating chapters of Gross's book are the ones dedicated to showing how racial determinations were made by witness testimony regarding the behavior of defendants, whether or not they could dance, for example, dancing being an indication that a defendant was white, or whether they associated with white or black people socially. Such cultural constructions of race not only affected the outcome of racial identity trials but ended up having a profound impact on designations of citizenship, a theme in Gross's work that becomes particularly interesting when she broadens her focus from black/white relations in the American South to battles over the status of Seminole Indians in Oklahoma, Hawaiian Islanders, "high caste Hindu" immigrants, and Mexican Americans, making her book a truly national study. Over time, "law and local culture," argues Gross, worked together to arti-

ficially thrust these people into subjective legal categories, thereby denying them citizenship and, ultimately, reducing the "possibility of mixed, intermediate, and hybrid identities" in the United States (p. 12).

An obvious choice for classes on race and the law, Gross's text should also be of interest to college and graduate-level faculty teaching courses in American history, comparative racial formation, and cultural studies. Although similar in some ways to Michael Omi and Howard Winant's *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s* (1986), which also invokes the Gramscian notion of common sense to analyze race, Gross's book is more detailed, better researched, and succeeds at showing how, precisely, common sense—and law—worked to reinforce race as an ideology on the ground. This book provides a nice illustration of Stuart Hall's thesis that Gramscian conceptions of ideology and culture are in fact critical to understanding both the construction of racial identity and the perpetuation of racial hierarchy. For anyone interested in a work that merges these theoretical concerns with compelling historical examples, Gross's study should be required reading.

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STEPHEN M. FELDMAN. *Free Expression and Democracy in America: A History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2008. Pp. 585. \$55.00.

Stephen M. Feldman has written a tome that can truly be termed "immense" in many ways: it is extremely hefty (at almost 600 pages of rather small type), it is extensively researched, it is highly erudite, and it is ambitious in scope and scale, covering the entire United States from colonial days to the present. If Feldman's book is sweeping, however, it is also sprawling, often so much so that is difficult to determine clearly what his focus is. And although his volume is filled with fascinating facts, the analysis can be repetitious and, above all, so gossamer-vague that readers may ultimately find themselves struggling to uncover meaningful and substantive themes. Thus, it cannot be considered coincidental that the book has no real conclusions and scarcely any introduction. If almost everyone with a strong interest in American history will find substantial material of real value in this text, it is likely to be required reading for hardly anyone.

While, as Feldman's title indicates, the study of "free expression" in American history at least vaguely connects much of the book, large parts of it read like a general American history, a general social history, a study of modernization, a history of the Supreme Court, and/or a history of racial discrimination. Massive amounts of reading and research have clearly gone into the project, and it is speckled with interesting quotations and incidents drawn from extraordinarily diverse sources, including archival materials, newspapers, collections of documents, books, and court rulings. Yet



many classic but still key materials for any in-depth study of the history of American free speech are never cited. Thus, the 1919–1920 Red Scare is discussed, but Robert K. Murray's seminal *Red Scare: A Study in National Hysteria, 1919–1920* (1955) is never mentioned; the same is true, in connection with Feldman's discussion of World War I, of H. C. Peterson and Gilbert Fite's *Opponents of War, 1917–1918* (1957) and Melvyn Dubofsky's *We Shall Be All: A History of the International Workers of the World* (1969). To some extent, such omissions reflect that, especially for the period after 1900, Feldman tends increasingly to focus on the role of the courts, especially the U.S. Supreme Court. But readers know that a great deal of action in the area of free speech has traditionally taken place in the streets, congressional hearings, and other non-legal venues.

Feldman repeatedly seeks to use two overarching frameworks to hold together the massive and disparate material within the text. First of all, he argues that the United States has changed over time from a "republican democracy," in which a small and homogenous elite maintained a relatively clear and "objective" theory of the "common good" to guide governmental policy in general and civil liberties policy in particular, to a "pluralist democracy," in which the "good" has become the purely pragmatic and instrumental subjective result of the tug and pull of conflicting forces. Second, he suggests that the Supreme Court's interpretations of the meaning of key civil liberties concepts such as freedom of speech invariably result from the interplay of "legal doctrine, the tradition of dissent, and the tradition of suppression," which comprise "three intersecting axes that together determine the degree of free expression at any particular time in history" (p. 4). The problem with these frameworks is that, when applied to particular situations, they often prove to be so vague as to explain very little. The objective meaning of the term "common good"—as understood prior to the twentieth century by an essentially white, male Anglo-Saxon elite—is never clearly defined (beyond the defense of private property), and, as Feldman admits, any consensus repeatedly broke down, as in the Alien and Sedition Acts controversy of the late 1790s, the bitter disputes during Andrew Jackson's presidency, and, above all, the crisis over slavery that led to the Civil War.

Invoking conflicting traditions of dissent and suppression provides little guidance as to why one gains ascendancy over the other at any particular time, especially since Feldman concedes on several occasions that, throughout American history, whether during periods of "republican" or "pluralist" democracy, the Supreme Court's hand has tended to weigh heavily upon the balance scales in favor of the most powerful political forces. In sum, while Feldman has amassed a great deal of valuable material, his book would have benefited greatly from a sharper focus, a tougher editorial pen, and a far more concrete explanatory framework.

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JOSEPH M. HALL, JR. *Zamumo's Gifts: Indian-European Exchange in the Colonial Southeast*. (Early American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2009. Pp. x, 232. \$37.50.

Studies of material exchanges between Native Americans and Europeans have been a mainstay of historical analyses of the Southeast for almost a century. Despite such considerable research on the topic, prior studies lack the clarity, comprehensiveness, and theoretical sophistication of Joseph M. Hall, Jr.'s present effort. Drawing its title from one of the first recorded direct exchanges between a Native leader, Zamumo, and Hernando de Soto in 1540, Hall explores the various meanings placed upon items of exchange by both Natives and Europeans. His analysis suggests that underlying both Indian and European understandings of these exchanges was an ever-present desire for power, influence, and control—whether the objects exchanged were seen as cementing social ties, mutual social obligations, forms of reciprocity, or as commodities and sources of profit. Rather than perpetuating the discredited view that exchange led to the economic and political subjugation of Native peoples, however, Hall contends "Indians continued to insist on practices that were both older than and distinct from European logics of the market" (p. 5) long after exposure to European capitalistic exchanges.

The introduction and first chapter examine the nature of exchange among Native Americans prior to European contacts, stressing its central role in creating social alliances, reinforcing political hierarchies, and demonstrating the ability of local leaders to control relationships with distant powers. Hall does an excellent job of summarizing archaeological evidence from Cahokia and Moundville to examine exchange during the pre-European contact Mississippian Period (circa 950–1500 C.E.). Building upon the theoretical model of gift exchange proposed by Marcel Mauss, Hall reconstructs Mississippian political economies as those in which participants were motivated to create and solidify webs of social interconnection linking giver and receiver rather than a quest for commodities or profit. As Hall explains, his "is a study of political economies more than commercial ones, a study of power more than prices" (p. 8). Rather than suggesting that the indigenous and European rationales for exchange were mutually unintelligible, however, Hall demonstrates that the logics of each system penetrated the thinking of their trade partners, playing a critical role in the ethnogenesis of the Cherokees, Creeks, Catawbas, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and even colonial Georgians and South Carolinians.

In chapters two through seven Hall demonstrates how the cultural logic permeating these exchanges was impacted by the expectations of the other. For their part, Natives used European items as new elements in pre-existing exchange networks. However, such efforts were to foster direct and indirect long-term impacts on Native societies. Exchanges with Europeans became an increasingly essential component of Native American



political economies but simultaneously left them susceptible to the inherent vicissitudes of transatlantic trade networks largely dependent upon political relations between European powers. Individual chapters highlight the expanding role European items were to have in Native statecraft and household economies, with Hall focusing specific attention on Creek communities along the Tallapoosa River. Throughout these discussions Hall highlights both Native and European attempts to play their trading partners against each other to advance their own regional interests. Hall demonstrates that by the early eighteenth century, slave raids, direct trade that circumvented indigenous elites, and a series of genocidal wars reshaped cultural boundaries, regional alliances, ethnic identities, as well as political and domestic economies. In the end, Hall contends, "exchange held much different meanings and ends for southeastern Indians. Trade did not build empires; it supported local interests and regional alliances" (p. 147).

Throughout these chapters and in his conclusion Hall emphasizes the European desire to unify, classify, and pacify disparate indigenous groups. This discussion parallels Neal L. Whitehead's seminal article, "Tribes Make States and States Make Tribes: Warfare and the Creation of Colonial Tribes and States in Northeastern South America" (1992), and reference to this work would have provided Hall with additional support for these perspectives. However, Hall should be commended for not fully placing causality for these changes in European hands, stating, "Creek insistence on older patterns of reciprocity and multilateralism forced their colonial neighbors to accept the fact that partners in exchange could not dictate, only influence. The webs of empire had many strands in the Southeast, but Creeks and their neighbors ensured that it was often difficult to find where the center lay" (p. 169).

This is a fascinating, well-researched, and extremely well-written volume that accomplishes a great deal. However, Hall is perhaps a bit too willing to rely on a diffusionist and Cahokia-centric understanding of Mississippian political economies and their geographical expansion (pp. 16–32). As a historian, it is understandable that Hall may not be familiar with these debates within archaeology, but readers should be cautioned that there are several competing explanations for the Mississippian expansion that differ markedly from that adopted by Hall. Despite this relatively minor issue, this book will most certainly have immense and immediate impacts on historians, anthropologists, archaeologists, and others interested in the nature of exchange in the colonial Southeast.

CAMERON B. WESSON

EDWARD J. CASHIN. *Guardians of the Valley: Chickasaws in Colonial South Carolina and Georgia*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 196. \$29.95.

In this posthumously published book, Edward J. Cashin tells the story of the "Lower" Chickasaws, who migrated east from their ancestral homelands in Mississippi and founded new settlements near the falls of the Savannah River. Not only did the Savannah River Chickasaws survive, but they appear to have thrived for much of the eighteenth century, owing to a mutually beneficial relationship with their Euro-American neighbors and the goodwill they earned in service to both colonies. The Chickasaws' contributions to the defense of South Carolina and Georgia, Cashin argues, made them indispensable allies and distinguished them as "guardians" of the Savannah River valley.

Cashin first examines the circumstances surrounding the Chickasaws' exodus to the east. He illustrates that the Carolina-Chickasaw trade alliance, established around the turn of the eighteenth century, endured through the tumult of the Yamasee War and caused Chickasaw leaders to look to the Carolinians for support when French-allied Choctaws began attacking them in 1720. Three years later a Chickasaw delegation led by Squirrel King accepted Governor Francis Nicholson's offer to relocate on the Savannah River. Under Squirrel King's leadership, the Lower Chickasaws served the South Carolina colony faithfully beginning in the 1720s by escorting traders, providing intelligence, and by twice invading Florida.

The establishment of Georgia in 1733 solidified the Chickasaws' reputation as guardians of the valley. In 1736 the Georgians founded the town of Augusta, which attracted Chickasaws to the south side of the Savannah River and made them the object of a contest between the two colonies for control of Indian affairs. Hoping to lure them back, in 1737 the Carolinians granted the Chickasaws a reserve of land exceeding twenty thousand acres, but the Chickasaws continued to make use of land on both sides of the river and answered both colonies' calls for military assistance. Chickasaws assembled to confront the slave rebels at Stono in 1739, saw action at the siege of St. Augustine in 1740, and assisted in repelling the Spanish invasion of St. Simons Island two years later.

Though the Anglo-Chickasaw alliance held for much of the eighteenth century, the relationship at times was problematic, reflecting Chickasaw awareness of their self interest. Importantly, the Chickasaws' relationship with South Carolina Governor James Glen proved unsatisfactory because of the favoritism Glen bestowed upon the Choctaws and other enemies. Nevertheless, Squirrel King managed to keep the Anglo-Chickasaw alliance together, and, after his death in 1755, his successors came to the colonies' defense repeatedly during the French and Indian War, most conspicuously during the two invasions of Cherokee country in 1760 and 1761.

As was often the case in colonial North America, co-existence between the Indians and Euro-Americans became increasingly difficult, primarily because of the colonists' insatiable appetite for land. Beginning in the 1750s, nearby residents began carving up the Chickasaw

reserve in Carolina. As this activity called into question Chickasaw land title, in 1766 the South Carolina government surveyed two small tracts for them totaling a mere 800 acres. Finally, the American Revolution hastened the demise of the Savannah River settlements, as most Chickasaws, seeking to avoid bloodshed, "quietly slipped away" and rejoined their countrymen in the West (p. 135). Most remained neutral in the conflict, but a conspicuous few fought for the British, thereby seeming to justify South Carolina's confiscation of Chickasaw lands. When the Chickasaws petitioned to get their land back after the war, the Carolinians predictably denied their request and so the Savannah River Chickasaws' story would appear to end, but for tantalizing evidence indicating that some of their descendants currently remain in the area.

In the book's preface Cashin proudly tells the story of his adoption by the Chickasaw Nation and the new name they bestowed upon him: "One Who Tells an Important Story." This is undoubtedly deserved, for the Chickasaws are still woefully underrepresented in the literature on Southeastern Indians and Cashin's smooth narrative achieves much by presenting familiar events from the Lower Chickasaws' frame of reference. Still, the limitations of the book make it likely that Cashin's word on the subject will not be the last. Those who follow in his footsteps will undoubtedly draw more extensively on ethnographic evidence to present this history more in a manner by which the Chickasaws themselves understood it, and avoid the pitfalls of depicting Chickasaw actions as mere "contributions" to colonial development. In a similar vein, much more could have been done to disentangle the Lower Chickasaws from the historical narratives of the colonies, as well as those of the Creeks and Cherokees, which often subsume the Chickasaw story. That aside, this book is a welcome addition to the growing corpus of literature on Chickasaw history and offers lasting testimony that, in his role as historian, Cashin deserves to be remembered in his own way as a "guardian of the valley."

STEVEN C. HAHN  
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SHERI MARIE SHUCK-HALL. *Journey to the West: The Alabamas and Coushatta Indians*. (Civilization of the American Indian, number 256.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 278. \$34.95.

Sheri Marie Shuck-Hall's book is a carefully researched and ably written ethnohistory of the Alabamas and Coushattas, Native Americans who today maintain small reservation communities in Texas and Louisiana. She defines their history in terms of diaspora and diplomacy. Alabamas and Coushattas managed to survive and maintain their identity, she argues, by being willing to migrate when threatened by Europeans and by forming and carefully managing alliances with larger, stronger peoples. While many tribes adopted these tactics, Shuck-Hall suggests that the Alabamas and Coushattas became particularly skilled practitioners.

The Alabamas and Coushattas coalesced out of the fragments of earlier Mississippian chiefdoms located in separate corners of the South. Prior to European colonization, Alabama ancestors lived in eastern Alabama and western Mississippi, while the Coushattas were part of the Coste chiefdom in eastern Tennessee. In the seventeenth century, European disease and the Indian slave trade shattered these chiefdoms, leading the Alabamas and Coushattas, like many other Native groups, to migrate in search of safer homes. They met as refugees in central Alabama in a fertile region near the junction of the Alabama, Coosa, and Tallapoosa Rivers. There they created new communities and formed an alliance based on linguistic similarities, their common Mississippian background, and the need of both for friends in a very dangerous world.

Once established, the partnership flourished. The Alabamas and Coushattas' new homeland was ideally situated for trade with both French and English colonies, and they appear to have made the most of the situation. They forged strong ties with the French, inviting them to build a fort in their territory, but when it suited their needs they also cultivated the English. Like other Native peoples in the region, they became adept at playing one colonial power off the other in order to win the best possible trade terms while minimizing violent conflict. Meanwhile, they joined the emerging Creek Confederacy, forming a significant part of what Europeans called the Upper Creeks. Over the first half of the eighteenth century Alabamas and Coushattas became able diplomats, negotiating an unstable political landscape with great creativity.

Their advantageous position, however, relied upon the rivalry between Britain and France, and that rivalry did not last. When British victory in the Seven Years War ended French power in the Southeast, the Alabamas and Coushattas lost control of their European relations. In response, they began a second migration as much of the tribe abandoned the Creek Confederacy and moved west to regroup in Spanish Louisiana. A few decades later, the majority of the Alabamas and Coushattas repeated the process, migrating to Texas after Louisiana became part of the United States and American settlers began to crowd their homelands. Through this repeated experience of exile, Shuck-Hall argues, Alabamas and Coushattas forged an abiding sense of themselves as a people.

In Texas, the Alabamas and Coushattas entered a situation that would test their political skills to the utmost. By the early nineteenth century, east Texas had become a refuge for a great many displaced Indian peoples, including Cherokees, Shawnees, Delawares, and Kickapoos. Soon it began to attract an increasing number of Anglo-Americans as well, settlers who would come into conflict with both their Indian neighbors and the Mexican government. In the Texas War of Independence, the Alabamas and Coushattas remained neutral, at the same time distancing themselves from Indians whom white Texans considered threatening. Helping white settlers during the war, they gained a reputation for be-

ing friendly and “civilized.” As a result, they managed to avoid much of the vicious anti-Indian violence that followed Texas independence when whites led by President Mirabeau B. Lamar sought to drive Native Americans from the new republic. Meanwhile, Alabama and Coushatta leaders worked tirelessly to secure permanent rights to their Texas land. Finally, in the 1850s, after much further political maneuvering, they gained ownership of a small reserve, which today remains the home of the Alabama-Coushatta Tribe of Texas.

Shuck-Hall ends her history in the mid-nineteenth century, sketching later developments in a brief epilogue. A more thorough discussion of the tribe’s modern history would have been welcome. While diaspora may no longer have been the defining experience of the Alabamas and Coushattas once they secured their land, the political skills Shuck-Hall identifies certainly would have continued to be tested in the modern era. This is only a small complaint, however, as the book represents a significant contribution to the literature on tribal coalescence, the colonial South, and southeastern Indian studies.

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KATHLEEN L. HULL. *Pestilence and Persistence: Yosemite Indian Demography and Culture in Colonial California*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 374. \$45.00.

The problem of American Indian mortality has challenged historians, anthropologists, archeologists, epidemiologists, and demographers for decades. In one classic formulation, the irresistible power of European pathogens devastated non-immune American populations and undermined their cultures. Since the 1990s, however, this grand narrative has received increasing critique. Some scholars have argued that mortality was a contingent process, dependent on both the specific circumstances of pre-contact populations and the details of the colonial encounter. Others have argued that resilient Indian cultures adapted creatively to the new conditions. Definitive answers remain elusive because of limitations of extant sources.

Kathleen L. Hull’s analysis of the Yosemite Indians provides a valuable addition to this literature. The final outcomes are known: whites seized the valley and the Awahnichi died, moved to reservations, or assimilated into other Indian bands. But unlike most other sites in the Americas and the Pacific, where microbes and humans arrived simultaneously, here the microbes and humans arrived in distinct waves, providing Hull with an opportunity to disentangle the consequences of these colonial assaults on Indian populations and cultures. Hull makes her case by drawing on all possible sources: historical records, oral histories, archeological remains, and demographic modeling. One of the most useful aspects of this book is the author’s explicit discussion of the value and limitations of her sources. To overcome the limitations of any single source, Hull synthesized

multiple examples of each kind of evidence. For instance, to reconstruct past population sizes, she performed quantitative analyses of two archeological measures: the numbers and age of stone flakes left over from tool making, and the changing occupancy status of various habitation sites. Confirming the correlation of these two measures, she reconstructed a 5,000-year record of population size.

Hull found that the population of the Yosemite valley peaked around A.D. 500 before experiencing a 35 percent to 40 percent drop between 500 and 675, and then another 30 percent drop by 1000. These experiences equipped the Awahnichi with strategies for managing population loss. And so, when a fatal “black sickness” struck around 1790, the survivors fled from the valley to the eastern face of the Sierras and joined other groups, especially the Mono Lake Paiute. Hull’s synthesis of historical and archeological sources reveals what followed. Under the leadership of Chief Tenaya, the Awahnichi returned to the Yosemite Valley by 1820 and reconstituted as much as possible their lives and settlements. A thorough analysis of one pre- and one post-epidemic site, including layout, tool production, and plant and animal remains, suggests that cultural practices survived the epidemic nearly intact. But then white migrants arrived. Responding to increasing Indian raids on encroaching miners, the Mariposa Battalion entered the valley in March 1851; tourists soon followed. By 1900 only a few Awahnichi remained in the valley. Equipped with this reconstructed narrative, Hull argues that epidemic-induced population loss did not doom the Awahnichi. The Indians and their cultural practices adapted and endured. It was only the subsequent white incursion that dealt a final blow.

Although focused on the Yosemite Valley, Hull takes up major questions of colonialism. She compares the Awahnichi experience to ten other cases, from the Iroquois to the Pueblo. The comparisons demonstrate how the details and outcomes of encounter varied between different tribes and sites, providing evidence against homogenous models of virgin soil epidemics. They also demonstrate “the ability of people to adapt to changing circumstances—or, more correctly, the ability of the native people to make decisions, chart their own course, and persist in the midst of colonial upheaval, often drawing on a dynamic long-term history and inherent cultural flexibility in order to do so” (pp. 281–282). This introduces her critique of the concept of colonialism: by focusing on colonial encounters and their aftermath, scholars all too often disregard native prehistories and the significance of them on the outcomes of encounter.

Scholars of Indian history and of colonialism more broadly will learn much from Hull’s work. However, her focus on archeological methods introduces two problems. First, the detailed analyses of settlement sites and remains will only engage the most interested readers. While it is possible to skim this material and still absorb the primary arguments, it is difficult for non-experts to assess her analyses of population size and cultural persistence. Were past Awahnichi populations really sub-



stantially larger? Did cultural practices essentially endure despite the epidemic? If Hull's archeological arguments here are correct, then her conclusions about contingency and Indian agency follow logically. Taking her archeology on faith, I found this book to be a valuable contribution to the growing literature on the complexity of encounters between Europeans and Indians, a field that needs such nuanced interdisciplinary analyses of history, anthropology, and archeology.

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KEVIN KENNY. *Peaceable Kingdom Lost: The Paxton Boys and the Destruction of William Penn's Holy Experiment*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. viii, 294. \$29.95.

In the spring of 1701, proprietor William Penn negotiated a treaty with Pennsylvania's Native peoples in the hope that the two sides could "live in true Friendship and Amity as one People" (p. 11). Kevin Kenny chronicles the violent disintegration of Penn's "utopian vision" of Euro-American and Indian peaceful coexistence (p. 2). From the expansion of Euro-American land speculation and encroachment during the opening decades of the eighteenth-century through the patriotically sanctioned Indian killings of the American Revolution, Kenny's five-part work traces the tragic narrative of Indian and white relations in Penn's Woods.

Part one, "False Dawns," examines the factors undermining Penn's efforts to maintain peaceful colonial relations. Kenny argues that Penn's own land speculation, Ulster Presbyterian encroachments, the inability of the Quaker-controlled Pennsylvania Assembly to extend its political authority into the colony's frontier, and controversial treaties (especially the infamous 1737 Walking Purchase) exacerbated tensions between Pennsylvania's Indians and colonists. As Pennsylvania attempted to remove squatters and improve frontier relations, Indian threats sparked western demands for the improvement of defenses, cessation of Indian negotiations, and greater political representation.

Part two, "Theatre of Bloodshed and Rapine," chronicles the tumult surrounding the French and Indian War on Pennsylvania's frontier. The contest for the Ohio Country provided an opportunity for regional Indians to reverse their territorial losses and the resulting attacks further eroded frontier relations. As western communities experienced devastating Indian raids, the factionalized Pennsylvania Assembly faced pressure to allocate taxes for backcountry defenses, but the unwillingness of the Penn family to accede to the taxation of their lands delayed these efforts. The 1758 Treaty of Easton temporarily ended the bloodshed, but the inability of Pennsylvania's government to mobilize wartime resources further weakened frontier relations.

Part three, "Zealots," traces the creation of the Paxton militia amid the violence unleashed by Pontiac's Rebellion. Incited by continued encroachments and the

termination of gift and powder exchanges, Pennsylvania's Indians reignited their campaign. As the debate over the source and level of defense funding raged, western leaders organized community militias to confront the Indian threat. While the Paxton militia clashed with regional Indians, Pennsylvania officials attempted to re-establish peaceful frontier relations and protect the colony's "Friendly Indians." In December of 1763, the Paxton Boys savagely murdered twenty Conestoga Indians and targeted Moravian Indians sheltered in Philadelphia. The large force of Paxton Boys approaching menacingly sent Philadelphians into a panic and forced the Pennsylvania Assembly to mobilize the city's resources. After issuing an arrest warrant for the Paxton leaders and confronting the Penn family's continued resistance to contributing money to the colony's defense, citizens, including many Quakers, mustered in defense of Philadelphia.

In Part four, "War of Words," Kenny recounts the post-Conestoga massacre rhetorical battle between the Paxton Boys and their critics. After halting their march on Philadelphia, Paxton leaders issued *A Declaration and Remonstrance of the Distressed and Bleeding Frontier Inhabitants of the Province of Pennsylvania* (1764), justifying their recent actions, detailing their grievances, and outlining their demands. After rejecting the notion of "Friendly Indians," the Paxton leaders denounced Quaker passivity and wartime Indian collusion. Led by Benjamin Franklin, Pennsylvania's leaders issued a series of pamphlets accusing the Paxton Boys of cowardice for murdering the Conestoga and defending the concept of "Friendly Indians" and Quaker leadership. After the Penn family's repeated resistance to the taxation of their landholdings and financially motivated support of the Paxton Boys, Franklin and his allies pushed to have Pennsylvania put under the direct governance of the crown.

Part five, "Revolutionaries," relates the devastating consequences of the Paxton raids and the failure of Pennsylvania to punish the culprits. Emboldened by the ineffective colonial response, the Paxton Boys continued to encroach on Indian land, laying claim to Conestoga Indiantown and the Wyoming Valley. As the Penn family and Connecticut's Susquehanna Company vied over the Wyoming Valley, the Paxton Boys emerged as key players in the competition. Angered by the Penn family's land policies, the Paxton Boys sided with the Connecticut land company. As the revolutionary rhetoric intensified and the Penn family increasingly became associated with British interests, the Paxton Boys backed the patriot cause, transforming themselves from a murderous mob into the vanguard of the revolution. Kenny points out that their loyalty was motivated by desires for personal security and Indian revenge, not patriotic idealism. Nevertheless, the Paxton Boys' ideology and tactics emerged as the definition of frontier patriotism.

Much of the material covered in this book has been chronicled elsewhere, but Kenny's fluid prose makes his a very entertaining account. By emphasizing backcoun-

try violence, Kenny's work diverges from recent borderland historiography focused of cooperation and cross-cultural exchange. The primary weakness is the author's monolithic and oversimplistic depiction of Pennsylvania's Ulster Presbyterians as a hyperviolent, racist, and avaricious cabal bent on toppling Penn's bi-racial paradise. In the end, Kenny masterfully weaves the perspectives of Pennsylvania's westerners, colonial leaders, and native peoples to craft a compellingly tragic narrative.

KEVIN T. BARKSDALE  
Marshall University

SARAH HAND MEACHAM. *Every Home a Distillery: Alcohol, Gender, and Technology in the Colonial Chesapeake*. (Early America: History, Context, Culture.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 187. \$48.00.

Focusing on the understudied topic of the production of alcoholic beverages in the colonial Chesapeake, this book promotes the thesis that from the late seventeenth century to the late eighteenth century, women produced alcoholic beverages but men became the dominant producers after that, a shift that "lagged behind Europe, New England, and the Middle Colonies, in terms both of who was making alcoholic drinks and of how they were making them" (p. 3). Sarah Hand Meacham gives conflicting reasons for this delay. Immigration patterns and a dispersed population preoccupied with tobacco monoculture kept men from the practice before the mid-eighteenth century (p. 26). The change that did occur, however, came about not because of increased population density or crop diversification but because of scientific and technological advances "that led men in Europe and America to claim that alcoholic beverage production was chemistry, not cookery, and belonged to men's domain" (p. 135).

The story Meacham's book actually tells differs from these bold claims. Before the mid-eighteenth century, both men and women in the Chesapeake did, in fact, produce alcoholic beverages. Middling or lower-status women made fermented beverages for home use. Large planters made fermented and distilled beverages for home use and for sale, usually to middling or lower-status households whose homemade supply had run out. Neither group of producers made beer with hops—an indicator of the colonists' backwardness—although they did make it with other ingredients, like persimmons.

In the mid-eighteenth century, middling or lower-status men began to produce alcoholic beverages, taking advantage of the plethora of print information emanating from England that explained recent improved techniques and equipment to men wanting to produce alcohol for more than everyday household use. These men, like the wealthy planters before them, consumed their beverages at home and traded and sold quantities to their neighbors. While this change relieved some women of the task of brewing and cidering for home

consumption, more importantly, it undercut the commercial profits that had previously belonged exclusively to wealthy planters.

As more men engaged in the commercial production of alcoholic beverages, the kinds of beverages they produced also changed. After mid-century, Chesapeake colonists preferred distilled beverages, particularly rum. Supply, it seems, approximated demand, although it is unclear which led. It might very well have been demand, as distilled beverages had a much longer shelf life and higher alcohol content than fermented beverages. Rum, after all, was the active ingredient in the much-loved "punch."

All of the above is to say that this book contains interesting information about regional alcohol production, distribution, and consumption that is underserved by a thesis that should have been more carefully considered. The real story here is not the unconvincing tale of women's work being stolen by men but a complex and subtle tale of the relationship among production, distribution, and consumption and how that relationship changed as people, their culture, and their environment changed. Many of the elements to that story are present, but the author's steady gaze on gendered production prevented her from seeing the truer alignment.

No book is a sole endeavor. An author needs editors to help her steer clear in those inevitable moments when clarity seems all but lost and confusion seems to reign. Such was apparently not the case with this volume. In addition to the unworkable thesis, many conflicting statements exist in addition to the ones referenced above. For example, colonists, the reader is told, "had little to drink that was not alcoholic" (p. 3) because "the water in the Tidewater was unhealthy at best" (p. 12). A few pages later, however, the text states, "In the early seventeenth century, the colonists were 'a colony [of] water drinkers' because they had so few women" (p. 31). Although the introduction and conclusion announce the Chesapeake region to be a century behind Europeans and other colonists, chapter six shows quite clearly that colonists were purchasing up-to-date English advice literature of two kinds: cookery books with recipes for home alcohol production (suggesting that women in England, as well as women in the Chesapeake, were still making alcoholic beverages at home) and cidering and distilling books for men (indicating that men in England and the Chesapeake were embracing the newest ideas and practices at the same time.) Stylistically, confusing prose and redundancy are frequent, as, for example, multiple repetitions of the statement that taverns were licensed by men and managed by women in chapter four, when one or two would have sufficed. Factual errors also exist. Much of the above could have been—and should have been—prevented by the editorial staff.

TRUDY EDEN  
University of Northern Iowa

ELLEN HARTIGAN-O'CONNOR. *The Ties That Buy: Women and Commerce in Revolutionary America*. (Early



American Studies.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2009. Pp. 253. \$39.95.

Ellen Hartigan-O'Connor's focus in this well-written, well-researched, and insightful book is deceptively simple. She examines women and commerce in Newport, Rhode Island, and Charleston, South Carolina. But she weaves a much more complicated tale. Like other historians, she questions the early nineteenth-century divide between public and private, and the idealized image of wives as nurturing mothers firmly ensconced in a home headed by a working husband who sought refuge within; unlike other historians, she challenges the notion that women lost ground in this ideological shift. She does so by looking at working women's economic activities in the marketplace and arguing that "women were not exempt from . . . urban life; they were central to [it]" (p. 12).

The author begins by analyzing "housefuls" rather than households, and the distinction is crucial to her arguments. Housefuls were uniquely urban arrangements of several small households living together in the same rented house. Housefuls, often multiracial collectives of male and female-headed families and single women, provided women with productive links to life in the city. Because housefuls were temporary and changeable, they weakened gender hierarchies and over time challenged patriarchal authority. More importantly, women, by choice and by necessity (these women were often poor and vulnerable—to her credit, the author does not replace one idealized vision with another) created pockets of local economic and cultural networks. From this literal and figurative foundation, Hartigan-O'Connor moves on to explore the economic opportunities for women within and without the houseful.

As the country shifted to a capitalist economy, women linked home with local, interstate, and transatlantic markets by running boarding houses and working as shopkeepers, as teachers, and as seamstresses. Other historians have used these same occupations to explore the way women challenged gender roles, but they categorized these activities as culturally safe domestic duties that took women only so far from their gender roles. Urban working women explicitly used the language of commercial service and not of family obligation as they plied their skills in the modern marketplace. Indeed, "putting a monetary value on women's domestic work . . . changed how these skills were perceived and how they fit into people's economic lives" (p. 40). Beyond that, women became actively engaged in the credit system that drove the economies of port cities. As they bought goods to sell in their shops and as they created vital credit connections to buy those goods, women were drawn into complex, diverse economic relationships. This was a "heterosocial picture of credit rather than one of gendered isolation" (p. 90). Beyond that, credit meant economic power, and for women with no political power this was important. Unlike the women isolated in their homes who seemingly

had no need for and no concept of money, urban women used money every day. They learned how to value earnings, assess prices, and negotiate contracts because city life demanded mastery over their financial lives. Even if they saw themselves as stewards of family resources, they viewed their lives through the lens of new economic conditions and their skills at handling money as a source of pleasure and self-confidence—and not as evidence of their subordinate social position.

Hartigan-O'Connor explicitly challenges the notion of women as frivolous shoppers and instead sees this activity for urban women as creating often far-flung connections and engagements in the transatlantic world of goods. They became immersed in the language of consumption through information sharing of many kinds—which was especially important for women who did not travel as much as men. They created communities of astute and practical women. They used their sharply honed shopping skills, skills that brought women "into the heart of urban commerce" (p. 160), to publicly display their frugality and restraint (skills necessary for survival).

Having convinced us of the importance of urban women's engagement with capitalism, Hartigan-O'Connor moves to the "fizzling of female consumer citizenship" (p. 163). In the early nineteenth century the politics of material goods did not translate into a political voice as it did for revolutionary women. In the "Republic of Goods," it would seem that women were hoisted on their own petard. In the aftermath of the War of 1812, leaders defined goods as corrupt luxuries, credit as a dangerous snare, and shopping as a purely feminized leisure activity. By privileging political communities, leaders marginalized other communities formed around the acquisition and display of goods—those communities that working women so assiduously created. Political language shifted from consumer to producer, and producers were men. From this arose the nineteenth-century middle-class household characterized by female dependence.

Hartigan-O'Connor ends, however, with the argument that women's economic activities were always a vital part of the commercial world of the port cities—that the networks and connections they created were central to the political, economic, and social life of those cities. This positive spin is a bit confusing because I am not sure if she is arguing that there was or was not a private/public divide. The final chapter would suggest there was such a divide, but she takes great pains throughout to argue that there was not. Did the two versions of women's lives sit uncomfortably side by side? She does a great job of discussing race, class, and gender, but perhaps an even stronger focus on class and a clearer chronology might have answered this question. Also, while I appreciated her comparison of Newport and Charleston, I wished for a more thorough engagement with the consequences of the similarities and differences between them. Ultimately, Hartigan-O'Connor's book is complex and important; it should

be required reading for anyone interested in women's history, gender history, consumer culture, and the early republic.

VIVIAN BRUCE CONGER  
*Ithaca College*

VIVIAN BRUCE CONGER. *The Widows' Might: Widowhood and Gender in Early British America*. New York: New York University Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 244. \$48.00.

Early American historians have tended to consider widows primarily in terms of their status: either as poor "relicts" or as liberated *femmes sole*. Vivian Bruce Conger focuses her attention on widows' own desires. Through an extensive study of widows' wills, Conger creatively demonstrates the ways that those widows' testamentary decisions reflected their ideals for family and community relationships.

Scholars have long deliberated whether women's status rose or fell throughout the colonial period. Conger places herself squarely in the camp of those who argue that women's power in the community and household did not decline over time. Instead, she suggests, widowed women were able to "[shape] familial, kin, and community structures, as they understood them" (p. 8). As new heads of households, these women became "virtual fathers" (p. 154), and thereby felt free to participate more extensively in the community than their married counterparts. Like married women, widows were subject to the patriarchal expectations of early American societies and governments. Courts and children might try to block widows' attempts to control their estates even when these women were no longer formally controlled by coverture. "Even so, in comparison with other colonial women, widows enjoyed great powers" (p. 155). Widows used these powers, Conger argues, in order to give other women more economic independence.

The base of the book is a solid foundation of quantitative work done in Massachusetts, Maryland, and South Carolina. Conger then weaves this material together with narrative, often prescriptive, sources to explain the cultural context for women's decisions. Chapter one, for example, demonstrates the conflicting messages widows received about whether to remarry in order to safely contain their sexual impulses or to remain widows in order to preserve their children's patrimony from stepfathers. Yet Conger's own research shows that women's decision to remarry was largely informed by their wealth, the age of their children, and their locale (widows in the Chesapeake and South Carolina were far more likely to remarry than those in Massachusetts). The relationship between the advice literature and remarriage patterns is not precisely clear in this instance. Overall, however, Conger finds that there were few striking regional differences between the north and the south.

Women who resisted the advice to marry often had to struggle with the court system to obtain the autonomy that widowhood could offer. Competing demands

of male property holders, their widows, and their children reveal the patriarchal and paternalistic bent of colonial courts. Nonetheless, some widows did manage to wrest more than the bare minimum of their "dower" and "widow's thirds" from their husbands' estates.

Widows' practices in their neighborhood communities—petitioning, acting as informal arbiters, dispensing charity—were indications of their participation in a larger political community. Conger's argument that widows were both constrained by a prescriptive literature insisting that "an ideal widow lived a solitary, private life" (p. 111) and at the same time important members of a Habermasian public sphere through their self-consciously humble petitions is somewhat contradictory. Nonetheless, Conger's convincing quantitative evidence indicates that women's legacies to other women, and particularly to other widows, created a strong female network that was influential, if not "political."

The most compelling parts of the book show the ways that widows turned their "mite" into "might." When widows themselves became testators, they had the power to make decisions that affected the next generations. In several intriguing examples, Conger demonstrates the changes widows made to their husbands' last wishes. By privileging some children over others (particularly widows' own children over stepchildren), "colonial widows often stepped in to construct and restrict the family structure as they saw fit" (pp. 100–101). These colonial widows continued their husbands' practices of favoring sons over daughters, but they were far more likely to leave bequests to their daughters. In one of her boldest claims, Conger suggests that the result of more women receiving inheritances was to give women increasing authority in their families throughout the eighteenth century. Widows' legacies not only "subtly and unintentionally changed the character of American families" but also pushed later generations of northern fathers as well as mothers to leave equal amounts to their sons and daughters (p. 106), upending nearly two hundred years of male favoritism.

The work on widows and economic activity has seen a recent resurgence of interest. Conger's original contribution to this literature is not in her explanation of widows' livelihoods, but in her explanation of widows' economic activity after their death. As widows participated in the world of credit and debt, their economic networks were often primarily female. As a result, widows used their wills to pay off or forgive debts. Widows' final testaments were more than vehicles for the orderly transfer of property. Women used them to reshape the lives they had lived and to fashion new worlds for the future, and Conger's sustained attention to these wills testifies to their creative powers.

SERENA R. ZABIN  
*Carleton College*

ERAN SHALEV. *Rome Reborn on Western Shores: Historical Imagination and the Creation of the American Re-*

public. (Jeffersonian America.) Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2009. Pp. xiii, 311. \$45.00.

Eran Shalev's book is a fascinating and sophisticated study of the American founders' relationship with the ancient Romans and what it reveals about their historical consciousness. Not content to provide powerful additional support for the view that the Greek and Roman classics were crucial to the American Revolution, imbuing its leaders with courage derived from a strong sense of purpose and furnishing the thirteen colonies with a unifying ideology and vocabulary, Shalev blazes new trails, arguing persuasively that the founders' classical references reflected conceptions of time and history that were very different from our own. He demonstrates that the Roman world was ever present to the founders with a vividness that is now difficult to appreciate. When Joseph Warren donned a toga to deliver a speech commemorating the Boston Massacre, when Mercy Otis Warren wrote plays in which contemporary American political figures were given Roman names and set in a Roman context, and when pamphlet and newspaper writers employing a wide range of classical pseudonyms engaged in rhetorical exchanges that utilized the historical details of their conflicting Roman personae, they expressed a profound sense not merely of the continued relevance of the ancients to modern concerns but of their continued presence in almost tangible form. Not only did the distinction between past and present nearly vanish in such moments, but so did that between various eras of the past. The founders' references often combined Greeks and Romans from diverse periods, the British Whigs, and themselves into a single unit. This refusal to make distinctions now central to academic historiography was rarely the result of ignorance; more frequently, it was the product of a way of thinking about time that was directly opposed to the modern tendency to see history as a succession of isolated, discrete events.

Yet Shalev also demonstrates that while the American revolutionaries shared a penchant for conflating diverse eras and historical figures, they were divided by two competing conceptions of time. He distinguishes between New Englanders' typological view of history, in which America was a newer and better version of Rome destined to transcend the cycles of the past, and southerners' more classical conception, in which America was bound to fall as Rome had. (Even southern revolutionaries managed to maintain an optimistic tone despite this pessimistic view, however, since they located America's position at the rising portion of the historical cycle.) Not surprisingly, citizens of the middle states were split between the two conceptions. Shalev is mindful of exceptions to these regional generalizations, of course. For instance, John Adams was more pessimistic than most of his fellow New Englanders during the revolutionary era, though even Adams was more optimistic at that time than he later became.

Indeed, Shalev contends that during the constitutional period, many of the formerly millennialist New

Englanders sank into a pessimism that eventuated in the same classical, cyclical conception of history as that espoused by their southern brethren. During the constitutional debates, New England Federalists were as apt as southern Antifederalists to express the fear that the American republic would join its Roman model on the ash heap of history, although each faction proposed different causes for the impending decline.

Shalev's excellent epilogue reveals that while it is difficult for modern Americans to appreciate the depth of the founders' identification with ancient Rome, we have not lost completely their fear of decline and, thus, their belief in the cyclical nature of history. He notes that the enduring Cincinnatus and Caesar tropes in American political rhetoric presuppose a cyclical view: even a Cincinnatus can only delay a republic's inevitable decline, and a Caesar can only destroy a destructible entity. Shalev's concluding passage detailing the lengthy history of American longing for a Cincinnatus and dread of a Caesar, from the days of George Washington and Alexander Hamilton to those of Wesley K. Clark and George W. Bush, is a tour de force, compressing in twenty pages of lucid prose a wealth of impressive research and intriguing insights. Shalev uncovers a fascinating combination of continuity and change in the characteristics of American nominees for the titles of Cincinnatus and Caesar. While American Cincinnati are still revered for their martial prowess and their willingness to surrender power and American Caesars are still lambasted for their ambition and their lust for power, the Cincinnati of modern, urban America have been divorced from their agrarian roots.

In making a persuasive case for its provocative thesis, Shalev's work constitutes an original and significant contribution to the study of the influence of the Greek and Roman classics on the American founders. Even those who disagree with the book's thesis will find a treasure trove of solid research, trenchant observations, and lucid writing within its pages.

CARL J. RICHARD

*University of Louisiana at Lafayette*

GORDON S. WOOD *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789–1815*. (The Oxford History of the United States.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. xix, 778. \$35.00.

In this book Gordon S. Wood puts republican ideology front and center (seven of nineteen chapters have "republican" or "republicanism" in the title) and ties it fast to a social interpretation of revolutionary "transformation" from a traditional to a middling, democratic, capitalist order. Readers familiar with Wood will recognize his signal style and interpretations. A "social struggle" between middling sorts and gentry that was "real" but not class warfare translated into the battles between the Jeffersonian Republicans and the Federalists during these years. The democratization of politics and culture was the outcome, one that disappointed some of those who participated in those battles, especially the Fed-



eralists. They nevertheless could point to a more unified nation and a national economy as a result of their efforts.

Wood is at his most insightful in dealing with the Founders and with broad trends in thought. He has sympathy for both sides of the partisan battles and loves nothing better than to depict ironic policy outcomes of ideological predilections. Familiar sound bites take on new resonance (which is fortunate, because Wood quotes Thomas Jefferson 162 times by my count). For example, the question of war is artfully blended into his discussions of Federalist and Jeffersonian political economy. Alexander Hamilton's "Walpolean" vision of an elite-led, European-style empire had at its core the need to fund inevitable wars; Jefferson and James Madison looked so ideologically toward free-trade, minimal government, and a peaceful future that they were willing to suspend trade and then fight the War of 1812 to preserve that vision. Much of this is reminiscent of the still useful shorter narratives in the *New American Nation* series (John C. Miller, *The Federalist Era, 1789–1801* [1960]; Marshall Smelser, *The Democratic Republic, 1801–1815* [1968]). There are provocative overview chapters on republican reform, culture, and religion, where Wood makes his case for evangelical religion as democratic, and the period's signature neoclassicism as a response to postrevolutionary demands that art be socially relevant. Two chapters at the center of the book interpret the decline and transformation of the common law and the rise of judicial review as responses to demands for popular sovereignty (written constitutions) and a check against democratic excesses (judges who pass on constitutionality, shielded from elections).

But problems arise with areas of inquiry that Wood cannot fit easily into his larger scheme. Expansion is described in terms of Federalist land speculations and Jeffersonian paeans to yeomanry, but is largely epiphenomenal (so despite the title, the book is not about empire). Similarly, slavery is segregated into a chapter that depicts slaveholders as reactionaries, and not capitalists. Uninterested in exploring coalitions, he implies consensus and repeatedly recurs to statements like "except in the South." Sentences dealing with Indians and slaves often begin with "of course," conveying the author's sense of these historical subjects as not characterized by complexity or unworthy of sustained attention, regardless of their numbers or impact on local or national affairs. Wood reminds readers that Jeffersonian planters' optimism about democracy derived from the deference they commanded at home, but he gives us a South without yeomen, a North without African Americans, and hardly a West at all. The only African Americans worthy of mention are clergymen Richard Allen and Andrew Bryan. They get a few paragraphs in the chapter on religion to illustrate how the conversion of whites led to the conversion of blacks. This is, to say the least, not the thrust of Richard S. Newman's recent biography of Allen, which Wood cites (*Freedom's Prophet: Bishop Richard Allen, the AME Church, and the Black Founding Fathers* [2008]). Similarly, in the same

chapter Wood cites Paul E. Johnson's *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815–1837* (1978) on rising evangelical Protestantism's compatibility with marketplace values, ignoring Johnson's emphasis on control of the working class. He also quotes Christine Leigh Heyrman's *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt* (1997) on evangelical concessions on slavery and gender equity while stating, contra Heyrman, that this slowed rather than solidified evangelism's hold in the South. The bibliographical essay is equally partial and misleading on work with which Wood disagrees. If this is professional synthesis, it is becoming a lost art—or a postmodern one, in which bricolage trumps forthright engagement.

It is difficult not to conclude that Wood has allowed his favorite sources—the splendid modern editions of the papers of the Founders, travelers' accounts, and pamphlets—to determine his perspective. One could do worse, but also better. If he had delved into the newspapers he tells us were of profound and increasing importance during the quarter-century under consideration, Wood's occasional asides about expansion, violence, and racism might have assumed the importance they deserve. He might even have detected some non-genteel ambivalence about capitalism. But perhaps not. Wood is committed to marrying elite and middling white men and women's outlook, and rhetoric, to reality; the larger the gap, the harder it is for him to explain either rhetoric or reality.

DAVID WALDSTREICHER  
Temple University

RICHARD W. JUDD. *The Untilled Garden: Natural History and the Spirit of Conservation in America, 1740–1840*. (Studies in Environment and History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 318. Cloth \$85.00, paper \$25.99.

Richard W. Judd offers an origin story for concerns with environmental stewardship in the United States that begins a century before George Perkins Marsh and John Muir. Judd argues that men who explored, described, and collected in the forests of eastern North America developed a distinctive understanding of the natural world that incorporated both the use values of particular plants, animals, and soils and the necessity of preserving ecosystems in and for themselves. In a study that is part collective biography and part history of ideas, he successfully reveals a shift in environmental beliefs from the assumption that forests were merely "wilderness" whose transformation into fields and gardens were the salutary effects of civilization to the recognition of the complex costs of such transformations.

Judd traces three braided arcs of change to make his case that convictions about environmental stewardship have deeper historical roots than historians commonly credit. The first arc describes changes in social relations among naturalists. In the middle of the eighteenth century, naturalists in eastern North America were few and fragmented, and largely dependent upon European pa-

tronage. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, increasing numbers of systematic collectors, like Thomas Nuttall and André Michaux, rambled through the forests east of the Mississippi River, assembling extensive natural histories of North American flora and fauna. Growing networks of naturalists, supported by growing public interest, generated the development of books and journals devoted to natural history, displays in museums and public gardens, and university positions. By 1840 American naturalists had become a genuine scientific community, one distinct from amateurs and increasingly specialized.

Judd's second arc examines changes in beliefs about the meaning of the natural history for American identity. Looking at debates about the geological record, about relationships among mountains, rivers and forests, and about animal nature, Judd argues for a deepening insistence that the particularities of the American natural world affirmed a national destiny that was under God's guidance. Coupled with this providential reading of the landscape was an increasing concern with "balance of nature." Naturalists came to believe that, if "all nature was a reflection of God's benevolence, then thoughtless destruction was a form of desecration" (p. 213).

Third, Judd reflects upon the ways in which the coupling of Romanticism with the transformation of natural history into a modern science complicated previous beliefs about the value of "improvement." As wild nature became a site for contemplation of the divine, the contemplation of mountainsides denuded of forests or soils depleted by careless husbandry raised questions about the benefits of unrestrained destruction of the wild. Questions about the effects of wilderness on climate and on human health, long thought to have been settled in the negative, were reopened. Thus, Judd argues, by 1840 science and Romanticism "laid the groundwork for modern conservation thinking" (p. 248).

Judd's purpose in telling this story, however, is to do more than fill in a gap in the historical literature. This history of "America's search for meaning in nature" (p. 8) is intended explicitly to speak to contemporary Americans in "our new global circumstances" (p. 13). The natural histories developed by circa 1840 provided "the philosophic grounding of the spirit of conservation in America" rooted in "the balance of nature, the sublimity of the untilled landscape, and the intrinsic worth of every living creature" (p. 311). While Judd claims that here he is describing "*a people's* (italics mine) understanding of the natural environment" and "the idea of nature in *the American mind*" (p. 8), his historical actors were a specific swath of educated men with professional ambitions, aided by women who worked to make natural history central to the culture of educated people. But many people lived in eastern North America in this period whose understandings of nature, wild or otherwise, are not represented in his study. However sympathetic a reader may be to Judd's insistence that "all of nature is connected and that all Americans are

morally bound to maintain these connections" (p. 13), it is hard to see the grounds whereby the judgments of these particular men and women in the past are necessarily binding on us in the present.

This is a clearly argued monograph with well-told vignettes and abundant evidence. Scholars of natural history and of environmental history in the United States will find much of interest, and scholars of those fields in other places may find the book useful for comparisons. With its salutary concentration on the trans-Appalachian region at a time when that was the American "west," and its portrait of science that stresses its nature as a collective enterprise, this book would work well for undergraduates. Judd has made a fine contribution to this distinguished series.

SARA S. GRONIM  
Long Island University

BARBARA PENNER. *Newlyweds on Tour: Honeymooning in Nineteenth-Century America*. (Becoming Modern: New Nineteenth-Century Studies.) Hanover: University of New Hampshire Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 290. \$55.00.

In this book Barbara Penner examines not only the evolution of honeymooning over the course of the nineteenth century but also the ways in which American culture at large considered the practice. She skillfully weaves these two stories together and argues persuasively that honeymooning was more than a minor ritual. Different from our contemporary notion of honeymooning as a private get away, nineteenth-century honeymoons were public affairs. Travelers encountered, observed, and commented on bridal couples; advice columnists and fiction writers discussed them; artists painted them and the print media reproduced sketches of them for mass consumption. Penner accounts for what she claims was a "cultural overrepresentation" of honeymoons by arguing that bridal tours helped to articulate certain narratives that "were a key to modern American national identities: patriotic, memorial, conjugal, technological, romantic, religious, affective, and sexual" (p. 19). The numerous representations of newlyweds—in fiction, art, advice literature, and the popular press—reveal, according to Penner, efforts to mediate between the carnal and sympathetic sentiments that these bridal couples presented. Penner's use of wide-ranging visual sources—from the paintings of Thomas Cole and Lily Martin Spencer to the drawings in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* and *Harper's Weekly*—offers particularly compelling evidence of the widespread visibility of honeymooners.

Penner dates the beginning of nineteenth-century honeymooning to the 1820s, when newlyweds began embarking on the "northern bridal tour." They followed a route similar to that of other early nineteenth-century tourists: up the Hudson River from New York City, often with a stop in the Catskills; on to Saratoga Springs or Lake George and Niagara Falls; across Lake Ontario and up the St. Lawrence to Montreal and Quebec City; back through either Vermont (Lake Cham-



plain) or New Hampshire (the White Mountains) on their way home. For newlyweds, the tour served a number of functions, namely giving the bride and groom time to adjust to each other and easing their transition to married life. At the same time, it engaged them in a larger civic process not dissimilar to that of other tourists. They visited important natural sites, public institutions, and historical markers not only to further their education but also as a way of affirming their roles as patriotic citizens of an emerging nation. Touring connected them as well with the "commercial and industrial development of the North." And since most traveled by railroad and steamboat, the experience was "fast, mechanical, and smooth." As a result, the honeymoon allowed many bridal couples to "[feel] modernity" for the first time (p. 52).

Honeymooning changed over the course of the century. While education and citizenship remained important, after the 1840s bridal couples increasingly looked to their honeymoons as a time for intimacy, sentiment, and romance. At the same time, these newlyweds became "sentimental sights in and of themselves" (p. 120). A perfect example was the appearance of sumptuous bridal suites constructed quite prominently in hotels and steamboats around mid-century. These palatial bridal chambers served to link sex, romance, and sentiment to consumer culture, encouraging "many kinds of appetites among newlyweds and onlookers alike" and entwining the desire "for sex" with the desire "for goods" (p. 155).

The blend of carnality and consumption that the bridal suites represented created its own sense of cultural disquiet. Those who observed honeymooners, critics warned, were enjoying an unwholesome, vicarious interest in the sexual life of the young couple. Reformers suggested alternative sorts of honeymoons that would avoid the pitfalls—for both the bridal couples and the onlookers—of the traditional northern bridal tour. Penner documents the emergence during the last quarter of the nineteenth century of back-to-nature honeymoons, where couples eschewed the palatial bridal chambers for opportunities to rough it. Physicians and members of the social purity movement encouraged the change, citing the health-giving benefits that nature and a more private experience offered to the newlyweds. Luxurious bridal suites certainly did not, disappear of course, and honeymooners continued to tour public sites and monuments. But during the late decades of the century the hotel industry was beginning to adapt to new demands—offering guests the option of individual cottages and European-plan dining to provide more opportunities for honeymooners to escape from public view. Yet even as the idea that honeymooners should opt for privacy became the standard, Penner reveals that the conflict between sentimental and sexual modes of viewing—and being viewed—persisted.

Penner concludes her analysis with a brief discussion of the honeymoon of famed African American writer and orator Frederick Douglass and his second wife, Helen Pitts, a white former hotel clerk. Doing so reveals

that Penner fully understands that the preceding chapters concern whites only. One wonders whether an attempt to include African American honeymooners—and the discourse about them—might have added an important dimension to the book. Still, Penner makes an excellent case for the ambiguous, changing, and critically important cultural role that honeymoons played in the nineteenth-century United States.

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MARK A. LAUSE. *The Antebellum Crisis and America's First Bohemians*. (Civil War in the North.) Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 181. \$45.00.

In this brief book Mark A. Lause details the rise of "America's first bohemians" in New York City prior to the Civil War. The first chapter examines Henry Clapp, an obscure one-time abolitionist and newspaperman who traipsed off to the World Temperance Convention in London in 1847 and remained abroad for half a decade. Having "come thoroughly to distrust conventional behavior" in New England, Clapp in Europe discovered "wonders unimaginable in the United States" (p. 10). This Puritan in Babylon immersed himself in the culture of tobacco, alcohol, coffee, and free sex increasingly available in Europe's cities. In modern parlance, Clapp in Paris shed his hang-ups, especially concerning marriage, which he called "the upshot and catastrophe of civilization" (p. 17).

In 1853 Clapp returned to America to preside over the rise of the "complex and easily misrepresented force" that Lause calls American bohemianism. The author explores the disparate people, elements and ideas that came together in New York around Clapp and bohemianism. These included loose associations like the self-styled "Grand Order of Recreation," which Clapp humorously characterized as "a secret society of people insidiously pursuing fun," the Long-Island-based utopian community Modern Times, the "Utopia on Broadway" found around the long table in Charles Pfaff's Restaurant and Lager Beer Saloon, the Free Love Club, and the Unitary Household project in communal living (p. 22).

Clapp and his entourage also entered the newsprint world with the *New York Saturday Post*, which enjoyed a weekly run in the late 1850s. The *Saturday Post* served as a mouthpiece for the bohemians' alternative political and literary views. Dedicated to unencumbered individual choice, personal freedom, and their expression in the arts, the *Saturday Post* offered a novel perspective on the New York scene, at once devoted to the arts and European affairs that spoke of a cosmopolitanism virtually unique in the nation until after World War I.

Bohemian notoriety came from exposés in the *New York World* and *New York Tribune* that recounted their sexual transgressions. For the readers of the popular press the bohemians were immoralists corrupting the moral ecology of America. Alcohol, coffee, smoking,

and even sympathizing with foreign “red republicans” might be objectionable but hardly sold newspapers or stirred moral outrage. Sex did that. The bohemians were not shy about their contempt for convention. The overlap of bohemia and the theater crowd, which long had a connection to the street and served as a challenge to conventional mores, the prominence of actresses and various women at Pfaff’s and at other public places combined with their very public rejection of marriage and embrace of at least the principles of free love ensured that bohemia would become a byword for sexual license. For some bohemia represented the entering wedge of anarchy and licentiousness, while for others, especially struggling writers and artistically inclined women, it promised liberation. These fearless, highly creative women and men “began a cultural transformation” (p. 43).

Lause struggles to identify the class components of a culture that Karl Marx ridiculed as utopian and that Vladimir Lenin clearly despised as the very antithesis of proletarian aestheticism. Using the notion of “knights of the quill” (p. 64), the author nicely suggests that bohemians in Europe and New York constituted a class in E. P. Thompson’s sense of sharing an ideology. They proved acutely alienated from and critical of existing institutions and incipiently challenged the political and economic order. Bohemianism attracted a mix of middle-class drop outs, struggling workers at the bottom of the emerging world of print and popular culture, along with well-to-do women such as Ada Clare, who challenged the social standards of the day even while enjoying a largesse provided by a South Carolina trust fund. Readers might be frustrated with the lack of definitional rigor, yet Lause employs a light touch, deftly handling a nebulous subject without being needlessly reductive.

Readers might fault the author for not exploring his subject more thoroughly in such a brief book. When Thomas Wentworth Higginson immodestly praises a Clapp speech as having done “more than anything else to make me at least half-way socialist for life,” or when the author identifies Clapp’s “Modern Christianity” as a work of singular importance, the reader wonders why he tells us nothing about the contents of either. A hundred pages later, the author offers no textual analysis of the political commentary in the *Saturday Post*. Despite the fact that Lause describes his subjects as “some of the best and most creative minds” in the nation, he offers no rational reconstruction of bohemians’ political and social writing (p. 63). Certainly a greater exploration of the relationship of “red republicanism” of the international type with the Republican Party to which many bohemians ultimately gave allegiance might have been helpful.

PETER S. FIELD  
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ROBERT S. LEVINE. *Dislocating Race and Nation: Episodes in Nineteenth-Century American Literary Nation-*

*alism*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. x, 322. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$21.95.

Robert S. Levine attempts to reproduce the instabilities of race, nation, transnationalism, and colonialism in the United States between 1799 and 1891. Beginning with Charles Brockden Brown’s nonfiction writings from the early 1800s and *Edgar Huntly, or, Memoirs of a Sleep-Walker* (1799), Levine argues that the instabilities of race and nation in the early republic are compounded, rather than resolved, in such mid-nineteenth-century works as Nathaniel Hawthorne’s *The House of the Seven Gables* (1851) and Herman Melville’s *Pierre* (1852). The ambiguities of national and civic identity in the nineteenth-century public sphere are even more obvious when such classics are read in conjunction with the African American nationalism of David Walker’s *Appeal* (1829), Hannah Crafts’s *The Bondwoman’s Narrative*, and Frederick Douglass’s writings on and diplomatic service in Haiti. Warning his colleagues that we should not impose our own presentist values on the past and insisting that race and nation remained thoroughly undecided as social categories in the nineteenth century, Levine proceeds to “undo” conventional understanding of how such notions served ruling class interests.

For Levine, the paradox of Walker’s *Appeal* is an early instance of a black nationalism that depends on its transnational sources and future coalitions. Reading against the grain of Douglass as U.S. nationalist, especially in his defense of the Constitution against William Lloyd Garrison, Levine recovers Douglass’s neglected writings on Haiti dating from the 1860s and his service as U.S. Minister to Haiti from 1889 to 1891. Douglass’s “hemispheric nationalism” represents how African American nationalism in the period often relied on transnational models. Levine is at his best when recovering the forgotten history of African American intellectuals, such as Walker and Douglass, and showing how they responded to specific domestic events motivating their transnational imaginations: for Walker, Denmark Vesey’s abortive slave insurrection and the Missouri Compromise; for Douglass, the implications of the Dred Scott decision for African American civil rights after emancipation.

Levine attempts to link too closely the “instabilities” of race and nation in the white, middle-class writers, such as Charles Brockden Brown, Hawthorne, and Melville with those represented by Walker, Douglass, and Crafts. Cheryl Walker in *Indian Nation: Native American Literature and Nineteenth-Century Nationalisms* (1997) and Anna Brickhouse in *Transamerican Literary Relations and the Nineteenth-Century Public Sphere* (2004) have argued that minoritized intellectuals in the period often had to draw on the rhetoric of U.S. nationalism in order to have any hope of appealing to a reading public committed to a national ideology. The situation is considerably different for Brown, Hawthorne, and Melville. Reading historically backward from Brown’s nonfiction writings advocating the acquisition of Louisiana Territory for “national security,”

Levine contends that Brown was not really a racist, as evidenced in his somewhat suspect "defense" of the Haitian revolutionaries who had ousted French imperialism from the island. From a Quaker family, Brown was explicitly opposed to slavery but no less imperialist in his advocacy of wresting Louisiana territory from France. Levine's counterfactual defense of Brown's "sympathy" for the Leni-Lenape in *Edgar Huntly* does not bear scrutiny of the options Brown gives us for indigeneity in the romance: brute savagery or assimilation. The frontier "Indian hater," we should remember, often identified intimately with his enemies. Hawthorne's treatment of family and national genealogies as "racial" in *The House of the Seven Gables* should only remind us of how often national affiliations were represented as "racial" heritages in U.S. and English literature of this period. There is certainly a deep racial unconscious in Hawthorne that should be treated in terms of the "Africanist presence" Toni Morrison has identified in classic American literature, but it cannot be said that the class conflict between the Pyncheons and the Maules in Hawthorne's melodrama does much to engage the more profound racial problems in nineteenth-century U.S. culture. Levine is right that Melville's *Pierre* was influenced by Hawthorne's genealogical fantasy, but Melville satirized Hawthorne's high drama of property ownership in a small New England town by reminding us that the real "landowners" are the dispossessed Native Americans and African Americans exploited and murdered by the Glendinnings.

Levine's claims to "dislocate" otherwise settled notions of racial and national ideology in nineteenth-century U.S. culture have oddly ahistorical consequences. This work reminds me of efforts to deconstruct literary and cultural conventions. Too often Levine's committed historicism lends itself to counterfactual conclusions. What if Brown were not really an early advocate of U.S. expansionism? What if Hawthorne were not really as racist as his fiction and nonfiction suggest? Treating Brown, Walker, Hawthorne, Melville, Crafts, and Douglass as if they were all uncertain about the meanings of race and nation strikes me as contrary to the common-sense distinctions scholars of the past twenty-five years have made among such writers. Their disagreements over these very issues tell us a great deal more about the different challenges these authors faced than the tacit agreement Levine imagines for them.

JOHN CARLOS ROWE  
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COREY D. B. WALKER. *A Noble Fight: African American Freemasonry and the Struggle for Democracy in America*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 288. \$45.00.

This book about the history of Masonry among nineteenth-century African American men is neither a general overview nor a carefully focused monograph. Rather Corey D. B. Walker's work ranges widely to

make the case that the fraternity helped African Americans both affirm American ideals of liberty and equality and challenge American realities that denied their ability to participate in those ideals fully. The result is valuable and challenging but uneven.

After an opening theoretical chapter on democracy and its difficulties, Walker examines African American Freemasonry at home and abroad before the end of the Civil War. He first notes the adaptation of the European fraternity to the African American experience. Many early black brothers were initiated outside of the United States—and they were forced to seek official sanction from Britain because white Americans refused to accept their claim to fraternity. These broader connections, along with Masonry's cosmopolitan ideals, offered African American brothers a "supranational citizenship" that both placed them within the nation and gave them a place beyond it from which they could criticize it (p. 48). Referring to racial difference even when the issue was not raised directly, Masonic rituals became "rituals of race" (p. 48).

Walker argues that nineteenth-century African Americans used Freemasonry to think about the nation and how they fit within it. He first notes a stray allusion in the trial transcripts of Gabriel's Rebellion in which a participant refers to the conspiracy as a "free-mason society" (p. 96). He then suggests that Gabriel's exhortation to his followers not to kill the French may indicate that he perhaps spread his plans through French Masonic networks. Walker also discusses *Blake, or the Huts of America* (1859–1862), an early African American novel by the Freemason Martin Delany about a revolutionary who used local groups to prepare for a slave insurrection. Walker argues that the title character uses Masonic "methods and character" and that the "huts" of the title were similar to Masonic lodges (p. 111). Finally, Walker turns to the experience of Jefferson Lodge, a group of African Americans who first met in Charlottesville, Virginia, in 1869, noting its decisions to honor Thomas Jefferson in its name and to lend lodge funds to members, a practice that Walker reads as a sort of economic nationalism.

Jefferson Lodge serves as the focus of the second half of Walker's book. The group (which still exists today) included among its wide-ranging membership many key figures in Charlottesville's African American leadership, such as the ministers of both of the town's major African American churches and a man who became a traveling fundraiser for the Hampton Institute. Examining the lodge minute book, local newspapers, and Masonic addresses, Walker uncovers some interesting activities. Not only did the lodge perform cornerstone ceremonies for local churches, but its members also helped sponsor concerts by a locally based group modeled on the Fisk Jubilee Singers and organized a country fair featuring black-made products.

Walker's concern, however, is less the specific actions of Jefferson Lodge than the larger meanings of African American Freemasonry and its relationship to American ideals. The lodge, he argues, sought to "redeem the

black body" by promoting a physical representation of African American men that distinguished them from slaves—an argument that surely needs to consider the imminent arrival of Jim Crow restrictions (p. 132). Membership also helped brothers assert masculinity and respectability, qualities conventionally limited to whites. For African Americans, Walker concludes, Masonry was "a political weapon" (p. 218).

This argument that Masonry provided both a means of celebrating ideals and challenging the ways they were put into practice is not entirely new—Walker surprisingly does not note that the point has often been made about the black church—but has never been argued at such length or with such vigor. The book is at its best when it can match specifics to its broad claims, as in discussing the lending of lodge funds, a relatively common Masonic practice that had particular significance after the Civil War. Some may find the discussions of high theory less enlightening, especially when the author's concept of "A/democracy" is discussed at length in the first chapter but completely ignored afterward or when such ideas are expressed in often-leaden prose where at one point a speech "gestures toward a logic" (pp. 37, 25). Others may find the book's grasp on specifics sometimes shaky. Delany's term "huts," for example, refers simply to slave cabins, and French lodges largely made up of men who had fled the Haitian slave revolt seem unlikely sources of encouragement for Gabriel's similar plans. Still, future discussions of African American Masonry will need to grapple with Walker's often compelling case.

STEVEN C. BULLOCK  
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ROBERT E. MCGLONE. *John Brown's War against Slavery*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 451. \$35.00.

John Brown has taken on many guises in American history: madman, religious fanatic, revolutionary hero, Christian martyr, terrorist, and chronic failure. Robert E. McGlone dissects and dismisses all these shopworn theories and constructs a "normative" account of Brown's story. Analysis, however, dominates narrative in the book—clearly McGlone's intent. He engages other historians' sources and theories, particularly Stephen Oates's rightly praised biography. Although his eagerness to enter into argument and minutiae mar the narrative flow in several sections, McGlone's judgments are always sound and supported by first-class research. He is a master at illustrating how cherished arguments have their roots in flawed sources distorted by both the passage of time and authors' agendas.

The book is particularly strong on Brown's actions in Kansas, especially the cold-blooded slaughter led by Brown of five proslavery men at Pottawatomie in 1856. While Kansas transformed Brown and confirmed his identity as a warrior against slavery, McGlone shows Brown's path to Pottawatomie to be rooted in relatively prosaic forces. McGlone normalizes Brown, observing

that "secular concerns largely shaped his day-to-day life" (p. 8). His ideology was based in social experience and events, not in the religious fantasies depicted by Oates.

Nor was Brown a chronic failure or a victim of a life filled with personal frustration. He was the head of a proud and extended, in fact enormous, family. Events that threatened this family brought him to Kansas, not grand designs, delusions, or desperation. Brown went to Kansas after a call went out to him from his sons that proslavery forces had made raids on Free State settlements and initiated violence. Once there, to help protect his son's families, he engaged in a "preemptive strike in a clan vendetta" at Pottawatomie that eventually gave him a new identity as a guerilla leader in the slavery war (p. 128). Neither his religion nor his mental state, but rather events and his social experience, led him to his role as a warrior against slavery and the ideology that supported it.

McGlone also breaks new ground by taking Brown seriously as a man of words as much as of action. He examines many of Brown's underappreciated documents, many of which he is the first to analyze and discuss. This analysis pays dividends in explaining Brown's actions during the raid at Harpers Ferry. Those aims were more political than military (p. 221). At Harpers Ferry, Brown wanted to make his "presence known and his name feared." He lingered at the arsenal and sacrificed military success for propaganda and political effect (p. 249). Generating terror among slaveholders and achieving maximum visibility for his actions were his main goals (p. 280). Brown was an expert at propaganda and had been exploiting newspaper coverage for years in the aftermath of Kansas. He did so brilliantly again after his capture, when he recreated himself as a Christian martyr. That role often conflicted with his original plan of generating terror. McGlone makes it clear that Brown had a plan but, as in Kansas, was ready to adjust to and exploit events. This included the reshaping of the meaning of his own attack at Harpers Ferry.

McGlone's book is the new gold standard of Brown scholarship. But it is unlikely to banish Brown the madman or religious fanatic from popular imagination. Brown the secular, clan-oriented propagandist does not so neatly lead to a myth that sustains a cause. But even McGlone admits that Brown did take on one last role that fits one of the myths: that of the prophet. Brown's last words—that slavery would only be purged "with Blood"—presaged the Civil War and close McGlone's book. Here, the "normal" Brown succeeds again by making "war thinkable" for masses in the North perhaps not that different from him (p. 328).

JOHN PATRICK DALY  
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JUDITH GIESBERG. *Army at Home: Women and the Civil War on the Northern Home Front*. (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 232. \$35.00.



Despite the oceans of publications about the Civil War, few have examined the lives of ordinary northern women. Even as historians branched out to study the social history of the war, they tended to write about women who were nurses, aid workers, or soldiers disguised as men. Yet this has begun to change in the last few years. Judith Giesberg's book, along with Nina Silber's *Daughters of the Union: Northern Women Fight the Civil War* (2005), analyzes the experiences of northern women during the Civil War and seriously addresses issues of gender.

Describing her work as a "recovery process" for the stories of working-class women during the Civil War, Giesberg mines local and state documents such as petitions to governors and almshouse records to see how such women fared. Insisting on their agency, she examines the ways they dealt with communities that were often suspicious of their attempts to make local and state officials help them in the absence of soldier husbands.

Unlike Silber's overview, Giesberg's account somewhat episodically presents case studies about women in a variety of important though relatively little-studied topics. Her first chapter, the only one focused on rural women, shows how many combined support from local authorities with that from kin to keep farms and families functioning. The records of relief agencies and almshouses allow her in the second chapter to illustrate how women relied upon these institutions as they lost the support of husbands and fathers away in the army. As the war dragged on, towns and states used a variety of incentives to lure men to military service, offering not only bounties but in some cases payments to wives and children. Because these payments came from localities, women who moved across state or even town lines found themselves ineligible for aid. Indeed, Giesberg uses telling anecdotes, such as the tribulations of Margaret Malloy, whose husband enlisted in New Hampshire while the family lived in Massachusetts, to show the difficulties women encountered when dealing with nineteenth-century bureaucracies.

Giesberg's final four chapters deal with women involved in protest and confrontation, either on labor issues or civil rights. These female protagonists, whether war workers (seamstresses and munitions manufacturers) or African American women fighting against segregated street cars, usually focused on issues of respect and compensation. The women cartridge makers at the Watertown Arsenal in Massachusetts, like female ordinance workers near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, challenged male superiors about safety violations and layoffs. After the draft riots in New York and Boston in 1863, Union quartermasters sought to discharge seamstresses who could not prove their loyalty. The sewing women fought back. While many seamstresses reacted by demonstrating their family loyalty as shown by the military service of male relatives, others criticized and attempted to circumvent policies that were not being applied to male civilian workers. A final chapter details the difficulties that mothers and wives faced in trying to

retrieve the bodies of their dead soldiers and the demands they made on the government to support these efforts.

Giesberg takes her title from a Civil War commentator who applied the term "the army at home" to women because of their work in support of the military (p. 163). This choice seems somewhat ironic since the author focuses on women who, in her view, were at best lukewarm toward the war's prosecution because of the dislocations and losses it caused them. Here she seems motivated, at least in part, by recent historical accounts of southern women, which argue that the activities of this latter group disrupted the war effort and contributed to the defeat of the Confederacy. Yet in reaction to this implicit comparison, some readers may decide that demanding one's rights from a government does not necessarily mean opposition to its goals.

Relying on extensive, detailed research, Giesberg tells her story with clarity and verve. Even though the activities and beliefs of rural northern women merit still greater attention, this book goes far toward reminding us that the forgotten women who sewed the uniforms and made the munitions used in the war also felt that they sacrificed much, perhaps too much.

JANE TURNER CENSER  
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CLARA SUE KIDWELL. *The Choctaws in Oklahoma: From Tribe to Nation, 1855–1970*. Foreword by LINDSAY G. ROBERTSON. (American Indian Law and Policy Series, number 2) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2007. Pp. xix, 320. \$34.95.

Native American history has changed dramatically over the past twenty years, with Native scholars providing new and illuminating insights through critical analysis, decolonizing methodologies, the use of oral traditions, and the incorporation of indigenous ways of knowing. In her new book, however, Clara Sue Kidwell has produced a historical narrative more reminiscent of the past.

Kidwell reworks early twentieth-century historian Angie Debo's *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (1934). By the standards of her day, Debo's work was cutting edge. In that era of racialized thinking, knowledge of the culture and belief systems of Native people was deemed unnecessary; it was universally accepted that "primitive" social beliefs had minimal relevance to historical inquiry. These early historians focused on so-called elites, as does Kidwell.

The basic framework of Kidwell's work is colonialism as "progress." She argues that as early as 1820, Choctaw leaders, "having been civilized by missionaries," understood the significance of private property and were from that time forward able to force the U.S. government "to treat them as land holders on the same basis as American citizens" (p. xvi). This statement is just plain wrong. Just one decade later, the U.S. government forcibly expelled the Choctaws from their homelands, and eighty years after that the government uni-



laterally abrogated the Choctaw land patent, seized communal land holdings, and terminated the tribe itself—hardly the treatment undergone by white citizens and land holders.

Kidwell's unique and unsupported assertions are not limited to her descriptions of the Dawes era. In her discussion of U.S. Indian removal policy, she reduces Choctaw dispossession and expulsion from their homelands to a "conundrum" for the Choctaws, a simple choice between becoming "subject to state law" or "moving to the western lands to preserve their sovereignty" (p. xvi). This trivializes the monumental injustices of U.S. conquest and attributes the resulting thousands of Choctaw deaths to Choctaw "preference." Kidwell minimizes the dishonest tactics used by the United States to obtain this "removal" treaty by stating that "a small group of Choctaw leaders" signed a treaty in which "they agreed to move west" (xvi). John Marshall's notorious Supreme Court decision, *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831), which enshrined the concept of indigenous nations as "wards" of the U.S. government and thus set up two centuries of Native subjugation under U.S. law, is, to Kidwell, "a product of the fierce debate over states' rights and the power of the federal government in America" (p. xvi) and has nothing to do with "Indians." The American conquest and destruction of Native Americans which is at the heart of the dispossession and exile of the Choctaws and tens of thousands of Native peoples from around the country is thus summarily dismissed.

Aside from these problems in methodology and interpretation, the text is permeated with racialized thinking. Kidwell's Choctaws are "mixed-bloods" (progressive) and "full-bloods" (regressive). She reduces complex political struggles involving Choctaws of every hue to a racial binary: "tensions . . . between full-blood and mixed-blood elements" (p. 42). Modern scholarship has shown how these divisions were not based on "blood" but had their own internal and complex logic.

Finally, Kidwell asserts that, at the turn of the twentieth century, the Choctaws threw off all their traditions and belief systems and embraced predatory capitalism's ideals of "self-interest," "the importance of private property," and the commodification of land. The fundamental "source of Choctaw identity," Kidwell states, abruptly changed to the accumulation of "money." "Choctaws had learned the importance of private property and self-interest," says Kidwell. "The traditional value of land as communal property was converted into the value of money. . . the value of community was converted to that of self-interest," she asserts (p. xviii). In this instance, and many others, the author makes the elementary error of inductive reasoning: her mixed-blood family's frantic quest for assimilation is assumed to represent all Choctaw people, which not only contradicts the historical evidence but also grossly distorts the historical record. Kidwell's work should be retitled as the story of a handful of assimilationist mixed-bloods, not a history of the Choctaw people of Oklahoma.

To say that Kidwell lags behind current scholarship is perhaps putting it too mildly. Kidwell asserts that a "key point" in "contemporary scholarship on the history of American Indians" is that they were "not passive victims of American colonization" (xviii). While one would certainly agree that earlier scholars shifted the paradigm of Indian victimization to one of Indian agency, this revelation is now some forty years old.

Leading Indigenous scholarship in the twenty-first century has advanced the framework and structure of historical inquiry to include critical analysis of the historical record in terms of colonization, human rights, and decolonization of American history. Monographs that simply reify old stereotypes and tired celebratory interpretations of Native subjugation and U.S. tyranny have become obsolete.

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JILL ST. GERMAIN. *Broken Treaties: United States and Canadian Relations with the Lakotas and the Plains Cree, 1868–1885*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2009. Pp. xxvi, 450. \$60.00.

Jill St. Germain seeks to refine and expand upon her earlier work in this follow up to *Indian Treaty Making in the United States and Canada, 1867–1877* (2004). Moving from policy concerns to the nature of Indian-Euro-American interactions that resulted in the Second Treaty of Ft. Laramie between Lakotas and the United States (1868) and Treaty Number 6 between Plains Crees and Canada (1876), St. Germain places people at the center of her narrative and challenges established historical interpretations that she refers to as the "broken treaties tradition." In the United States, this is framed by open acknowledgment of the federal government's failure to live up to its promises and treaty obligations, which has led many to read history backward and cast a pall of inevitability over narratives by defining the treaty-making process as fatally doomed even before it began. Furthermore, it diminishes Native agency by claiming that Indians did not fully understand the Western process of treaty making. In Canada, a century of denial about the true nature of relations with indigenous peoples served to glorify imperial history by claiming a mythical northern superiority in honoring treaty obligations: pointing to a paucity of nineteenth-century warfare as evidence of Canadian honor and morality in Indian relations, Canadians favorably contrasted their history with that of the United States. However, in order to do so, they had to define the Métis uprising (in which Plains Crees participated) as an aberration rooted in Indian savagery. Finally confronted in the 1980s, this racist, self-serving narrative of denial was replaced with a new orthodoxy that excoriated Canadian actions and minimized Native agency and the treaty making process in its own way. Scholars now accused Canada of using Cree efforts to gain better treaty terms as an excuse to subjugate them during the Métis

Rebellion; Cree treaty negotiations simply became stage dressing for Canadian aggression. St. Germain rejects the determinism of the broken treaty tradition on both sides of the forty-ninth parallel. In so doing, she aims to enhance Native agency and provide a corrective to the literature by investigating the negotiations and early implementation of these two treaties by all concerned parties. She has chosen Second Ft. Laramie and Number Six for their infamy as case examples of broken treaties, for their mutual inability to stave off major impending wars, and as avenues for seeking deeper meaning through a transnational comparison.

The thrust of St. Germain's narratives have been told before by many previous scholars, particularly with reference to Lakota-U.S. relations. Readers well versed in these narratives will not find much new on that count. However, such is not the author's goal. Rather, St. Germain makes a solid contribution to the literature by adding new understanding to these two historical episodes. She makes convincing arguments by casting Native participation in treaty negotiation and implementation on its own terms, and she successfully draws important parallels between Lakota and Cree experiences, elucidating fundamental traits in the colonial interactions between expanding settler empires and independent, migratory Indigenous nations of the northern plains/prairie region. At the same time, she outlines important historical differences stemming from differentials in power among Lakotas and Crees. Likewise, St. Germain illustrates the similarities in American and Canadian approaches to colonial expansion while avoiding the temptation to paint with too broad a brush, and pointing out crucial differences born from different demographics, economies, histories, and nuanced policy constructions.

In terms of methodology, there is room for more complexity in this book. While St. Germain works through a nice assortment of primary sources overall, she nevertheless shows a proclivity for frequently building a narrative to a large degree around just one set of primary documents at a time, with only minor augmentation from other collections. Richer narratives might have been constructed had she woven together a wider array of sources simultaneously. Likewise, a fuller engagement with the extant literature on these well-documented topics would have been welcome, as would have a stricter adherence to the Chicago citation format, particularly in creating fuller footnotes when initially citing a source. But these detractions aside, the book is a strong piece of scholarship that joins the recent work of Jeffrey Ostler, David G. McCrady, and others in enhancing our historical understanding of a period and topic that has long been studied but frequently misinterpreted.

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ERIC V. MEEKS. *Border Citizens: The Making of Indians, Mexicans, and Anglos in Arizona*. Austin: University of

Texas Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 326. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$24.95.

A significant contribution that Spanish Borderlands history has made to American historiography is its ability to provide a different historical context for discussions of race and ethnicity. Seeing how "Indians," "Mexicans," and "Anglos" encountered and defined one another has deepened our understanding about how racial-ethnic identities are historically constructed in particular places and times, but few works have investigated these issues as thoroughly and provocatively as Eric V. Meeks's well-written book. Meeks argues that the history of Arizona followed a dualistic process whereby the establishment of an Anglo political economy and "the ways in which race, ethnicity shaped labor markets, defined citizenship criteria, and inscribed national boundaries" were constantly challenged by people of indigenous and Mexican descent through resistant adaptation, the "unanticipated, resilient, and sometimes defiant ways in which people adapt to impositions by those in power" (p. 4). Meeks's work is not merely a discussion of subordinate, subaltern resistance to a dominant political economy; rather, by examining race and ethnicity from the 1880s to roughly the 1980s he points to the tension and complexity of identity formation by Native Americans and peoples of Mexican descent. For example, in the 1960s a group calling itself the Pascua Yaquis requested federal recognition as Native Americans with rights to establish a reservation, even though the majority of Yaqui spoke Spanish or Yaqui, had adapted "Mexican" cultural practices and kinship ties, occupied similar socioeconomic spaces with Mexicans and Mexican Americans, and resisted being identified as Native American. By examining inter-, intra-ethnic, and racial tensions, Meeks forces readers to question their assumptions about what constitutes "Anglo," "Indian," and "Mexican" identities in the twentieth century.

Meeks interlinks the issues of labor and economic development with shifting ideas of cultural citizenship. In the first chapter, he examines how emerging "boundaries of race, class, culture and language would determine who would have access to resources, who could work where, who could join craft unions, who would be accepted as first- or second-class citizens and who would be excluded from citizenship altogether" (p. 17). Meeks's discussion of Arizona's developing political economy into the twentieth century is clearly and convincingly argued, particularly with regard to how racial inequality was ascribed to and defined by specific ethnic and racial groups. Rather than grouping Native Americans into one monolithic unit, Meeks's specific treatment of Tohono O'odham, Yaqui, Pima, Maricopa, Opata, Navajo, and Hopi peoples provides an understanding of the shifts within identity and social status of all these groups in response to the developing Anglo elite. In eight chapters, Meeks describes Arizona's agricultural beginnings, the arrival of railroads and extractive mining, the growth of federal agencies, the mi-

gration and immigration of numerous peoples, and how Anglo elites intruded into the lives of various minority groups in a measured, well-paced narrative covering the century-long time frame. In Meeks's analysis, however, the construction of "Anglo" and "Mexican" are equally nuanced, and *which* Anglos rise to power and solidify the emerging racial order is important to understanding the construction of cultural citizenship for the other groups.

In his discussion of "Mexican" identity, Meeks clearly defines and describes the differences between being a Mexican American and a Mexican immigrant and explains how Mexican American elites in the nineteenth century colluded with Anglo-American elites to shape the economic and racial order of Arizona. By the twentieth century, closing racial ranks excluded Mexican Americans from obtaining any form of equality with whites. Over time, Native Americans, Mexican Americans, and Mexican immigrants inhabited the same socioeconomic spaces, fostering ethnic and class tensions but also fomenting deep social and cultural ties and practices that supported the redefining of "Mexican" and "Indian" identities in the 1960s as the Chicano movement and an indigenous peoples' movement embracing ideas of cultural *mestizaje* began to challenge Arizona's racial elites.

Precisely because Meeks incorporates such a variety of ethnic and racial groups, the strength of his book lies not in its "thick description" of any, or all, of these groups but in how he places them in relation to each other. By not giving primacy to any ethnic/racial group and by utilizing the scholarship of Native American, Borderlands, Chicana/o, labor, and race studies, Meeks reveals how complex cultural citizenship and nation building have been in Arizona's past, and from this remarkable work we can only surmise that it will continue to be so in the future.

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DANIEL E. BENDER. *American Abyss: Savagery and Civilization in the Age of Industry*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 329. \$39.95.

It is difficult to overestimate the effect that Charles Darwin's theory of evolution had on educated people. The scientific method had made it possible to understand the enormous diversity of the natural world over time. Surely it would be possible to do the same for humanity? Daniel E. Bender sets out to understand how evolution influenced American scholars, writers, and activists from the 1880s to the 1920s.

This book is less an intellectual history of what philosopher Daniel Dennett termed "Darwin's dangerous idea" than an intellectual history of pseudo-science. Bender surveys the enthusiastic application and proliferation of Social Darwinist ideas. A stunningly wide variety of academics, novelists, reformers, and revolutionaries borrowed evolutionary ideas or, more often,

evolutionary language in order to attempt to understand the laws of development of human history. Those laws would allow human beings to connect the past and present, to understand American society in relationship to long-gone cavemen or still-existing nomadic, agricultural, or hunting and gathering societies. Bender finds that efforts to contrast the past, present, and future of humanity generally confirmed their authors' biases, weaving into evolutionary language the rhetoric of civilization and savagery.

Invariably, observers of social life in postbellum America and Europe firmly believed that their society was the pinnacle of human achievement, the culmination of millennia of social and industrial evolution. That the Anglo-Saxons and Teutonic "races" had created the most advanced societies was self-evident proof of the law of the survival of the fittest. Yet everywhere were those who threatened the survival of civilization: the poor, immigrants, and legions of others. In the 1880s and 1890s, social scientists believed that southern blacks and American Indians would disappear, more self-evident proof that society proceeded along evolutionary lines. Likewise, Europeans' conquest of Africa and Asia helped "prove" that the industrial societies came from advanced racial stock.

But what happened when white men went to the tropics and "degenerated?" What were the implications of the military victory of Japan over Russia in 1904? What would happen to white society if larger numbers of Asian immigrants emigrated to the United States and further undermined white workers? Would not such an invasion supplant the racial basis of industrial society and the ideal of progress? The need to defend civilization from the forces of disorder, so often understood in racial terms, animated both defenders of Jim Crow and the leading lights of the Socialist Party.

This book explores "the motivations and tensions behind efforts to confront the problem of . . . the survival of the unfit" (p. 10). Bender reveals the organic connections among "different [social, political and intellectual] movements as they struggled to adapt their politics not only to the social reality of industrial America but also to changing scientific understandings" (p. 10). In the end, the discovery of genetics and its role in natural life undermined the liberal and radical reformers and gave rise to the application of eugenics as a solution to social problems.

Bender does an excellent job in tracing the myriad applications of pseudo-evolutionary thought. It deeply influenced how radicals, reformers, and conservatives understood not only the industrial workplace but also the woman question as well as the role of immigration in American society and world history. Evolution seemingly justified Jim Crow and the European and American acquisition of empires.

The unity of knowledge, from natural history to human society, led many from Darwin and natural selection to Herbert Spencer and survival of the fittest. That led to the host of phrenologists, racist social scientists, charlatans, socialists, industrialists, and imperial enthu-

siasts who applied their notions in every direction. Evolution puts us on a slippery slope that leads us to eugenics, National Socialism, and, in turn, Charles Murray and his *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life* (1994). Thus this intellectual history does double duty as warning to those members of the academy who might seek to apply evolution to the past and present of humanity. That serious thinkers in our time could do so, and not be racist, does not fit within Bender's framework. Yet they exist.

One wishes that Bender drew a more careful distinction between scientific and pseudo-scientific ideas. A reader would not guess that Darwin was a meticulous scholar; nor that he advocated the fundamental unity of the human race. A clearer understanding of evolution would have allowed the reader to understand why Darwin was right and so many who sought to invoke him were not. Bender suggests that Darwin's ideas are dangerous because they are powerful and susceptible to misuse. But Darwin's ideas remain revolutionary because they are deceptively simple, challenge our deeply held assumptions, and remain relevant as a theory to guide research on microbes, plants, animals, and even humans in the past and present.

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JOHN P. ENYEART. *The Quest for "Just and Pure Law": Rocky Mountain Workers and American Social Democracy, 1870–1924*. (Social Science History.) Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 326. \$65.00.

This paradigmatic case study of labor politics packs an unexpected interpretive wallop. For those excited by the late nineteenth-century rise of the Knights of Labor but disappointed by the quick collapse of a visionary labor movement into the business-unionist model of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), John P. Enyeart offers (at least temporarily) bracing advice: look West, old man!

Tracking the complex history of labor conflicts, organization, and political ideas of the larger Rocky Mountain region from the era of the Knights to that of the prewar Socialists, Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), and Non-Partisan League, Enyeart discovers a lost world of "social democracy"—a deeper, more powerful, and longer-lasting tradition of class-based politics than anywhere else in the country. Led by a succession of both hard-rock and coal miner union launching pads, Rocky Mountain workers "earned the nation's highest real wages in the country, obtained the first constitutionally recognized eight-hour-day laws for private employees, and rejected affiliation with the American Federation of Labor (AFL), instead creating their own regional labor federations: the Western Labor Union (WLU) and the American Labor Union (ALU)" (pp. 5–6). A phalanx of heretofore little-known regional labor editor-leaders like the Knights' Joseph Buchanan and Non-Partisan Leaguer-cum-Communist William

Dunne serve as prime architects of a self-conscious "progressive unionism" that, for Enyeart, offers the strongest U.S. equivalent of European social democracy. And, unlike the merely new-liberal progressivism associated with the era's "middle-class women, farmers, muckrakers, intellectuals, corporate liberals, or [even] a broadly defined radical middle class," western workers, Enyeart asserts, tapped socialism's mother lode (p. 21).

Moreover, it was a vision that stretched to the rank and file worker. An invaluable 1899 survey of some 700 workers commissioned by the Colorado Bureau of Labor Statistics found over ninety percent in support of public ownership of utilities, railroads and street cars, and telegraph and telephone services as well as strong backing for eight-hour legislation, a Henry George-style single tax, and abolition of judicial review. Finally, it is worth noting that Enyeart contrasts the more substantively influential tradition of progressive unionism with its better-known syndicalist (and antipolitical) counterpart, the IWW or Wobblies.

Nor are Enyeart's dramatic findings made without a strong, sustaining argument. He postulates that the more flexible, confident and democratic politics of western labor activists depended on tight labor markets combined with a peculiar political culture of relatively weak parties and undeveloped state structures. Rapid industrialization associated with the fever of mineral discoveries, for one, gave skilled metal workers and coal miners economic leverage over absentee owners largely lacking elsewhere. In such locales, notes Enyeart, it proved impossible "to create a permanent oversupply of labor" (p. 52). Perhaps even more important, in Enyeart's evaluation, the party machines that regularly incorporated working-class immigrant voters into "existing electoral arrangements" (p. 73) were simply lacking in the Mountain West; as a result westerners not only regularly engaged in ticket-splitting but willingly aligned themselves with non-partisan and/or third-party movements. The combination of these conditions, argues Enyeart, at once explains the election of Colorado's Populist Governor Davis Waite in 1892 and the backing of Debsian socialism over Samuel Gompers's voluntarism by western miners at the turn of the century.

Skeptics are less likely to challenge Enyeart's narrative directly than to point to less politically flattering aspects of western labor exceptionalism. Enyeart himself readily acknowledges an obvious fault line of racism in the deplorable treatment of Chinese workers and mixed record in relation to African Americans. Temporary union success in excluding a "labor surplus," Enyeart implicitly acknowledges, contributed to a political advantage. But two other potentially telling explanations of the region's political development go largely unexplored. One might imagine the entire region as a kind of extractive, peripheral economy (à la the post-World War II Middle East oil states) blessed—or cursed, depending on the point of view—with a decidedly unbalanced social order. Within this artificial or-



der, there existed places of advantage for the labor politics that Enyeart skillfully dissects, but the region also bred tyranny, especially at the hands of company towns and moments of state repression (see Coeur D'Alene and Ludlow), and by the 1920s in the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan. One also wonders how the gender division of the region's productive economy fed into its wildly vacillating political culture? The dynamiting of the Butte Miners' Union hall in 1914—the apparent result of a complicated internecine labor feud and an event that devastated the local socialist political regime—underscored the downside of a “masculinist” labor culture.

Further afield is a debate that Enyeart chooses not to join about the “Turner question.” Like Frederick Jackson Turner—but with an altogether different explanation—Enyeart finds the West to be a seedbed of democracy, and even more so, democratic socialism. By contrast, “new western historians” across three decades have reoriented western narratives away from democratic celebrations toward themes of conquest and empire and a reckoning with the history of Native peoples who go unmentioned in this text. On balance, then, are Enyeart's progressive unionists only the working-class variant of a privileged imperial outpost? Or, as a congeries of multiply exploited subalterns, did their revolt and pragmatic vision truly signal a “western” pathway with a difference? In a work otherwise chock full of worthy discoveries and provocations, would that the author had ventured one step further.

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CHARLES E. ORSER, JR. *The Archaeology of Race and Racialization in Historic America*. Foreword by MICHAEL S. NASSANEY. (The American Experience in Archaeological Perspective.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2007. Pp. xiii, 213. \$25.00.

In 1990, Charles E. Orser, Jr. expressed interest in the possibility of studying race and racism through archaeology as well as skepticism about identifying material indicators of racism. Orser has since abandoned his earlier doubts and has become a leading proponent for the study of race and archaeology with two books to his credit, *Race and the Archaeology of Identity* (2001) and *Race and Practice in Archaeological Interpretation* (2004). His new book departs from the earlier ones as it examines how two immigrant communities—the Chinese and Irish—were racialized in nineteenth-century America. Racialization refers to a process of assigning men and women to groups based on physical appearance that allow them to be perceived as biologically inferior or socially unequal. His premise is that race is not a fixed social identity, as it is often treated in mainstream American society, but a changeable one. In this approach to race relations any group subjected to othering can be racialized.

The case studies used to examine Irish and Chinese

immigrant communities come from previously excavated sites: a former Irish tenement located in the Five Points neighborhood of New York City and an urban lot that once contained a Chinese laundry in Stockton, California. Prior to their arrival in the United States, the Irish experienced racialization from English colonizers; scientists of the time categorized them as a separate race, and in popular imagery they were depicted as having simian characteristics and were sometimes referred to as “white chimpanzees.” Once in the United States, they were further racialized by being forced to live in segregated neighborhoods that were crowded, unsanitary, and unsafe and compelled to take jobs that native-born whites saw as beneath them. The Chinese migrated to the United States because of increased taxes, overpopulation, an oppressive tenant-farming system, and other internal conflicts. Chinese immigrants represented a cross section of many social classes, despite the stereotypical American view that they were all landless peasants. Upon arrival, the Chinese were seen as a threat to American labor and were ridiculed for cultural practices such as wearing long plaits known as queues. American nativists also assumed that all Chinese were opium users. Negative stereotypes suggesting that the Chinese were rat eaters, paupers, and heathens who could not integrate into American society were common.

Archaeological implications for the racialization of the two groups are framed by posing several possible interpretations, some of which are more speculative than others. One interpretation with strong support can be seen in shifting medicine usage. Medicine bottles recovered from the Five Points site indicate that the occupants had larger amounts of prescription medicines in the period from 1850–1860 and lower amounts of prescription medicines from 1860–1870 but higher amounts of patent medicines. Orser's interpretation is that Irish immigrants received medicines from charitable dispensaries in the earlier period, but in the later period they had fewer health care options available to them because of the stigma of being Irish and therefore self-medicated. The archaeological evidence suggesting the racialization of the Chinese is less convincing than that of the Irish. Medicine bottles were also found at the Chinese site, but many were apparently reused to hold blue dye used in laundering clothing. Did the occupants of laundry initially acquire the medicines and later use their bottles for dye containers? Or did they acquire the bottles after the original contents were consumed? Orser points to the difficulty of examining the racialization process in material culture but insists archaeologists will only come to understand racialization when they accept that its material dimensions are observable.

The book is an important contribution to the scholarship of race and American immigrants. Some readers may find the archaeological interpretations specious. However, the text encourages archaeologists and other students of material culture to consider ways to problematize race so that it can be interpreted from material objects. Archaeologists cannot dig up evidence of race,



but it is possible to identify and interpret material evidence of how racism affected the lives of those subjected to racist practices or policies. Such evidence is likely to be found in landscapes, the built environment, and in consumption practices.

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WENDY ROUSE JORAE. *The Children of Chinatown: Growing Up Chinese American in San Francisco, 1850–1920*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2009. Pp. xiii, 295. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$22.95.

Wendy Rouse Jorae's book is the first comprehensive and detailed study of the history of Chinese American children in a major U.S. community. Despite the headway made on Chinese American historiography, the experience of Chinatowns' children remains a largely unexplored field. As Jorae shows, Chinese children were not just pawns in the games of adults but also active participants in the formation of a Chinese American culture. The study of San Francisco's Chinatown children will change the way we conceptualize Chinese American history. Jorae's work challenges the prevailing scholarly notions of early Chinatown—especially the model of a split-household community—by positioning children and their families at the center of the efforts to fight American anti-Chinese policies. The book focuses on the personal stories of Chinese American children, including their experiences at the detention center on Angel Island and as child laborers, and the strategies they adopted to challenge racial segregation.

Contrary to the stereotype of Chinatown as a bachelor society teeming with disease and crime, Jorae persuasively demonstrates that some Chinese men and women did form a families in the United States. During the first seventeen years of the twentieth century, 1,907 Chinese babies were born in San Francisco alone. The author contends that this sizeable increase in the number of American-born Chinese "was crucial to the development of a Chinese American cultural identity" (p. 55). The presence of women and children enabled Chinatown elites to combat the negative image of Chinese immigrants as sojourners unwilling to develop roots in America. The author emphasizes the efforts of Chinese children to outwit discriminatory immigration laws and segregation. Theoretically, Chinese children born in America should have had no problem entering the United States, but the burden of proving their status as citizens fell on the children themselves. Jorae interprets the escape of Chinese children from the detention shed as a way of expressing discontent over the United States' restrictive immigration policy. Destroying the immigration bureau's property, meanwhile, was yet another way of demonstrating the children's indignation with their detainment.

Jorae's contribution to Chinese American history also lies in her sensitivity to the role of class in the history of Chinese children in San Francisco. The fact that

the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 allowed the entry of merchants' relatives into the United States illustrates the class bias of American lawmakers. Jorae argues that the rude way customs officials treated Chinese laborers and "slave girls" "suggests the inherent class biases of these early immigration procedures" (p. 15). Chinese merchants often attempted to distance themselves from the rank-and-file Chinese immigrants by underscoring the values they shared with white, middle-class Americans. Some merchant families even moved out of Chinatown into white, middle-class neighborhoods, while discrimination and poverty confined their lower-class compatriots to the Chinese enclave. Whereas a working-class child had to work to provide much-needed additional income for his family, merchant-class families could use their extra income to purchase luxuries.

Jorae's condemnation of racism, however, does not lead her to generalize about the attitude of white America toward Chinese Americans. She refers to the many occasions when courts overruled immigration authorities' decisions in support of the right of Chinese immigrants to enter the country. Missionaries' efforts to assist Chinese women and children also occupy a considerable part of the book. Missionaries and reformers often constructed favorable images of family life and childhood in Chinatown. Protestant missionaries encouraged Chinatown's women to defy the practice of foot binding and "rescued" many girls from what they perceived as slavery in the Chinese community. Some missionaries even rebutted the anti-Chinese rhetoric by arguing that Chinese immigrants benefited the country's economy by reducing the price of labor and products. But Jorae also notices missionaries' biases. Their accounts of child abuse in Chinatown, for example, often depicted Christian women as saviors and heathen Chinese as abusers.

Like other good books, this one is not without room for improvement. The discussion of the children in San Francisco's Chinatown, for example, would be more informative and more interesting if the author incorporated brief comparisons with the situations of other Chinese American communities. Finally, the ending of the book reads more like an epilogue, for it involves fewer conclusive and theoretical remarks than discussions of current events.

XINYANG WANG

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WILLIAM CHAPMAN SHARPE. *New York Nocturne: The City after Dark in Literature, Painting, and Photography, 1850–1950*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008. Pp. xix, 402. \$35.00.

For a book about New York, this one spends a lot of time elsewhere, especially in Europe, in the company of James McNeill Whistler, the first artist to employ the term "nocturne" in the wake of its musical usage, which had begun early in the nineteenth century, Vincent van Gogh, and the classical and romantic painters of moonlight who preceded them. This is a book about moder-

nity and representation, how new experiences of night under different conditions and degrees of illumination exposed the nature of modern city life more clearly than any daytime rendering. Nighttime shadows and spotlights could be marshaled to serve moral, material, and aesthetic arguments more realistically than in art that depended on “natural” moonlight or sun bursting through clouds to depict good and evil, blessing and condemnation.

William Chapman Sharpe is not offering us a technocultural history, but he does structure his book around five themes that overlap chronologically, beginning with New York’s arrival on the world stage, circa 1850, which coincided with the onset of artificial light in the city, perceived as transforming night into day. Gaslight exposed moral darkness but also merited celebration as a symbol of city life. Writers acted as *flâneurs*, offering observations that purported to guide readers safely through the dangers of the night, although just as often they seduced: titillation masquerading as morality tale. Walt Whitman, a different kind of *flâneur*—one focused on aesthetics rather than morality—provides the link to the next stage in Sharpe’s story: the nocturne, in which the power of nightfall transforms daytime ugliness into beauty. Sharpe traces a trajectory from Whistler, an American working mainly in London, through Childe Hassam and J. Alden Weir’s New York versions of impressionism, to the pictorialist photography of Edward Steichen, Alvin Langdon Coburn, and the early Alfred Stieglitz. It was also present in literature, for example in William Dean Howells’s eulogy for the “unrecorded miracle” of the nighttime elevated railway. Whistler prioritized composition to the exclusion of narrative. We are not supposed to care about the figures in his nocturnes—where they came from or are going, or why they are there; their only function is aesthetic.

But representation of the city at night could not escape for long the contemporary enthusiasm for colonization, imperialism, and commodification, to which Sharpe devotes his central pair of chapters. The colonization of night by light—by now, electric light—paralleled the march of democracy enlightening the world (as in the torch held aloft by Liberty) and of the frontier overcoming wilderness: hence the equivalence of Jacob Riis’s “raiding parties” throwing the spotlight on city slums and Frederic Remington’s nocturnal views of the Wild West. Edgar Allan Poe, who set his “The Man of the Crowd” in London while writing from New York, had implied that his fellow New Yorkers would soon have to come to terms with the uncertainties and frustrations of big-city life that already characterized London. Similarly, Sharpe argues, Remington’s paintings, also produced in New York for consumption by urban Americans, implied that the New York night would soon share the same fate as the Indians: both were dangerous, seductive, and on the verge of extinction. In extending the metaphor from colonization to imperialism, Sharpe offers bravura interpretations of Joseph Stella’s spectacular five-part “altarpiece” “The Voice of

the City of New York Interpreted” as well as his “Battle of Lights, Coney Island,” reading the latter in the context of the Italian Futurists’ aggressive manifesto, which celebrated warfare, by now civil war, light against light.

Yet the nocturne survived the onslaught. Sharpe claims that Georgia O’Keeffe’s skyscraper paintings, made from memory after close observation, like Whistler sacrificing detail to form, are skyscraper nocturnes. Skyscraper art also embodies a new celebration of sex and sexuality in the nighttime city. But if old associations of night and immorality were fading, new anxieties were generated by new ways of seeing—from above, whether from the air or atop skyscrapers—and by an interest in the act of looking itself, especially looking into private space: voyeurism that can be traced back to Howells and O. Henry but reaches its apogee with Edward Hopper. Sharpe offers a succession of brilliant case studies, including John Sloan’s and Hopper’s respective versions of “Night Windows” and Hopper’s celebrated paintings of “Office at Night” and “Night-hawks,” viewing their deliberately opaque narratives as yet more Whistlerian nocturnes. Night also functioned as a theatrical stage in the intrusive voyeurism of Weegee’s photographs of crime scenes and bodies.

This review has concentrated on Sharpe’s interpretation of visual imagery, but his book is also a perceptive guide to the literature of New York by night, especially poetry. He acknowledges his neglect of music and film: there are brief allusions to George Gershwin, but no Charles Ives or Leonard Bernstein, and only occasional references to jazz, expressionist-inspired film, or film noir. Sharpe’s subtitle applies as much to an epoch—the city since the conquest of darkness—as to a time of day. We can be grateful for his penetrating, engaging, and well-illustrated interpretation as we contemplate the exchange of “city of dreadful night” for a “city of dreadful light.”

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MIA BAY. *To Tell the Truth Freely: The Life of Ida B. Wells*. New York: Hill and Wang. 2009. Pp. viii, 374. \$35.00.

Mia Bay has written an important book that chronicles the life of one of the most determined political figures of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the prominent anti-lynching activist Ida B. Wells. Discussing the significance of Wells’s anti-lynching work, Bay explains that although she was “[n]ot the first African American to speak out against lynching, Wells was the first to gain a broad audience” (p. 6). Wells advanced a pathbreaking critique of mob violence that exposed the spuriousness of white supremacist claims that lynching served as justified punishment for black-on-white sexual violence. Wells revealed that, as Bay puts it, “[l]ynching had nothing to do with rape and everything to do with power” (p. 6) and served as a key piece of the scaffolding of the Jim Crow South. One of the book’s strengths is that May does not present Wells’s ascendance as a

forceful advocate for racial and gender equality as inevitable. Rather, the text explores how a girl who was born a slave in rural Mississippi and lost her parents at the age of sixteen developed a trenchant analysis of lynching and crafted strategies for black protest that would serve future generations of civil rights activists.

The opening chapters unravel the experiences and events that made Wells a radical activist. One of these critical factors, Bay argues, was the era into which she was born. As a girl and teenager, Wells witnessed "[t]he revolutionary hopes, dreams, and dangers of Reconstruction" (p. 16) and never forgot them. The hopes of Reconstruction, particularly black political participation, inspired her lifelong activism and desire to reestablish black political power in the years after Reconstruction's demise. Wells's interest in protecting black citizenship rights may have begun in rural Mississippi, but it was fully nurtured in urban Memphis. Her move there was another critical turning point in "the making of Ida B. Wells" (p. 40). Bay skillfully details the stages whereby Wells herself came to understand the "gendered character of white supremacy" (p. 74) and put together the pieces of her critique of lynching. Once Wells developed this critique, she embarked on a lifelong crusade to end mob violence and the Jim Crow regime it supported. The remaining chapters document the diverse ways that Wells attempted to forward her agenda—from cultivating the support of white European reformers, to publishing anti-lynching tracts, to helping to establish organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), to engaging in local politics in her adopted state of Illinois.

While Wells is one of the most widely recognized African American women of her era, she was, as Bay points out, "underappreciated during her own lifetime" (p. 11). She remained an outsider to those organizations that she helped to found and was marginalized by political figures who should have been her closet allies. This biography explains why. Wells's critics and sometime political partners rejected an African American woman who publicly discussed sexual and racial violence, acted as a political agitator, and displayed an assertive personality. For example, although a white smear campaign against Wells was among the events that led to the creation of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), Wells's commitment to agitating "against lynching with none of the delicacy or discretion that the NACW deemed appropriate" (p. 231) distanced her from the organization. White women reformers in the United States did not welcome Wells, in part because she refused to retract her criticisms of white temperance leader Frances Willard and her inflammatory statements condoning mob violence. With the exception of fellow radical activist Frederick Douglass and a handful of others, Wells's working relationships with most black male leaders were also fraught. As Bay explains, when Douglass died in 1895, "[g]ender made Wells an unlikely successor to Douglass in an era when men predominated not just in politics,

but in all organizations and movements" (pp. 191–192). First Booker T. Washington and then W. E. B. Du Bois eclipsed her as a national leader. The interracial and mostly male leadership of the NAACP dismissed Wells because they perceived her outspokenness as "contrary to the womanly ideals of her day" (p. 235), despite Wells's instrumental role in founding the NAACP and crafting its anti-lynching agenda. In the final years of Wells's life, she shifted her focus away from the contentious national arena and toward local reform organizations in Illinois, "where her uncompromising character was less of a liability" (p. 273). By tracing Wells's conflicts with these and multiple other leading figures of her day, Bay deepens our understanding of the complexities of the era's inter- and intraracial politics and the ways that sexism and racism undermined the efforts of even the most determined of activists. The book also shows that, despite the slights of contemporaries, Wells's activism was a critical link between the civil rights agendas of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Deeply researched and highly readable, this book will appeal to both specialists and general audiences.

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CHARLES L. LUMPKINS. *American Pogrom: The East St. Louis Race Riot and Black Politics*. (Ohio University Press Series on Law, Society, and Politics in the Midwest.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 312. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$24.95.

In this book Charles L. Lumpkins takes his readers back to the East St. Louis riot of July 1917, the first of the awful race riots of the era of the "Great War." He returns, nearly fifty years after the publication of Eliott M. Rudwick's *Race Riot at East St. Louis, July 2, 1917* (1964), with a focus on the role of African Americans in the city from the late nineteenth century to World War II. This expanded timeline—riot histories often focus fairly tightly around riots themselves, rather than placing them in a context of several decades—shows how the riot fits into larger pictures, such as the struggle for political control of East St. Louis, the impact of labor competition among native-born whites and blacks as well as immigrants, the role of business in fomenting or stopping conflict, and the influence of race relations in general. This book is more than a study of the riot; it traces the growth of African American participation in the politics and economy of East St. Louis, chronicling how black residents increasingly threatened the dominance of city elites.

Whereas Rudwick depicted African Americans as victims of the riot, Lumpkins views them as agents of change, as people whose intervention in the political structure helped set the riot—and a lot of other conflicts—in motion. Other recent studies of riots, such as Malcolm McLaughlin's *Power, Community, and Racial Killing in East St. Louis* (2005), have focused on black agency as a cause of riots, showing how African Amer-

ican ideas of equality, for instance, led blacks to arm themselves for self-defense and to clash with whites. Lumpkins differs from such interpretations in that he does not spend much time talking about the African American community's ideas of self-defense. Instead, he devotes his attention to the decades-long political and economic forces that lay behind the attempted "pogrom."

Precise evidence describing a riot's cause can be difficult to come by, especially when one is dealing with long-term trends. Yet Lumpkins judiciously uses the evidence that is available, including the testimony collected by the congressional committee that investigated the event. That source material is some of the richest available for any riot of the era and can help us peer into the motives of East St. Louis's citizens. The congressional testimony suggested that local business leaders used recent African American migrants from the South in their industrial plants around the city and that the resulting anger among workers led to the riots. Lumpkins's conclusion correlates highly, though not exactly, with that picture. Focusing on the behavior of the city's ruling class during the event, he concludes that local elites fomented the riot to drive out African Americans, even though this development was somewhat at odds with the idea of using black workers to depress wages.

Lumpkins's fine work ultimately provides us with another perspective on the the United States' long struggle with the intersections of race, politics, economics, and violence. In particular, this thoughtful book will inspire more studies of the tragedies of racial violence that descended upon so many communities in the difficult and violent days of the 1910s and 1920s.

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JOEL PFISTER. *The Yale Indian: The Education of Henry Roe Cloud*. (New Americanists.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2009. Pp. xviii, 259. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

Joel Pfister's study of the career of Henry Roe Cloud makes a useful and insightful contribution to the growing body of knowledge about the group of American Indian intellectuals and activists whose careers flourished in the early part of the twentieth century. Roe Cloud, the first full-blood American Indian to graduate from Yale, was active as an educator and reformer. His public contributions included founding a private preparatory school for Indians and serving as superintendent of Haskell Institute as well as contributing to the development of federal policy through his official work on the Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 and the publication of the 1928 Meriam Report, the basis of a series of initiatives that came to be called the "Indian New Deal." Pfister's title and the cover photograph of Roe Cloud in a starched white collar and tie signal the book's focus on the anomaly of a full-blood Indian's appearance, in the early twentieth century, among the

students and then the alumni of one of the country's most elite universities. His book examines the extraordinary public and private difficulties that Roe Cloud and others like him faced in their roles—which they were of necessity creating as they went—as educated, progressive, middle-class Indians. As Pfister puts it, Roe Cloud was, even as a college student, part of a larger "struggle to reimagine what contemporary Indian identity could be" (p. 12).

Pfister grounds his analysis in the context of earlier studies of American Indian intellectuals and activists, especially those who were affiliated with the Society of American Indians, using Roe Cloud as one specific instance of a more general pattern of experiences. Roe Cloud's career, as Pfister recounts it, parallels many of the major developments and changes in policy and in Indian-white relations of the early twentieth century. Pfister also draws comparisons to the life and work of W. E. B. Du Bois, remarking on both the similarities in the two men's experiences as persons of color who attended Ivy League universities and the differences that set apart the African American and Indian experiences. Both of these approaches are very helpful in situating the Winnebago Roe Cloud in a political and cultural context that was complex, shifting, and thoroughly American.

What is most original and engaging about Pfister's study, however, is his attention to matters of class and his emphasis on Roe Cloud's negotiations of the early twentieth-century American class structure and its attendant system of emotions, especially its reliance on forms of sentimentality. Roe Cloud developed an intense and lengthy relationship with a white missionary couple, Walter and Mary Roe, from whom he took his second name. Henry Roe Cloud's connection with Mary Roe was especially intense emotionally; both Mary and Henry spoke of her as his mother, both used sentimentally charged language in addressing each other, and she continued throughout her life to offer him guidance toward her vision of success in his private and public lives (not always successfully). This unique relationship offered Roe Cloud an education in white middle-class sentimentality at the same time that he was also receiving an education in what Pfister calls a "class-influenced resignification of Indianness" (p. 14) through his work with the Society of American Indians and other reform and policy-making groups. Pfister speaks of the stages of Roe Cloud's *education* in class and sentiment deliberately, since part of his purpose is to argue that Roe Cloud immersed himself in American culture not in order to assimilate to it but in order to learn how to negotiate its idiosyncrasies and exploit its advantages for the good of American Indian people. That is, Roe Cloud's career offers a study not of adaptation but of a specifically American kind of self-determination, in this case through a canny awareness of the crucial significance of class.

Pfister draws on an extensive archive of materials, including what are apparently scores of letters between Roe Cloud and Mary Roe written over many years. Un-



fortunately, Roe Cloud's descendants asked Pfister not to quote from these letters, and he honored their wishes, for which one can only admire him. However, given that much of the discussion of emotion and sentimentality in the book derives from the letters, the analysis suffers in frustrating ways from the absence of specific references to them. One also wishes for less speculation in the discussion, fewer comments about what Roe Cloud probably thought or might have felt; the book makes its case for Roe Cloud's self-awareness, his importance, and his claims on our attention clearly and convincingly enough without these additions.

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PATRICK HUBER. *Linthead Stomp: The Creation of Country Music in the Piedmont South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2008. Pp. xxi, 416. \$30.00.

Try to listen to the musicians who are featured in this book. Virtually all of their music is available on CDs. When you hear Fiddlin' John Carson, Charlie Poole, David McCarn, and the Dixon Brothers (Howard and Dorsey), chances are you'll say that they're among the most rural-sounding people you've ever heard. They must have come from farms somewhere in the most remote regions of the South. And their music, it might be assumed, must have represented a rustic resistance to modernism.

Not so, says Patrick Huber in this well-researched, carefully argued, and beautifully written book. While the vast majority of the musicians discussed here were born in the country and often did sing about the old homeplace and other rural memories, their music actually represented an attempt to understand and come to terms with the experiences they encountered in an emerging urban, industrial economy. Their music, in fact, was a product of the same modernizing forces that spawned jazz: urban growth, technological innovations such as radio, recording, and the automobile, and, of course, the industrial transformations that lured people into the cities and into new lines of work.

The economic changes described here were underway throughout the South in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Huber illuminates and deepens our understanding of this process by concentrating on the most crucial arena of change, the Piedmont South between 1923 and 1942. The Piedmont was the region where the Old South met the New. Transplanted rural people found work in factories, bought automobiles, and began new lives in bustling towns that had department stores, movie theaters, and radio stations. Rural folkways still strongly colored their speech, values, religious choices, and the music they made. But, for the most part, these rural transplants embraced the popular culture that the city offered.

Cotton factory workers, often derided as "lintheads" or "factory trash," constituted the single largest occupational group that ventured into the field of early

country music. Huber notes that out of the 23,000 hill-billy records released between 1923 and 1942, singers and musicians from Piedmont textile villages played on more than 1,500 of them. All of the musicians whom he describes exhibited an awareness of, and an affinity for, modern popular culture—blues, jazz, ragtime, and pop—as well as the knowledge of how to market their music in an urban milieu. Even Fiddlin' John Carson, the fiddler and balladeer whose performances at fiddle contests and political campaigns extended back into the late nineteenth century, knew how to exploit the public fascination with old-time ways and mountain culture. He willingly played the role of the moonshining mountaineer. No one seemed to know or care that he was a long-time factory worker at the Exposition Cotton Mills and the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mills in Atlanta.

All of Huber's chosen subjects, whom he describes in five finely wrought mini-biographies, made vital contributions to the shaping of American country music. Fiddlin' John made the first popular commercial recording of the genre in 1923. Charlie Poole fashioned an infectious banjo style made up of a variety of older minstrel, vaudeville, and folk forms and, with the North Carolina Ramblers, produced a body of music that is still venerated today. David McCarn wrote a small but enduring series of songs, such as "Cotton Mill Colic," that illustrated a facility for the blues and a critical awareness of the problems and pitfalls of textile factory life. Dorsey Dixon lived long enough to find a new audience in the folk revival of the 1960s. His "Weave Room Blues" and other topical songs captured the experiences of his fellow cotton mill workers, while his religious and moralistic songs, such as "I Didn't Hear Nobody Pray" (now known as "Wreck on the Highway,") evoked the divided mind of workers who found their fundamentalist values challenged by the secularism of modern city life.

Although Huber is not the first historian to stress the modernist origins of country music—Edward L. Ayers and this reviewer, among others, have previously trod that ground—he has nevertheless made an impressive contribution to our understanding that country music was not born in some pristine corner of America, untouched by the winds of change. It emerged in those places where rural folkways met and intertwined with the currents of urban innovation. This collision of traditional and modern elements, which in many ways is the very definition of country music, is the process that has made the music enduringly interesting and popular. Huber's book is a splendid account of its development in the vital crucible of the Piedmont South.

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JAMES J. LORENCE. *The Unemployed People's Movement: Leftists, Liberals, and Labor in Georgia, 1929–1941*. (Politics and Culture in the Twentieth-Century South.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 307. \$44.95.



James J. Lorence's book adds to the growing body of scholarship that fleshes out working-class grass-roots organizing during the early twentieth century. As a social history of the New Deal in Georgia, it addresses the ways in which various groups on the Left such as unions, socialists, communists, and the underclass joined forces for nearly a decade to force the government to respond to their needs. This text situates itself between histories of Progressive-Era social protests and studies of post-World War II grassroots activism that are devoted to civil rights and other issues. When paired with books like Shelton Stromquist's *Reinventing "The People": The Progressive Movement, the Class Problem, and the Origins of Modern Liberalism* (2006) and Taylor Branch's *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–63* (1988), Lorence's study helps one piece together a century-long narrative of grass-roots social protests that emphasized government as a solution to the problems of everyday Americans.

While this text contributes to an important national story, it also highlights the importance of local and regional factors and variations. It adds to the growing, albeit piecemeal, literature on the pre-World War II southern labor movement by demonstrating not only its existence and modest successes but also its indigenous origin. The fundamental labor story that Lorence provides is a more important contribution than the New Deal aspects of the book because it prompts historians to reassess the southern labor movement during this era without any preconceived attitudes that all southerners were provincial and inherently sought "local solutions," even within the ranks of the progressive and labor movements. This study does not buy into these ideas as convenient tropes, but it does map out the ways in which activists could transcend race in some instances and yet allow it to be a barrier to meaningful organizing in others.

In the epilogue, Lorence tells us that the Unemployed People's Movement was a victim of its own success. As more of its members joined the workforce, the movement was left with those individuals whom employers and government agencies categorized as "the unemployable." Given current U.S. unemployment rates, the story of this book could speak to the growing number of organizers and policy makers looking to again harness the grassroots.

ROBERT CASSANELLO  
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DAVID M. P. FREUND. *Colored Property: State Policy and White Racial Politics in Suburban America*. (Historical Studies of Urban America.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2007. Pp. xii, 514. \$35.00.

In recent years, scholars writing from a variety of disciplinary perspectives have explored the resilience of racial inequality in the United States by looking at issues of wealth, specifically property. Works like Dalton Conley's *Being Black, Living in the Red: Race, Wealth, and Social Policy in America* (1999) and the collabora-

tively written *Whitewashing Race: The Myth of a Color-Blind Society* (2003) offer compelling accounts of the race-wealth nexus in American society. David M. P. Freund enters into this dialogue with an in-depth historical account of how race and wealth became so tightly connected in the mid-twentieth-century United States. Freund introduces his analysis with a compelling question: in the postwar era, "[i]f most northern whites had disavowed racism and supported the principle of racial equality, why did so many continue to oppose residential integration?" (p. 5). Freund's study answers this question with a thorough analysis of policy, law, private markets, and social practices.

The book is divided into two sections. The first one focuses on federal action and the intersecting forces at work in maintaining and creating the geographic segregation that would sustain racial and economic inequality. These include housing, mortgage and land use policies, and private and public law. The second section is a case study of postwar suburban Detroit and examines how white residents' investment in a racialized sense of property was fueled by both federal and local policies in addition to their collective aspirations.

Throughout the text Freund makes three critically important scholarly interventions. First, he demonstrates how early twentieth-century land use planning set the stage for the discriminatory practices in housing that existed in the mid-century United States. The relationships that developed between agents in the public and private sector during the early twentieth-century zoning movement found themselves sustained and even flourishing in the New Deal era. During this time, individuals in government and the private marketplace supported racially exclusionary practices as part and parcel of the structural revolutions in mortgaging and the housing market that made home ownership a normative aspiration for Americans.

Second, Freund demonstrates that the federal government's role in facilitating racial exclusion was much deeper than most scholars and critics acknowledge, particularly because most of them have limited their study to the Federal Housing Administration. In fact, credit policy and other federal agencies and acts—for example, the Home Owners' Loan Act, the National Housing Act, the Federal National Mortgage Association, and the Veterans Administration—had embedded within themselves a set of racial assumptions about the ideal neighborhood and homeowner, and so their practices reflected those assumptions. Freund shows that not only did the federal government fuel and accelerate discrimination in housing markets, but it created a new form of discrimination—one that inextricably linked race and property. As federal initiatives exerted their influence, state-level interventions in the form of zoning ordinances and the development of "home rule" charters worked alongside them to institutionalize racial segregation. At the same time as these instrumental forces were at work, elected officials constructed a popular narrative that argued that segregation in the hous-

ing market was *not* the result of federal intervention but rather of the unfettered operation of the market.

In his analysis of suburban Detroit, Freund shows how efforts like blocking the development of low-income housing or rental units, the election of local politicians who advocated racial exclusion, pressure upon realtors to steer people of color away from seeking housing in certain municipalities, and even violent intimidation all worked alongside state and federal policies to ensure racial exclusion. Importantly, particularly for legal historians, Freund shows how zoning and racially restrictive covenants worked together; as zoning laws allowed public bodies to control the uses of publicly owned property, covenant laws controlled the right of private persons to regulate the use of their property. Both supported the exclusion of black people. By the time the Supreme Court ruled on *Shelley v. Kraemer*, the 1948 opinion that rendered racially restrictive covenants unenforceable, the intersection of race and property was so codified that explicit exclusion in property agreements was no longer necessary to maintain residential segregation.

Third and perhaps most significantly, Freund argues that many, if not most, scholars who have contemplated the maintenance of spatial segregation have asked the wrong kinds of questions. They have generally considered race, class, the economy, and ideology distinct variables that have happened to intersect, and then they have asked themselves, *how* did they intersect? Freund argues that the evidence should lead us instead to ask (and answer) the question: how did whites become so deeply invested, both ideologically and economically, in a concept of property and residence that was highly racialized? Freund contends that the political and economic institutions responsible for the distribution of resources actually served to cultivate ideas and ideals about racial difference.

This final insight, in addition to the strong evidentiary and analytical case Freund makes to support it, is what distinguishes this book as a critical and even groundbreaking addition to the scholarship on issues of race in American legal, political, and social history.

IMANI PERRY  
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ANDREW J. F. MORRIS. *The Limits of Voluntarism: Charity and Welfare from the New Deal through the Great Society*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xlv, 240. \$80.00.

As a veteran social work professor, I have learned to live with the professional schism between, on one side, assisting the poor and disadvantaged through practical means or by advocating on their behalf, and, on the other side, providing therapeutic care to individuals and families. Both are components of what social work is. Many of my colleagues belong more to one camp or the other; rarely do they uphold both sides of the profession, and never at once. Some schools of social work market themselves as direct practice (therapeutic)

schools, while others market themselves as schools of social change or poverty fighting. In many schools, second-year MSW students are asked to choose between direct practice (leaning toward therapy) and macro practice (policy, advocacy, and community practice). It was not until I read Andrew J. F. Morris's book that I fully understood the source of today's schism. With careful analysis and deep understanding, Morris provides us with a great historical review of an era rarely examined by those who study the history of welfare in America.

Not since Roy Lubove's *The Professional Altruist: The Emergence of Social Work as a Career, 1880–1930* (1965) and Michael Katz's *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America* (1986) have I been so moved by a historical text covering American welfare. Many works address the pre-1935 era, and numerous accounts exist of the War on Poverty and beyond. The in-between period has been hardly studied, and the few accounts that do exist are either based on single cities or insufficient in their ability to see the big picture.

Morris's introduction and prologue are carefully crafted and provide a lucid analysis of the role that voluntary social service organizations played before and during the Great Depression, including how they revised their philosophy when they realized that they could not meet the welfare needs of their many clients. As such, they reluctantly advocated for public welfare and realigned themselves to specialize in providing personal and family care (i.e., direct practice) and employing professionally trained social workers. As soon as the Charity Organization Societies started to provide care for personal problems, they adopted psychodynamic knowledge and adapted it to the needs of middle-class America before, during, and after World War II. In the process they started to charge clients for therapeutic care. The many social service agencies dominated the welfare discourse and argued that planned, coordinated social interventions could eliminate poverty and dependency. Accordingly, as soon as President Lyndon B. Johnson declared the War on Poverty, these agencies, which by that point had changed their names from either welfare or charity to social services or family services, were ready and eager to accept public funds to defray their costs. It is this journey that established a foundation for the government elimination of most cash assistance programs and a focus on contracting with social service agencies to prepare the poor for employment. While this shift came after the period that Morris covers in his book, his amazing insights and analysis explain the trajectory that followed and the one best elucidated in by Scott Allard in *Out of Reach: Place, Poverty, and the New American Welfare State* (2009).

After a thorough and cogent review of the era that the text covers, Morris painstakingly demonstrates how the macro processes operated locally, with a special attention given to Wilmington, Delaware, Baltimore, Maryland, and St. Paul, Minnesota. He not only focuses on these three cities but also provides examples from

other cities and counties, documenting the varieties of welfare arrangements while discerning a general trend that is logical and comprehensive. Morris shows how the nonprofit social services were influential even when their size was small. They were well connected locally, carried moral authority, and were supported by the local elite; as such, they exerted much influence on how local communities cared for the needs of their residents.

This is one of the few books that I would make required reading for students and scholars of social work and social welfare, history, and nonprofit organizations.

RAM A. CNAAN  
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ROBERT F. JEFFERSON. *Fighting for Hope: African American Troops of the 93rd Infantry Division in World War II and Postwar America*. (War/Society/Culture.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2008. Pp. xv, 321. \$55.00.

The history of African Americans in the U.S. military is a large and dynamic topic that fortunately has been matched by an extensive literature. Robert F. Jefferson's book tells the story of the members of the segregated 93rd Infantry Division during World War II. Jefferson conducted many interviews with division personnel and performed extensive research in War Department and other public and private records to document the racial discrimination that challenged African Americans during the war. All military personnel have faced difficulties when they entered the army, but black soldiers had the added burden of the racism of a Jim Crow society. Also, as the text illustrates, racial discrimination in housing and recreation facilities was as onerous in Arizona as it was in any southern state.

Jefferson effectively presents his material and analysis. He includes a comprehensive essay on sources, although a traditional bibliography would be more useful. He discusses the division's training at Fort Huachuca, Arizona, and its operations in the Pacific and analyzes the impact of racism on individual soldiers. The stories told by division personnel allow Jefferson to convey the human side of their experiences, and these are well integrated into the narrative. However, the author makes no attempt to present a comprehensive military history of the 93rd. This is not his objective, although his approach can create some confusion in following the operational progress of the division and the 368th, 369th, and 25th Infantry Regiments, even with the maps that are provided. Readers do not get the full sense of the division's organization and its deployment in the South Pacific.

Jefferson gives us good discussions of Brigadier General Benjamin O. Davis, Sr., in his role as an inspector; African American newspapers; the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); and the Office of the Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War. These people and organizations, along with division personnel, were on the front lines in

the battle for fair treatment. Therefore, it would have been useful if Jefferson had provided more discussion of how they viewed segregation and integration and how they worked with and pressured the War Department to improve racial conditions. General Davis, Judge William Hastie, and Truman Gibson, working within the army, were in difficult positions, and the black newspapers and NAACP did not always see eye to eye regarding how blacks should be utilized in combat. The War Department did improve in its racial policies and practices, helped by the Advisory Committee on Negro Troop Policies (not discussed). It took pressure at all levels to accomplish that, including pressure from the division members discussed by Jefferson.

There were two all-black infantry divisions in the army during the war, the 92nd and 93rd, and it is important to note that the training and operational difficulties that the 92nd faced at Fort Huachuca and in Italy were similar to those of the 93rd. It is not Jefferson's intent to cover other units, but because of the parallel experiences of the two divisions, it might have been useful for him to tell us more about this topic than what can be gleaned from the page devoted to the issue.

Just as complaints from division personnel about racial conditions within the army should be situated within a wider historiographical discussion of race relations within the nation as a whole, this book, as a contribution to a much broader body of military history, has an obligation to ensure that its military terminology and facts are accurate and thorough. For example, Charles Young was not the first African American West Point graduate (p. 17); throughout the book officers are mentioned without their rank; and there is inconsistency in identifying military units and organizations, such as the Army Ground Forces and 100th Infantry Battalion.

These shortcomings, however, should not take away from the importance of this well-written work. The personal narratives present the human impact of racist policies and become an essential part of the division's history. World War II proved over and over again that a unit cannot perform well if it is fighting racism during training and operations. This factor complicates any objective evaluation of a unit's effectiveness. Finally, the epilogue contains a moving recap of the black soldiers' arrival back in the United States, and we see the full spectrum from rejection to acceptance.

ALAN OSUR  
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MICHAEL KIMMAGE. *The Conservative Turn: Lionel Trilling, Whittaker Chambers, and the Lessons of Anti-Communism*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 165.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 419. \$45.00.

This is an important, well-researched study of two important American intellectuals of the Cold War, Lionel Trilling and Whittaker Chambers. Both of their journeys sparked a larger movement among the American intelligentsia—the turning away of both the Left and

the Right from radicalism. Chambers, Michael Kimmage argues, aided the Right in pivoting away from isolationism and neo-Fascism, while Trilling purged the Left of Stalinism. Thus, both men encouraged a “conservative turn” away from disaster and toward support of the Cold War.

Kimmage does an excellent job of reintroducing today’s historians to the intellectual era that spanned the 1920s through the height of the Cold War and beyond, a time of intellectual ferment and change during which many intellectuals’ Depression-era romance with communism gave way to rejection of it in the decades to come. At the same time, he meticulously details the journeys of two deep thinkers, Trilling and Chambers. The two men had many similarities. Both were sons of bourgeois parents. They both attended Columbia University, and both of them were attracted to communism—Chambers became a Communist Party member and spy, while Trilling was more or less a fellow traveler. But each man eventually had his “Kronstadt” moment, his break with communism. While they dispersed to different sides of the political aisle, still both preached moderation to their new comrades. They gave their sides intellectual depth through the books they penned: Trilling in *The Middle of the Journey* (1947), Chambers through *Witness* (1952). Both accepted the notions of hierarchy and absolutes and defended Western civilization. They disliked Senator Joseph McCarthy, but they also disapproved of the anticomunism of his critics. Finally, they both helped form an American anticommunist intelligentsia.

But with all this being said, there were important differences between Chambers and Trilling as well. The former became a conservative celebrity, a household name due to his clash with Alger Hiss, and then a member of the growing conservative intellectual movement, one clearly in tune with the growth of the Goldwater/Reagan Right (though Chambers died in 1961). The latter was a moderate New Deal liberal, a university professor whose scholarship never became popular with the masses. Chambers wrote stirring anticommunist prose pointing towards stark, desperate choices for the West. Trilling’s writing was full of ambiguity and subtlety, and his best work concerned Matthew Arnold and Victorian England. Chambers was a reactionary who hated cities as well as a devout Christian, whereas Trilling gloried in New York City life and was a religious skeptic. Not surprisingly, the two men never became friends and, on the whole, had little contact.

But as Kimmage demonstrates, both had profound, parallel impacts on both the Left and the Right. They helped destroy the allure of Stalinism and communism, steered American intellectuals of both the Right and the Left away from radical excess, and had an important effect upon a noted intellectual movement of our time, neoconservatism, and one of its founders, Norman Podhoretz.

Kimmage’s book is an important work about two intellectuals in particular and the entire Cold War era in general, a study written by one who was clearly deeply

immersed in the sources and writings of these two figures. It will serve to remind readers of a time that still seems recent to some of us older folk but might not seem so to those growing up in an era with no Soviet Union. One only wishes that Trilling and Chambers had written to each other as much as they spoke to their liberal or conservative friends. It would have been fascinating to all of us, especially having read Kimmage’s analysis, to have seen what they would have had to say to each other.

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DOUGLAS T. STUART. *Creating the National Security State: A History of the Law That Transformed America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 342. \$35.00.

In this book Douglas T. Stuart seeks to provide a comprehensive account of the passage and initial years of implementation of the National Security Act of 1947. This is an admirable goal, albeit one that the author is, unfortunately, unable to accomplish fully.

Portions of this book do present new or interesting aspects of the National Security Act’s initial composition. Stuart’s discussion of the “domestic ligaments of national security” in chapter five—the creation of the National Security Resources Board and the Research and Development Board, for example—covers subjects that have received little attention from earlier scholars. Similarly, his analysis of the philosophical underpinnings of the concept of national security, based in part on his 1998 interviews with former Harvard professor Edward Pendleton Herring, an expert on the pre-World War II and wartime aspects of U.S. public administration, is fascinating.

That being said, however, other portions of Stuart’s book reflect the author’s lack of expertise on many of the subjects discussed. Aside from using some original documentary research that is tightly focused on the national security legislation itself—materials from collections in the Truman and Eisenhower presidential libraries—the author relies overwhelmingly on secondary sources for the bulk of his study. While many of the sources he consults are excellent, others are skewed in their perspective or have been overtaken by recent studies that have benefited from access to a more complete documentary record.

The book’s initial chapters demonstrate the weakness of depending upon secondary sources for a thorough understanding of the historical events discussed. In the first chapter, for example, Stuart briefly addresses President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s leadership in matters of national defense prior to the December 1941 Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Nevertheless, he provides the reader with little understanding of how FDR’s ad-hoc management style really functioned (pp. 13–21, 31–39). In chapter two, he discusses national security management in the United States during World War II.



It is clear from the material presented, though, that Stuart lacks an understanding of how the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS)—a key wartime organization—functioned. At one point, he notes that within the JCS, Army Air Forces Commanding General Henry “Hap” Arnold was effectively elevated to being a co-equal with the Army Chief of Staff and the Chief of Naval Operations (p. 52). In point of fact, Arnold, a subordinate of Army Chief of Staff George Marshall, responded independently only in JCS deliberations on issues related to aviation. On almost all other matters, he deferred to Marshall’s judgment. At another point in the chapter, Stuart notes that the members of the JCS had established unofficial communications with their “counterparts on the British Chiefs of Staff” and that it was through these connections that they received copies of Roosevelt’s messages to Prime Minister Winston Churchill that were otherwise unavailable to them (p. 68). In actuality, the highly secret source of this material was Field Marshal Sir John Dill, who was then serving as the senior member of the British Joint Staff Mission in Washington. In the third chapter, in which Stuart discusses the development of the War Department’s plan for service unification, he asserts at one point that General William Tompkins had been working with General Marshall to develop plans for a single Department of Defense “since the start of the war” (p. 85). In reality, Brigadier General Tompkins had only joined the War Department General Staff in mid-1943, assigned to head a planning division initially tasked with demobilization matters.

Later chapters in the book also demonstrate the author’s limited knowledge of the details of his subject. Once he moves far beyond a discussion of the specific texts of Truman’s 1947 National Security Act and its 1949 amendments in addition to Eisenhower’s Reorganization Plan No. 6 (1953) and the Defense Reorganization Act of 1958, Stuart falls afoul of historical facts. For example, he demonstrates this by glossing over the importance of the Key West and Newport Agreements to the roles and missions debate (pp. 186–187), claiming inaccurately that the aircraft carrier USS *United States* was being designed “to launch B-29 bombers” (p. 204), failing to explain President Eisenhower’s “hidden hand” decision-making style (pp. 217–118), and asserting incorrectly that Eisenhower relied on Brigadier General Andrew Goodpaster and the Office of the Staff Secretary to provide him “with independent advice and information” (p. 277).

While Stuart’s book is worth reading as a recent examination of the direction of national security legislation in the early postwar era, it cannot be taken as comprehensive study of its subject. Such a work remains to be written by a scholar who knows not only the intricacies of the legislation itself but is also thoroughly grounded in the history of the period in question.

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BRADLEY R. SIMPSON. *Economists with Guns: Authoritarian Development and U.S.-Indonesian Relations*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 367. \$60.00.

In this important book Bradley R. Simpson charts efforts by the United States to mold the course of events in one of the key arenas of the Cold War, but also one that has been most neglected in scholarly analysis. During the early and mid-1960s, U.S. policy makers viewed Indonesia as being at least as important as Vietnam to their attempt to contain the global spread of communism. Indonesia’s Communist Party was rapidly expanding in size and influence, the country was confronting colonial powers in West New Guinea and Malaysia, and the Indonesian president, Sukarno, was pursuing an increasingly leftist posture both at home and abroad. At the same time, this was “one of the few countries in the world where U.S. and Soviet officials competed directly for influence with military, economic, and technical assistance” (p. 9).

Drawing mostly on newly declassified archival material, Simpson examines changes in U.S. policy toward Indonesia during this period and illuminates in striking detail the internal debates among foreign policy and security planners—and the intellectuals who advised them—as they struggled for influence among Indonesian civilian technocrats and military officers and became increasingly desperate about the country’s leftward course. Despite the sometimes bitter debates among U.S. policy makers about tactics, they shared a “long-range developmental vision” that “held out for Indonesia a military-dominated, development-oriented regime integrated into the regional economy and bound to multilateral institutions” (p. 5).

For many readers, the main interest of the book will be in what it reveals about U.S. government knowledge of, and involvement in, the events of 1965–1966 that bloodily arrested Indonesia’s leftward drift and led to the establishment of the military-dominated Suharto regime: the “Thirtieth of September Movement” killings of senior army officers in 1965 and the subsequent reprisals and massacre of approximately 500,000 communists and their supporters in 1965–1966. Mobilizing far more evidence than in previous studies, Simpson explains how, at least after 1960, “the United States committed itself to provoking a clash between army and the PKI [Indonesian Communist Party], on the presumption that the army would emerge victorious over its well-organized but unarmed and basically defenseless opponent” (p. 38). He concedes that “available evidence does not directly implicate the United States in the 30th September Movement or Sukarno’s ouster” (p. 174). But he also points out that the CIA has declassified “the barest fraction” (p. 140) of relevant material for this period, so that “we can only speculate about the scope of its covert activities in 1964 and 1965” (p. 157).

On the question of the 1965–1966 massacres, Simpson turns up new documentary evidence indicating that “Washington did everything in its power to encourage



and facilitate the army-led massacre of the alleged PKI members" (p. 193). The evidence includes documents pointing to the provision of communication equipment, small arms, and funds. Simpson concludes, "These records also reveal that the Johnson administration was a direct and willing accomplice to one of the great bloodbaths of twentieth-century history—the Cold War equivalent of aiding and abetting the Hutu genocide in Rwanda" (p. 194). His discussion of the subsequent provision of economic and military support to Indonesia's army as it set about establishing a new political order is perhaps less dramatic but equally illuminating.

Another of Simpson's signature achievements in this book is his exploration of the interplay between Washington's policy and security establishment, on the one hand, and U.S. universities and intellectuals, on the other, in devising Indonesia policy and an intellectual framework to guide and legitimate it. The text contributes to a growing body of work on how modernization theory was both conditioned by Cold War politics and fed into them, in the Indonesian case by preparing the "policy and intellectual apparatus for a turn toward military modernization" (p. 68). By the end of the 1960s, the U.S. embassy in Jakarta was recommending to the Johnson administration that, with Suharto in power, Indonesia could now be treated "as a controlled experiment in modernization" (p. 248).

Simpson's book constitutes an important addition to our knowledge of the global Cold War. It is based on meticulous archival research, frames its detailed findings within a larger argument, and is written in a direct and accessible prose style. This text will be of interest to scholars and students of U.S. foreign policy, the international Cold War, and the modern history of Southeast Asia and Indonesia.

EDWARD ASPINALL  
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ANNE C. ROSE. *Psychology and Selfhood in the Segregated South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 305. \$45.00.

This well-researched study of the psychological sciences in the first six decades of the twentieth-century South is a subtle and original contribution to southern studies. Anne C. Rose asks, "what became of a reform-minded psychological idiom in a society immured in racial injustice, and what happened to its people as a result?" (p. 3). Her answers stress limitations and missed opportunities; psychology in practice, she argues, contributed little to change and offered remarkably few insights into the culture of the South in the era of segregation.

Rose offers case studies of people and developments in five roughly chronological chapters. Some of her examples are well known while others will be unfamiliar to most readers. In the early twentieth century, awareness of newly developing psychological sciences hardly existed in the South. Southern racial and religious traditions encouraged a view of the mind as more or less

fixed—changeable, perhaps, only by conversion. The mentally ill were cared for at home or confined in large institutions. The psychological sciences arrived mainly as a byproduct of efforts by outsiders, the General Education Board for example, to improve southern education. Informed by the idea that children's minds were powerfully shaped by their environment, these efforts offered a potential challenge to segregation, but in practice they were too cautious and conservative to do so; such modern psychological theories posed too great a threat to "the preservation of mastery and subordination" at the heart of Jim Crow (p. 3). Thus, despite these and other initiatives, "for many decades psychology had little visible effect on the racial inequities of the region" (p. 86).

The interwar years saw the spread of notions that people could be understood in terms of "personality" shaped by culture and context. The South became the site of numerous field studies by black and white intellectuals, including John Dollard, Hortense Powdermaker, Allison Davis, and Charles S. Johnson. Some of these, including Dollard and Powdermaker, were explicitly trained in psychology, but others also were concerned with the psychological consequences of living in a system of segregation. Johnson, for example, called attention to what he called southern black children's feelings of "nothingness" (p. 95). Even these researchers, though, for both personal and institutional reasons, tended to retreat to formalist analyses, focusing on "abstract laws of behavior," rather than to engage the specifics of a segregationist culture (p. 185). Most of them eventually left the region to work in northern institutions, and some, like Dollard, stopped working on the South at all.

One chapter explores new developments after World War II. Rose sketches the work of three academics who challenged segregation in some fashion: Joseph Fichter, a Jesuit who taught at Loyola University in New Orleans; Ernst Borinski, a German Jewish immigrant at Tougaloo College; and Bingham Dai, born in China, who taught psychiatry at Duke's medical school. Dai was the only southerner to sign the psychologists' brief, condemning segregation, to the Supreme Court on *Brown v. Board of Education*. All were marginal figures in southern academic and intellectual life. Psychiatrists at Emory University established the private Atlanta Psychiatric Clinic, where they offered innovative, experimental therapies, but the clinic served the needs of the affluent and had "slim involvement in civil rights in Georgia" (p. 137).

In the 1960s, the civil rights movement attracted psychological researchers such as Robert Coles, who wrote about the "children of crisis," and Alvin Poussaint, who worked with civil rights workers. These reform-minded liberals typically avoided close consideration of the South as a particular place with a particular past and culture, and thus, perhaps, with particular psychological patterns. Poussaint analyzed racial conflicts among activists but concluded that a generalized prejudice, a national rather than a southern trait, was at the bottom

of such conflicts. Conservatives (including several born outside the region) found the South to be a congenial place to push their traditional views that segregation could be justified by the inferiority of black minds. Both liberals and conservatives tended to examine "race" in the abstract, as a sort of individual condition rather than a system embedded in deep cultural practices.

Rose's conclusion that "segregation was responsible for blocking the development of psychological commentary on race relations articulated by southerners and responsive to southern culture" is quite convincing with respect to the psychologists and psychologically inclined social scientists about whom she writes (pp. 3–4). Serious attempts to analyze the psychological forces at the heart of southern culture were left to writers of fiction and to amateurs such as Lillian Smith and Wilbur Cash—figures whom Rose discusses in order to demonstrate that even these southern intellectuals could refuse to turn to professional psychiatry when faced with private emotional struggles. Her fine book deserves the attention of all scholars interested in the intellectual and cultural history of the modern South or in the history of the human sciences in the twentieth century.

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PATRICIA SULLIVAN. *Lift Every Voice: The NAACP and the Making of the Civil Rights Movement*. New York: New Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 514. \$29.95.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) has been viewed by some scholars of the civil rights movement as a legalistic giant that was eclipsed in the 1960s by militant groups that had more charismatic leaders. And yet, when it was founded in 1909, the likelihood of a pressure group successfully protecting and advancing the citizenship rights of African Americans must have appeared exceptionally unpromising. White supremacy was at its height, and Booker T. Washington's philosophy of accommodation to racial segregation appeared to be the only way to proceed after the Supreme Court decision of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), which upheld the constitutionality of segregation in the United States. In spite of such obstacles, in 2009 the NAACP reached its one hundredth anniversary, having participated in virtually every stage of the African American civil rights journey during the twentieth century.

To mark this centenary, Patricia Sullivan has written an official history of the NAACP, one with an appropriately celebratory tone. Her project is ambitious, considering the time scale and the sheer geographical range that the organization covered—two factors that could easily confound the hardest historian from the outset. Indeed, Charles Flint Kellogg's attempt at a multivolume history of the NAACP saw just a single tome published in 1967, and even that only managed to cover the period up to 1920. The author of this book provides her readers with a strong narrative that shapes

the history of the NAACP into a manageable framework.

While the bureaucratic nature of the NAACP may have made it appear old-fashioned by the 1960s, Sullivan argues correctly that the organization provided the foundation for the modern American civil rights movement. The NAACP is depicted as pursuing a legalistic approach to civil rights, as this was the most "promising arena" (p. 110) for attacking racial apartheid. Accordingly, Sullivan details notable successes against segregated housing ordinances, limits on access to higher education, and the white primary. She also addresses certain issues that recent historiography of the NAACP has concentrated on, although the limits of the book have drastically reduced her coverage of them to passing analysis. For example, the local branches of the organization were essential for the operation of the NAACP, and by 1926 they contributed eighty to ninety percent of its operating budget (p. 113); the tension that this arrangement caused between the national office in New York and local branches is the subject of an ongoing debate among historians. In the early 1930s the NAACP commissioned the Lonigan Report, which criticized the national office for regarding its branches as mere "sources of revenue" (p. 154) and suggested that its membership could be expanded during the Great Depression by developing an economic program. Ella Baker, who joined the NAACP field staff in 1941, had a contrasting view from her fellow national officers in that she believed that "community-based organizing was essential to the future growth of the association" (p. 263). For the most part, Sullivan sets these crucial debates alongside the personality battles of the New York national office and does not expand upon them.

The conflicts that went on between members of the senior leadership are well documented in this book, particularly the titanic struggles between W. E. B. Du Bois and virtually everyone else in the NAACP and the personal friction between Walter White and his colleagues. Ella Baker left her position in 1946, feeling that she was working against the "grain of an organizational culture dominated by the personality and authority of Walter White" (p. 321). Such discussions over agenda, organizational structure, and male-dominated leadership tap into recent historiographical debates regarding the broader civil rights struggle. Yet the limitations of Sullivan's text do not enable her to pursue these matters. Roy Wilkins, for example, is given a cursory examination and is described as simply being "thin-skinned and . . . petty and vindictive" (p. 374). Wilkins's role in the 1960s is not even discussed, which is curious as President Lyndon B. Johnson saw him as a close personal ally in the civil rights revolution.

The book's conclusion comes rather abruptly. The U.S. Supreme Court case that the NAACP is best known for, *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), which legally desegregated education, "hits like a thunder clap" (p. 420) and is dealt with in a cursory manner before Sullivan discusses how the "southern states . . . mounted an all-out war on the NAACP" (p. 425). At

this point the heyday of the civil rights movement begins, but the book draws to an end. As a survey of the NAACP it certainly has its place, but there are clearer histories of the organization that maintain a narrower focus and provide readers with a greater conceptual understanding of the organization at both national and local levels.

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JONATHAN RIEDER. *The Word of the Lord Is upon Me: The Righteous Performance of Martin Luther King, Jr.* Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 394. \$29.95.

Who was the real Martin Luther King, Jr.? Over the four decades since King's death, countless scholars have wrestled with the civil rights leader's identity, significance, and historical impact. Thanks to tireless research, including dozens of personal interviews with many of King's closest associates, Jonathan Rieder's book helps us better understand the complexity and consistency of the man.

Rieder attempts to understand and interpret King based upon his rhetoric, both public and private. Rather than employing a chronological approach, the author looks at King's use of language from various angles, including behind the scenes with close associates and in front of various audiences as he spoke to his congregation and around the nation.

Rieder uses the word "performance" to define the way that the famous orator used language when on stage and backstage. He avoids the easy answer that the informal King was the authentic King, while the public King was simply a façade. He also compares and contrasts the ways in which King spoke before primarily African American audiences and in front of largely white, liberal gatherings. At times, the same King who derided emotionalism would come close to "whooping" as he joined with the emotive responses of his audience. With largely white audiences, however, King tended to be more formal and less emotional. Rieder does not suggest that the performances before African American audiences were more authentic, however.

The author insists that arguments regarding the relative "blackness" or "whiteness" of King's performances are far too limited. While these categories are significant, they are too rigid to capture the complexity of the man's personality. Instead, King had an amazing capacity to empathize not only with those suffering from oppression around the world, but also with those imprisoned by their own prejudices, a gift rooted in his heartfelt commitment to Christian love. While never losing this international perspective, King maintained a deep love for black people in the United States that was never compromised. Rieder does an excellent job of underscoring the interplay and tension between King's commitment to the broader beloved community and his strong commitment to his race.

The book under review provides a welcome antidote

to the veneration of King that has allowed his image to be used and co-opted by politicians and movements that King would have quickly rejected. King's radical stances against unchecked capitalism and American militarism are highlighted, with particular attention given to his bold position against the war in Vietnam and his support for the Poor People's Campaign that shaped the last several months of his life.

At times, Rieder's topical approach to King's life can be a bit disorienting and repetitive. The text does not give readers a thorough analysis of how King's language and personality developed over time. Still, Rieder has provided a worthy rhetorical analysis that will help scholars more fully to understand the complexity and core of this famous individual. This book is a must-read for any serious student of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

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HERBERT BERG. *Elijah Muhammad and Islam.* New York: New York University Press. 2009. Pp. ix, 190. \$39.00.

Herbert Berg argues persuasively that Elijah Muhammad, the leader and the Messenger of the Nation of Islam from 1934 to 1975, is one of the most significant figures in the history of Islam in the United States. Muhammad influenced the conversion of thousands of African Americans to Islam in his own religious community and in Sunni communities in the twentieth century. To fully understand this legacy, Berg explores Elijah Muhammad's religious work in the context of Islam and analyzes how he utilized the Qur'an and negotiated connections with Muslims in the United States and abroad to present the Nation of Islam as a viable religion for African Americans, with a unique message of racial separatism and divinity in its founder, Wali Fard Muhammad.

This is the third book in a new wave of important scholarship on the Nation of Islam. Like Claude Andrew Clegg III's *An Original Man: The Life and Times of Elijah Muhammad* (1997) and Edward E. Curtis IV's *Black Muslim Religion in the Nation of Islam, 1960–1975* (2006), Berg's work de-emphasizes theological debates about Islamic orthodoxy and focuses on the Nation of Islam as an autonomous religious community with a powerful legacy for American Muslims. His skill as an Islamicist is the key to his fascinating and detailed examination of how Elijah Muhammad interpreted both Biblical and Quranic material to develop unique commentary in support of foundational teachings about race, prayer, eschatology, and diet, and to highlight the Qur'an as the basis for the Islamic themes in Muhammad's books, including *Message to the Blackman in America* (1965) and *The Supreme Wisdom: Solution to the So-Called Negroes' Problems* (1957). Berg views Muhammad as the "first African American Muslim mufasir" (p. 121) because he was the first black Muslim leader to give the Qur'an to thousands of African

American Muslims and to demonstrate how to interpret it.

Finally, Berg provides compelling evidence as to how Muhammad's reading and interpretation of the Qur'an reshaped the legacy of Noble Drew Ali's Moorish Science Temple of America and how Muhammad's model of Islam also influenced the ideas of Malcolm X, Warith Deen Mohammed, and Louis Farrakhan.

This is a well-written and innovative book with important and refreshing insights on Elijah Muhammad, the Nation of Islam, and Islam in the United States.

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SONDRA GORDY. *Finding the Lost Year: What Happened When Little Rock Closed Its Public Schools*. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press. 2009. Pp. xxvii, 242. \$29.95.

The events of the Little Rock school crisis will be familiar to many. In September 1957, the city prepared to desegregate Central High School under one of the earliest plans drawn up in the South for compliance with the Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* school desegregation ruling. However, on the evening of September 2, the day before the school was to integrate nine African American students with roughly 2,000 white students, Governor Orval E. Faubus called out the Arkansas National Guard to surround the school in order, he said, to preserve law and order. The courts ordered desegregation to proceed as planned. But when Elizabeth Eckford turned up alone at the school on September 4 (she had not been informed of the plan to meet with the other students at NAACP leader Daisy Bates's home), the National Guard blocked her entry. A white mob closed in around her, but she escaped physically unharmed. After tense negotiations between Faubus and President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Faubus reluctantly agreed to remove the state's guardsmen.

When the black students again attempted to enter Central High on September 23, a white mob forced school administrators to send them home early for their own safety. The following day, Eisenhower responded to the unrest by federalizing the Arkansas National Guard and sending federal troops into Little Rock. On September 25, members of the 101st Airborne Division accompanied the nine African American students into the school. An armed guard stayed at the school for the rest of the year, but that did not stop a concerted campaign of harassment against its black students. One of the nine, Minnijean Brown, was expelled for allegedly retaliating verbally against a white student who had taunted her. The others made it through the school year, with Ernest Green, the only senior, graduating in May 1958.

Sondra Gordy's book deals with the less-covered events of the year after the school crisis, during which Governor Faubus closed the city's high schools to prevent desegregation. She chronicles how, during a sub-

sequent referendum, Little Rock voters backed Faubus's school-closing plan by a three-to-one margin. Faubus handily stacked the cards in his favor by wording the referendum to ask voters whether they were for or against "racial integration of all schools within the Little Rock School District" (p. 185). The closed schools deprived 3,665 students (2,915 white, 750 African American) of a public education and left 177 teachers sitting in empty classrooms. By order of the governor, the high school football season continued. Initially, Faubus sought to lease the public schools to the Little Rock Private School Corporation (LRPSC). When this was blocked by the courts, the LRPSC created the private, segregated T. J. Raney High School. Other students transferred to other school districts, while some took correspondence courses. The struggle over Little Rock's schools crystallized in May 1959 when the Little Rock School Board fired forty-four teachers and administrators who were suspected of being sympathetic to desegregation. White moderates mobilized in a campaign to Stop This Outrageous Purge (STOP) by recalling segregationist school board members, aided by the Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools (WEC), which had formed earlier to try to influence the school-closing referendum. They were opposed by segregationists on the Committee to Retain Our Segregated Schools (CROSS). STOP prevailed at the recall election and instated a moderate majority on the school board, which reopened the city's schools on a token integrated basis in August 1959.

Gordy's book struggles to frame this story. Initially she asserts that her project "allows an examination of the period between the first federal enforcement of the *Brown* decision for 'desegregation' in Little Rock and the later push for broader 'integration' brought by *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg* (1971) with its use of busing," but soon after she admits, "this book's focus is narrow" (p. xii). Neither claim really holds true. "By the end of 1958, every southern state except Tennessee had enacted school-closing laws" (p. 102), Gordy points out, but that intriguing larger tale is only glanced at here. The most insightful parts of the study arise from Gordy's examination of Little Rock teacher Elizabeth Huckaby's records (Huckaby's autobiography was one of the earliest published recollections of the school crisis and later made into a film starring Joanne Woodward) and interviews with white and African American students displaced from schools. Huckaby's papers provide detailed firsthand testimony, although from a narrow perspective. I counted somewhere between fifty and sixty personal interviews with students in the footnotes (although there is no bibliography). These present useful anecdotes, but how representative a sample they provide remains open to question. A more detailed number-crunching of student demographics may have revealed more about the overall patterns of displacement. As it is, much of the book falls back on recounting the more familiar events outlined above



rather than mining the new material more extensively.

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CHARLES W. EAGLES. *The Price of Defiance: James Meredith and the Integration of Ole Miss*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2009. Pp. 560. \$35.00.

In some ways this book is two research monographs. One concerns James Meredith, the African American Air Force veteran who fought a protracted legal battle to gain admission to the University of Mississippi in 1962. The other tells the story of race relations on the Ole Miss campus and racial thinking in the Magnolia State during the era of massive resistance. The two accounts are closely related, and each story is told in clear prose that can be read by an educated general audience. Scholars will especially appreciate the depth of the research. Charles W. Eagles has used many previously untapped sources, among them the records of the U.S. Army and the U.S. Marshals, the archives of the University of Mississippi, and the personal papers of James Meredith.

After fighting a complex legal battle, Meredith became the first African American student to enroll at Ole Miss. During a protest against Meredith's enrollment, a riot erupted that claimed more casualties than any other civil rights clash of the early 1960s. Two civilians were killed, and scores of U.S. marshals were wounded. To restore order, President John F. Kennedy sent thousands of soldiers to the campus and the surrounding college town of Oxford. Many readers of this journal are familiar with the basic outline of the story, but never before has this tale of legal and physical skirmishing been told in such detail.

Eagles's description of the racial climate in Mississippi is equally detailed. He provides many vignettes of race relations on campus by way of memorable stories, such as the one of "Blind Jim" Ivy, an African American janitor who was widely celebrated as the "Dean of Freshmen," and others of the complications that ensued when prominent black entertainers appeared at the university or when the Rebels' athletic teams faced the prospect of competing against colleges that had desegregated their athletic programs. These incidents provide deeper context for the Meredith story and are intrinsically interesting to boot.

Eagles has made an important contribution by candidly discussing the racial thought of Mississippi's segregationists. Most accounts of the struggle for civil rights in the state have emphasized one side of the controversy, namely that of the civil rights activists. But here Eagles presents the views of segregationists as well. These were essentially twofold. First of all, segregationists extolled states' rights and maintained that the Constitution protected liberty by maximizing the authority of local governments while placing a strait-jacket of "shall nots" on the federal government. Second, segregationists rejected the conventional wisdom

of integrationists—the idea that, in the absence of discrimination and its lingering effects, each group would have an identical distribution on all metrics. Many segregationists grudgingly recognized that, by itself, the admission of Meredith posed no threat to higher education in Mississippi. But they feared the consequences of this precedent. They warned of trouble ahead if the K-12 schools were integrated at a time when the races were believed to differ in social mores and academic achievement.

As Eagles makes clear, segregationists especially feared the prospect of miscegenation. Thus, the Mississippi lawyer and legislator Hillery Edwin White said that the philosophy of zero group differences would lead "inevitably" to "intermarriage" and insisted "we have the obligation, and the inalienable right, to preserve the identity of the white race" (p. 165). Mississippi State University president Ben Hilburn, another segregationist, believed that "the white race can serve the world best by remaining pure" (p. 110). And the chancellor of the University of Mississippi, John D. Williams, similarly affirmed that he believed "in the deleterious effects of racial intermarriage and the importance of racial integrity" (p. 167).

Eagles's account is so thoroughly researched and clearly written that it borders on the capacious to mention two reservations. One is that the text is so comprehensively detailed that some readers will find the book slow-going, even tedious. The other is that, in keeping with the monographic character of the work, Eagles keeps his focus tightly on the University of Mississippi and the Meredith controversy. He summarizes the segregationists' views, but there is no extended discussion of their ideas.

RAYMOND WOLTERS

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DEREK CHARLES CATSAM. *Freedom's Main Line: The Journey of Reconciliation and the Freedom Rides*. (Civil Rights and the Struggle for Black Equality in the Twentieth Century.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2009. Pp. xiv, 421. \$50.00.

Derek Charles Catsam introduces his splendid history of the freedom rides during the U.S. civil rights movement by stressing that the "various circumstances and contexts—local, state, and national—are at the heart of this book" (p. 10), just as they were central to the emergence of the movement itself. Besides being impeccably researched and offering its readers a gripping tale, this multilayered interpretation lifts Catsam's work a cut above most civil rights narratives, all without sacrificing the rich stories of individual participants.

Catsam begins with the Journey of Reconciliation organized by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in April 1947 to test compliance with a recent Supreme Court ruling banning segregation on interstate buses and trains. He shows how this precursor, though limited to the Upper South, set the tone for CORE's epic three-week bus



journey fourteen years later. He carefully details the thicket of federal court and Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) rulings that gave the 1961 freedom riders the constitutional backing for their dangerous trip through the Deep South.

Riding on separate Greyhound and Trailways buses, the thirteen interracial CORE activists left Washington, D.C., bound for New Orleans on May 4. Except for John Lewis being assaulted in Rock Hill, South Carolina, they met light resistance until they reached Alabama, where the monstrous brutality of Ku Klux Klan-organized mobs forced the young and timorous Kennedy administration to intervene to protect the bus riders. Suffering severe injuries in Anniston and Birmingham, the battered CORE team decided to declare victory without completing its journey. But younger activists from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), led by Diane Nash, felt morally compelled to finish the mission. Attorney General Robert Kennedy brokered a covert deal with Mississippi Senator James Eastland, a rabid segregationist, to let the riders travel unmolested from Montgomery on to Jackson, although the police in the Mississippi capital jailed the activists when they sought to enforce federal law by desegregating the bus terminal. The SNCC riders, now mostly black, and scores more who followed them sang their way through captivity at Mississippi's notorious Parchman Penitentiary.

Catsam offers concise but meaty background sketches of each of the six southern states the riders visited, implying that each state's particular politics and culture help explain how it treated the protestors. He shows how the experience prepared a cadre of SNCC activists, including Nash, Lewis, and Ruby Doris Robinson, for a new level of sustained militancy that would come to fruition in the Mississippi voting rights movement. He fleshes out the volatile negotiations between the attorney general and his agents with segregationists like Alabama Governor John Patterson, a supporter of John F. Kennedy's 1960 presidential campaign. The author has a knack for pungent details that enrich the narrative—for example, that National Guard troops called out in Alabama wore bushy beards "that made them look like Confederate soldiers" (p. 253); in fact, they had been re-enacting a Civil War battle as part of the secessionist centennial commemoration when summoned for real-life duty to defend a new breed of Yankee invader against fellow southerners.

Most important, Catsam shows the significance of the freedom rides in the larger trajectory of the movement. As the "apogee" of interracial activism (p. 275), as a model for subsequent coalition building, and as a key event in the early civil rights era, "[t]he Freedom Rides had spawned a genuine and enduring movement," he writes (p. 278). CORE leader James Farmer observed that the campaign became "a different and far grander thing than we had intended" (p. 278).

Catsam's account is absorbing and authoritative, although he does not succeed fully in portraying the freedom rides as representing continuity within the larger

black freedom struggle more than a disjunction, a singular event. His framing of the 1961 freedom rides, preceded by the 1947 journey and followed by a mishmash of sequels concocted by both civil rights activists and segregationists, does not make the main event any less central or unique. His references to the historical impact of the freedom rides, sometimes overstated, leaves the impression that the rides proved more consequential than any other component of the movement. All of this seems to reinforce the position that he apparently would like to contest: namely, that the freedom riders were "agents of a turning point in history" (p. 318). Perhaps without intending it, Catsam does a fine job of showing how these two perspectives, which stress continuity versus exceptionality, might—at least in this case—be complementary instead of mutually exclusive.

STEWART BURNS  
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SCOTT KURASHIGE. *The Shifting Grounds of Race: Black and Japanese Americans in the Making of Multiethnic Los Angeles*. (Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008. Pp. 346. \$35.00.

Historians have recognized, sometimes grudgingly, that where California goes, so follows the American West. While calibrated somewhat differently, scholars of Asian American studies have been simultaneously attracted to and repelled by a "California/LA-centric" model. Scott Kurashige, along with a growing list of authors in the "Los Angeles school," confirms this notion in his examination of how intersecting nodes of social and cultural power make Los Angeles an emblematic twentieth and twenty-first-century city.

Kurashige's carefully documented and forcefully argued study examines the formation and transformation of Japanese American and African American populations in Los Angeles during the first six decades of the twentieth century. He distinguishes between the separate racializations while also noting interrelationships of race and class. For example, he carefully explains the how blacks and Japanese Americans in the 1930s developed nationalist positions and "their own race-centered models of progress and prosperity" (p. 64). Japanese entrepreneurial success meant that a number of blacks saw in them a model of "self-help and racial uplift" to be emulated (p. 64). In the meantime, Japanese Americans developed a "dual nationalist" position that incorporated a distinct immigrant and transnational "ethnic enclave" while still connecting broadly to "American" ideals. Yet this same attention to one's own group limited class solidarity between the two racialized groups. Kurashige further argues that rising consumerism meant that any success for the groups required reaching across boundaries to white consumers. Japanese Americans had the capital, frequently built on unpaid family labor, to do so while African Americans with much less capital as a group often used their role as consumers to buy selectively from businesses to en-

courage equal treatment. The author repeatedly employs evidence that explores activism and reveals the limits of resistance.

Kurashige also deals squarely with the "model minority" thesis and integration—two troublesome specters in twentieth-century American ethnic and racial studies. By now many scholars are well aware of the emergence of the "model minority" thesis, best articulated by William Petersen in the 1960s, in which bright, hard-working, and ambitious Japanese Americans (and other Asian Americans) demonstrated the inherent "good" of American society in general and the "failure" of African Americans. Adherents to the thesis saw the latter as mired in cultures of slavery and poverty that made blacks unable (or unwilling) to join other Americans in lifting themselves up by their own bootstraps. Scholars of Asian America have long railed against the thesis, and Kurashige adds significant depth to the cause by illustrating how "the roots of this ideological construction lay in the generation prior" to the 1960s. He traces the origins to the federal government's characterization of internment and the internees during World War II, which then got linked to the occupation of Japan. That was furthered by the short-term choices that Japanese Americans had to make about the articulation of their racialized positions. All of this was ripe for the picking just at the height of the civil rights movement. In illuminating that issue, Kurashige also highlights the boundaries and terms that accompanied integration for both groups and how, in spite of efforts to build a grassroots social movement around civil rights, integration was essentially a top-down project that supported rather than countered the status quo.

Perhaps Kurashige's greatest contribution is to carry such a detailed discussion over such a long period. Readers learn as much about postwar housing restrictions and 1960s community politics as they do about how these communities negotiated class and race in the 1920s and 1930s. Few scholars have effectively welded both halves of the twentieth century together while tracing separate and interrelated racializations of multiple groups and then cast them as the staging ground for the twenty-first century. Readers will come away with the sense that W. E. B. Du Bois was right—the color line was critical to the twentieth century, but it was arguably more complicated than Du Bois might have imagined at its dawning.

No book can do everything, and Kurashige's undertaking does have its limits. He earnestly admits that his work is meant to stand "in conjunction with . . . Latino studies" about Los Angeles (p. 218). While he does periodically mention Latinos, they receive little systematic attention throughout the volume. Chinese and Filipinos, also important racialized groups in the city, garner only the slightest mention. During the twentieth century, Los Angeles developed the largest American Indian population of any American city, but they are nowhere to be seen in this case study of Japanese Americans and African Americans. While Kurashige

gives attention to gender, the study is not conceptualized in such a way that it stands as an equal contributor to social relations with race and class. Greater attention to these topics would have enhanced the project rather than detracting from it. Future authors will have to explore those links, but Kurashige's book is still a work that deserves careful reading and wide application in our own research and classrooms.

CHRIS FRIDAY

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BARRY SCHWARTZ. *Abraham Lincoln in the Post-Heroic Era: History and Memory in Late Twentieth-Century America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2008. Pp. xvi, 394. \$30.00.

If it seems that the bicentennial of Abraham Lincoln's birth passed without much notice, Barry Schwartz offers an explanation: in the years since World War II, Lincoln's symbolic power has lost relevance, and this "fading hero is symptomatic of fading confidence in national greatness" (p. 9). Schwartz, a sociologist who has published widely in the field of cultural memory, began his study of Lincoln with *Abraham Lincoln and the Forge of National Memory* (2000), a book that concluded with the Progressive Era and World War I. In this new volume, Schwartz picks up where he left off by exploring the 1930s and 1940s, a time when Lincoln proved his greatest effectiveness as "a moral symbol inspiring and guiding American life" (p. xi). From this starting point, he develops two main arguments: first, that from its apex in 1945, reverence for Lincoln declined in the public imagination; and second, that this falling off is because postmodernism and multiculturalism have diluted greatness as a concept.

This book nicely complements Merrill D. Peterson's *Lincoln in American Memory* (1994), an encyclopedic catalogue of Lincoln's representations in the popular imagination that, according to Schwartz, did not address "what the average American believe[d] about [Lincoln]" (p. 3). Therefore, Schwartz expands his investigation to include quantitative analysis—for instance, comparing the newspaper and magazine articles about Lincoln that appeared through the decades and charting the number of yearly visits to the Lincoln historical sites. Most significantly, he uses four different national opinion surveys to suggest what ordinary citizens have thought about the nation's sixteenth president.

Schwartz's text is particularly strong in the first two chapters, which offer convincing readings of Lincoln during the Great Depression and World War II. In this early section of the book, Schwartz offers a valuable reminder that a national figure such as Lincoln can be, in Claude Lévi-Strauss's words, "good to think [with]." During the trauma of the Great Depression, for example, Lincoln served "as a means for seeing the world's disappointments, for making its sufferings not so much explicable as meaningful" (p. 24). For Franklin D. Roosevelt, trying to prepare an uncertain nation for the

necessity of entering World War II, Lincoln offered the most powerful symbol. The Civil War president's words about the 1860s became a way for FDR to clarify the threat posed by the Axis powers. These two periods, Schwartz believes, mark the height of Lincoln's influence in American cultural memory: a time when the phrase "What would Lincoln do?" evoked its strongest resonances.

Schwartz discusses this period of relative national unity without denying the complexity of Lincoln's image. Liberals during the Depression cast Lincoln as a proto-New Dealer, while conservatives insisted on sticking with Lincoln's message of self-reliant individualism. African Americans lost some of their enthusiasm for the "Father Abraham" image, but only because they found a new emancipator in FDR. And, though he recognizes that many in the South never moved beyond hatred, Schwartz highlights an underestimated regional affection for Lincoln, claiming that some circles viewed him as a hero on par with Robert E. Lee.

Another valuable aspect of this book is its suggestion that contemporary American culture tends to respect, rather than revere, its national leaders. Schwartz carefully points out that, while Lincoln still ranks in the top positions of public opinion polls rating presidential greatness, all U.S. presidents have suffered from diminished prestige. For this change, he blames the "acids of equality," the ironic situation that, as U.S. culture becomes more diverse, egalitarian, and multicultural, it suffers a "deterioration and coarsening of traditional symbols and practices" (p. 190).

Here Schwartz is less persuasive. For starters, his choice of the Great Depression and World War II versions of Lincoln as a benchmark is problematic. Why should the most idealized versions of Lincoln serve as the measuring stick, rather than the phenomena to be explained? Furthermore, the author gives too little consideration to fundamental events of post-World War II American history: Watergate, for example, appears in the index a mere five times; the Vietnam War, only four. Such omissions make unsatisfying Schwartz's cursory dismissal of their significance as an alternate hypothesis for Lincoln's loss of prestige. If Americans no longer revere their leaders, the reason seems at least as likely to be a result of the executive misbehavior that marked not just the war in Southeast Asia and the Watergate scandal but also the revelations of the Church Committee investigations, the Iran-Contra scandal, and the Monica Lewinsky affair.

Regardless of whether one agrees with Schwartz's answers, he poses undeniably important questions. Furthermore, in its treatment of cultural symbols as reflectors of and guiding lights for society as well as its attempts to ascertain what the average American believed about those symbols, this book makes an important contribution to the study of cultural memory.

DANIEL FRICK  
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ANDREA TONE. *The Age of Anxiety: A History of America's Turbulent Affair with Tranquilizers*. New York: Basic Books. 2009. Pp. xx, 298. \$26.95.

DAVID HERZBERG. *Happy Pills in America: From Milk to Prozac*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 279. \$45.00.

Since its emergence as a field of study some fifty years ago, the history of psychiatry has been dominated by scholarship on the rise and fall of the mental hospital—the asylum—the method of choice in combating mental illness between the French Revolution and the presidency of John F. Kennedy. But not anymore. Recently historians have been paying increasing attention to other facets of psychiatry's past, such as the evolution of diagnostic concepts, the use of somatic therapies such as lobotomies and electroshock, and psychiatry's involvement in the eugenics movement.

This new historiography also includes the enormous impact of psychiatric drug usage on the course of twentieth-century history. As the dust jacket to Andrea Tone's *The Age of Anxiety* notes, in the early twenty-first century "America has become a nation of pill poppers." In 2005, twenty-seven million Americans swallowed prescription pills to fight depression alone. That same year, the pharmaceutical industry—often referred to as "Big Pharma"—made over \$13 billion manufacturing antidepressant medications. For the many who have ingested a pill to end "the blues," allay anxiety, curb obsessions, or dispel delusions of grandeur or persecution—or who know loved ones who have—psychiatric drug consumption has deeply affected the lives of millions around the world.

No matter how much journalists, researchers, and scholars warn about such trends in pharmaceutical consumption, there are few signs that dependence on psychiatric drugs to get through life is slowing down, much less weakening. As a glance at everything from television talk shows to the sizeable readership of self-help books tells us, we are in the midst of a revolution that has dramatically changed the way people talk, think, and feel about themselves. Pills can help us privilege good moods over bad moods. Who could possibly want anything else?

The history of twentieth-century "chill pills" is the topic of the two books under review here. Even before World War II, Americans took a variety of over-the-counter medications to help them soothe their jangled nerves. Yet as the unsettling atomic age began to unfold, opinion makers such as sociologist David Reisman and historian Arthur Schlesinger described their fellow citizens as gripped by fear and anxiety and out of touch with their authentic selves. A major breakthrough occurred in the 1950s when minor and major tranquilizers were introduced to a public receptive to the ethos of consumerism, which celebrated the purchasing of goods ranging from soap to automobiles, all in the pursuit of happiness. Thorazine, an antipsychotic drug, was



prescribed as a major tranquilizer to people with severe mental disabilities, but the minor tranquilizers such as Miltown caught on like wildfire with the general public. Advertisers and entertainers hailed Miltown as “emotional aspirin,” and physicians reported that their offices were flooded by edgy patients demanding prescriptions for tranquilizers. By the end of the 1950s, Americans were being bombarded by messages that said that tranquilizers could cure everything from sexual frigidity to juvenile delinquency.

Miltown was followed shortly by Valium—the single most prescribed brand-name medicine by the 1970s—and Librium, which President Kennedy swallowed to curb his anxiety as he made a series of nerve-wracking decisions regarding both foreign and domestic policy. The cultural impact of these medications was so pervasive that even the rock band the Rolling Stones sang about homemakers resorting to “mother’s little helper,” a “yellow pill” that got her “through her busy day.”

When concerns mounted in the 1970s over rising rates of prescription drug dependence, the pharmaceutical industry began introducing a new series of medications: the selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors, or SSRIs. The best known of the SSRIs was Prozac, which quickly rivaled Valium as one of the most recognizable consumer brand names of all time. Psychiatrist Peter Kramer, in his bestselling book *Listening to Prozac* (1993), lauded the drug for curing depression, which experts insisted had assumed epidemic proportions by the end of the twentieth century. However, Kramer also viewed Prozac as a form of “cosmetic psychopharmacology,” a way of making patients feel “better than well.” He even called Prozac a “feminist” medication, the perfect drug for “super-moms” who balanced motherhood and high-powered careers. The media reported that individuals, thanks to the SSRIs, were acquiring “mental face lifts,” custom-built, entirely new selves. Originally intended to mitigate depression, the SSRIs by the dawn of the millennium were being touted as antidotes for anxiety and obsessive-compulsive disorders as well. At that point in history psychopharmacology reigned supreme. The haunting depression and meditations on death that drove thinkers such as Blaise Pascal, Fyodor Dostoyevsky, and Friedrich Nietzsche now appeared to Kramer and others as little more than quaint relics of ages long past.

Tone draws on her personal struggle to overcome a fear of flying with the help of prescription drugs to reconstruct what she calls “America’s turbulent affair with tranquilizers.” Her brush with acute anxiety convinced her that interpreting the condition as a socially constructed illness does not do justice to the pain that it inflicts upon millions of people. Anxiety, she writes, “is at once real and historically rooted” (p. xii). To Tone, the history of America’s infatuation with tranquilizers involves myriad interest groups and stakeholders, including the government, the medical profession, drug companies, the insurance industry, and patients and their families. The interaction among these various

groups over time eventually resulted in the official recognition of anxiety as a separate illness in the 1980s. Between 2002 and 2006, the number of Americans seeking medical advice about anxiety rose from 13.4 to 16.2 million, and most of them received drug prescriptions. It might be fashionable to single out one interest group—industry, doctors, elected officials—to blame for this kind of “diagnostic bracket creep” in psychiatry, but Tone resists the temptation. Patients themselves share much of the blame, she argues, for America’s love affair with prescription drugs. Time and again, ordinary Americans have proved receptive to the message that tranquilizers are good for them. If anything, Tone contends that “undertreatment” may be as much of a threat to public health as overtreatment (p. 222).

Tone would certainly agree with David Herzberg, who suggests in *Happy Pills in America* that the history of psychopharmacology is much more than the story of molecules or scientific discoveries in laboratories. According to Herzberg, countless researchers, physicians, patients, advertisers, corporations, lobbyists, lawmakers, consumer advocates, and public relations experts have combined to forge the present-day meanings of tranquilizers and antidepressants (p. 192). This “medical-industrial complex” has grown bigger and bigger in recent years (p. 16), he argues, with the result that celebrities such as Tipper Gore, wife of former Vice President Al Gore, talk openly (and presumably unabashedly) about not having enough serotonin in their brains. Yet, as Herzberg and others such as psychiatrist David Healy have pointed out, the precise connections between neurotransmitter levels and depression or schizophrenia remain unknown. These results, plus the studies that show that antidepressants offer few advantages over placebos, have led some experts to claim that such drugs are “unsafe at any dosage.”

In the final analysis, Herzberg takes a gloomier attitude toward the history of “happy pills” than Tone, whose personal experiences seemingly have taught her that tranquilizers are not quite as bad as they are cracked up to be. Herzberg’s book is a kind of protest against the tendency to assume that the issues surrounding psychiatric drug use can be reduced to scientific or technological factors. He calls for an “anti-drug campaign” (p. 201) that transcends the binary distinctions between licit and illicit drugs and interrogates current pharmaceutical fashions with informed knowledge about the wider contexts that surround strictly clinical decisions. Like earlier scholars such as Philip Rieff and Christopher Lasch, Herzberg does not just have concerns about the effectiveness of drugs; he worries that an increasing reliance upon medications to resolve problems of living diverts attention from the political struggles that continue to characterize the history of medicine.

Herzberg’s and Tone’s books are welcome and informative additions to the historiographic debates in the history of psychiatry. Because both are chiefly interested in U.S. history, however, I found it curious that neither mentioned Alexis de Tocqueville, whose *De-*

*mocracy in America* (1835–1840) may be silent on the topic of psychiatric medication but is eloquent when addressing the reasons why the country has sometimes been called “Prozac Nation.” To Tocqueville, the most glaring trend in democracy is the growing populist demand for an “equality” of rights in everything from sex to social status, and a right to emotional wellness is no exception. Perhaps this helps to explain why two of the oldest democracies—France and the United States—have the highest rates of antidepressant use in the world. In other words, Tone is right to say that America’s “Age of Anxiety” has as much to do with “patient enthusiasm” (p. 91) as it does with prescription-happy physicians, drug industry “detail men,” government bureaucrats, or Capitol Hill special interest groups.

IAN DOWBIGGIN

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BETHANY MORETON. *To Serve God and Wal-Mart: The Making of Christian Free Enterprise*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2009. Pp. 372. \$27.95.

Bethany Moreton offers a business history of Wal-Mart and its half-century rise from Sam Walton’s small discount chain to a massive global corporation; even more, she offers a social, cultural, and religious history of Wal-Mart Country, the company’s natal environs of northwest Arkansas, southern Missouri, and eastern Oklahoma. It is charged political terrain—this place where Wal-Mart shoppers, employees, and managers join evangelical homemakers, preachers, and missionaries in a gospel of service and free enterprise. Moreton strides across that Sun Belt landscape of untrammelled entrepreneurialism and white evangelicalism with unusual balance and daring. She succeeds admirably in walking the fine line of critical understanding, never succumbing to condescension toward the Wal-Mart faithful, but never allowing the contradictions—particularly the doublespeak about the liberal state—to stand without demystification. Throughout the book Moreton effectively probes that deeply etched incongruity, “the Sun Belt’s signature combination of government subsidy and antigovernment politics” (p. 31).

From the beginnings of the Wal-Mart saga, Moreton discerns the dense interplay of corporate and Christian boosterism. One of the company’s first big investors was the Texas tycoon Jesse H. Jones, who had found salvation through the revival preacher John Brown. Jones, in turn, supported Brown’s efforts to start a Bible college in Siloam Springs, Arkansas, in the same county that Wal-Mart would eventually call home. With Jones as trustee and financial backer, the school made a place for itself in the network of Christian colleges, but it found new security and prominence through hitching its wagon to Wal-Mart’s star in the 1980s and 1990s. The Bible college effectively turned itself into John Brown University, replete with a Christian management and business leadership institute named for the center’s chief patron and “Executive in Residence,” Wal-Mart senior vice chairman Don Soderquist (p. 163). Cultivating a snug relationship among Christian education,

conservative free enterprise, and corporate staffing became a staple of Sun Belt economic growth. Tyson Foods, for example, joined Wal-Mart in cultivating such connections.

Those evangelical educational ties were useful well beyond Wal-Mart Country, though. With extensive ties to Protestant foreign missions and world Christian evangelism, John Brown University also provided a conduit for international students, particularly from Central America. As was also the case at Harding College and the University of the Ozarks, many of these Central American students were supported as Walton Scholars in business-related subjects with hopes that the students would return to their countries to nurture America’s free-enterprise principles there. Moreton’s depiction of the nitty-gritty quality of these international exchanges, the deepening thicket of religious and economic integration, is splendid. By the time she has worked her way through the mundane benevolence of the Walton International Scholarship Program, among any number of other mergers of Christian service and free enterprise, one sees starkly how over the course of a generation Wal-Mart’s globalization came to be understood by so many as not merely commonsensical but salvific.

Still, the soul of Moreton’s book is not the multinational reach and mission of Wal-Mart, Inc., but the cultural roots of the Wal-Mart way. With tenderness especially toward the women employees who helped give the early Wal-Marts their down-home feeling of comfortable sociability and kindness, Moreton dwells at length on the family culture of the stores. At the heart of the company’s success was the way it took “an undervalued resource of the industrial economy”—namely, “white, native-born mothers”—and embraced them for the service ethos that they fostered within the stores (p. 67). Even as the managerial ranks of the corporation remained a decidedly masculine preserve, the gendered norms of Christian self-giving proved an invaluable asset within a service economy. Wal-Mart country offered a deep reservoir for tapping such virtues, primarily in evangelical Protestant terms. Employees and shoppers appreciated the same Christian accoutrements, entertainments, and Bible fellowships. The Sunshine Gospel Singers or the Patriot Gospel Singing Group, Moreton attests, performed at local Wal-Marts as comfortably they did at churches or on country music stages. An accidental slip in a prayer over a family meal provides an uncommonly good indication of such confluences. A clerk at a Missouri Wal-Mart admitted to having sleepily begun her routine breakfast blessing this way one morning in 1972: “Dear Father, we thank you for shopping Wal-Mart” (p. 93). In reply to which the guild might simply offer this thanksgiving: “Dear Professor Moreton, we thank you for studying Wal-Mart.”

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## CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

LISA YUN. *The Coolie Speaks: Chinese Indentured Laborers and African Slaves of Cuba*. (Asian American History and Culture.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2008. Pp. xxiii, 311. \$37.50.

For some years now Lisa Yun has been whetting our appetite with a series of articles and essays exploring various aspects of Chinese and Afro-Chinese diasporic history in the Caribbean. At the center of her work has been an engagement with the history of coolies in nineteenth-century Cuba. This book represents the culmination of her research on indentured Chinese laborers, and it is one of the most impressive pieces of writing on Cuban and Caribbean history to appear in the last two decades. In this handsomely produced volume Yun engages with the world of the coolies, examining their experiences through contemporary sources. At the core of her study is an extraordinary compendium of coolie testimonies: the 1876 Cuba Commission Report, a collection of 2,841 individual written and oral testimonies gathered by Chinese envoys of the Qing government in 1874 during an investigation into the cruel treatment of Chinese immigrant laborers by Cuban employers. Although Chinese coolies were juridically "free" and bound by contracts, the reality of the coolie experience was quite different, and few of the nearly 125,000 coolies who arrived in Cuba were able to purchase their way out of their contractual obligations. One of the many merits of this book is Yun's careful and sophisticated examination of the legal and political tributaries, falsifications, and inventions embedded in liberal philosophies of contract and freedom characteristic of nineteenth-century capitalist philosophy and law. Coolies, we are told, both fought against the contract system and were necessarily complicit with the paper and document chase that lay at the base of arguments over legality of contract.

The book begins with an impressive contextualization of the movement of coolie labor across the Pacific, by far the most detailed analysis at hand. The core of Yun's book, however, is an examination of the coolie testimonies themselves, a discussion that occupies three of the book's five chapters. The Cuba Commission Report has long been seen as a key source for the history of coerced labor in Cuba, and especially for the transition from slave to free labor, but the history of the Chinese investigation that produced the report and a detailed analysis of the testimonies and depositions it contains has never been attempted. As the book's title suggests, Yun sees the testimonies as an opportunity to enter the world of a subaltern grouping whose voice has not been heard. Drawing on the theoretical work of the Subaltern Studies movement and on the cultural and literary work of scholars and activists concerned with Latin American testimonial literature of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, Yun explores the ways in which the coolie testimonies were constructed. Theirs were subversive narratives, spoken and written from individual and collective subject positions, and Yun's book dem-

onstrates how skilful handling can use them to reconstruct the life, work, and strategies for survival and resistance of coerced and semi-coerced laborers in both rural and urban settings. For historians, the cumulative effect of Yun's analysis of the Cuba Commission Report is to profoundly disturb the comfortable generalizations that have dominated the literature. Coolies came, for example, from a much wider range of fields and occupations than has been recognized; many were highly educated and skilled. As Yun puts it, "the bondage system ensnared doctors and farmers alike."

Historians will appreciate the book's usefulness for understanding the political economy and quotidian experiences of bonded labor during the 1860s and 1870s, but the testimonies do more than provide a rich source, a collection of new data and factual detail, for excavating the history of coerced labor. The book is also an opportunity to examine *how* subalterns constructed their accounts, and it provides a model of how to go about this task. Yun deploys an impressive repertoire of strategies, most of them derived from subalternist and literary-cultural analyses of testimonial narratives, to read the coolie documents, examining their linguistic and narrative strategies, the tone and emotions embedded in their language, and the many tropes coolies employed to be persuasive while minimizing the dangers to their physical survival represented by their decision to speak out. Our ability to follow Yun's argument and method is greatly helped by her decision to cite substantial chunks of the depositions and to provide a helpful addendum of selected petitions, something that will make the book enormously attractive in document analysis and teaching.

This, then, is a major addition to our understanding of the subjectivity of subaltern peoples and of the power relations in which subaltern texts are embedded. It should be obligatory reading for historians working in many fields—Latin American and Caribbean history, most obviously, but also the politics of testimonial production in general.

BARRY CARR

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MATTHEW J. SMITH. *Red and Black in Haiti: Radicalism, Conflict, and Political Change, 1934–1957*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 278. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$24.95.

The study of radicalism in Latin American and Caribbean history has evolved in the past decades. Historians have tended to approach the study of radicalism from three sometimes overlapping approaches: a focus on cultural and counter-hegemonic resistance, a focus limited to radicalism in one country for a given time, and a newer trend that does not reject the first two but places local and national radicalism into larger transnational perspective.

Matthew J. Smith's book is largely a political history, set in Port-au-Prince, that also incorporates transnational and cultural resistance approaches to illustrate

the relations between two different radical movements following the end of U.S. occupation: Marxists and *noiristes* (black consciousness proponents). While historians tend to deal superficially with this era between U.S. occupation and the Duvalier regime, Smith's book delves into the political maneuverings of the era's governments, the rise of socialist, communist, and *noiriste* activists, and the broader context of the U.S. Good Neighbor policy and the Cold War. Smith argues "that radicalism in postoccupation Haiti was much more fractured and heterodox than scholars have appreciated" and that while various radicals frequently referenced "color" in their rhetoric and programs, "political allegiances among radicals . . . were not necessarily based on ideological sympathies or color consciousness. Access to state power was quite often the central objective" (p. 6).

Smith traces this history in five chronological chapters. Chapter one illustrates the emergence of leftist and color-conscious radicals out of the resistance movements operating during the U.S. occupation. These radical groups then moved against the Sténio Vincent regime. Chapter two follows Vincent's successor, Élie Lescot, his nationalist policies during World War II, and the anti-Lescot radicals, especially the proponents of black consciousness. During this time, black consciousness radicals had more public space to operate than their Marxist comrades, who had to meet in secret. Meanwhile, the black working-class labor movement helped to spread *noiriste* ideas. Chapter three highlights the rise of radical opposition to Lescot, culminating in the 1946 revolution in which Marxists and workers played a key role in the pro-democracy movement that toppled Lescot. However, leftists and *noiristes* who cooperated against Lescot soon became rivals for the spoils of political power. The election of Dumarsais Estimé—an election celebrated by *noiristes* and backed by the U.S. and the Haitian military—launched a new wave of "black nationalism" while outlawing the Communist Party, as discussed in chapter four. Smith illustrates, however, that this four-year *noiriste* regime was overthrown thanks to the growing opposition of the U.S., the Haitian military, and civilians. Chapter five delves into the military regime of Paul Magloire that transitioned between the Estimé and Duvalier governments. While Magloire's public rhetoric provided a veneer of racial moderation on the island, his government used state violence against leftists and the labor movement. However, as before, black and leftist radicals again aligned to oppose the government, ultimately leading to the election campaign of 1956–1957 that brought an end to this era of radicalism.

Smith taps an impressive array of interviews with survivors, archival sources in Port-au-Prince, and documents from U.S. presidential libraries—the latter reflecting how the author captures the period of Haitian radicalism within the context of U.S. foreign policy concerns. As noted at the beginning, this study is essentially an examination of radicalism in one country. However, at times Smith utilizes cultural sources to reflect how

popular culture like music and art helped to spread black consciousness. The rise of both black consciousness and Marxism are also tied to larger transnational developments during this period, especially the emergence of *noirisme* out of the France-based *négritude* movement and the links between Cuban and Haitian leftists. A fuller exploration of such linkages would have better situated the Haitian example in the broader Caribbean experience. Unfortunately, the book offers the reader little understanding about how the Haitian experience fits into the historiography of Latin American, Caribbean, or African diasporic radicalism, either in a comparative fashion or by exploring transnational linkages. This is important because the 1930s to 1950s witnessed the joint rise and development of both black consciousness and leftist movements throughout the region. How elaborate were the links between Haiti and the rest of the region? How can we understand the experience of Haitian radicalism within the broader history of regional radicalism? Though the book's conclusion gives a nod to these questions, they are certainly worthy of fuller investigation.

Overall, this work is a notable achievement. It adds a new chapter to the history of Caribbean and Latin American radicalism while offering insights into a previously underexamined period in Haitian history. Scholars of the region and those interested in conflict and cooperation between ethnic and leftist movements will find much to appreciate in this jargon-free, well-researched political history.

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ISMAEL GARCÍA-COLÓN. *Land Reform in Puerto Rico: Modernizing the Colonial State, 1941–1969*. (New Directions in Puerto Rican Studies.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2009. Pp. xiii, 163. \$69.95.

This book introduces readers to the ghastly plight of Puerto Rican landless workers and the populist state land reforms of the 1940s to the 1960s that were intended to help them. With a methodology that combines social history with social anthropology, Ismael García-Colón relies heavily on published accounts of the socioeconomic history of twentieth-century Puerto Rico, adding some colorful, and often personal, anecdotes from ethnographic research in Parcelas Gándara, a small neighborhood in Cidra, a town in the mountainous interior of the island. The author documents the evolution of this community from an emic perspective, sharing multiple emotional links with the community. Parcelas Gándara was his home, his community, and it still is the home of his childhood memories and where his family and many friends currently live. Thus in this account García presents his personal "testimony of the transformation that occurred in Puerto Rico and in [his] community" (p. 11–12).

Beginning with a historical background of the island's political and social conditions during the first decades

of the twentieth century, the author emphasizes how the Depression of the 1930s had brutal consequences for the rural working class in Puerto Rico, whose already precarious situation was aggravated by a compression of wages, rising food prices, and employers' predatory behavior. The only figure that seemed to increase in this nefarious decade was the number of the landless workers; by 1940 "the number of landless families in Puerto Rico ranged from 100,000 to 150,000," representing about half of the total population of the island and as much as eighty percent of the population in the countryside (p. 43). Unemployment was rampant; by the end of the 1930s official estimates recorded that sixty to seventy percent of the working population was unemployed (p. 30). These catastrophic figures demanded immediate attention from the colonial government lest massive exodus to the cities or widespread political unrest occur.

The Partido Popular Democrático (PPD), or the Popular Democratic Party, rose to power with a populist platform promising land reform. The Land Law of 1941 distributed plots to landless families across the island in an effort to improve the living conditions of the rural proletariat. The Land Law provided for a highly political organization of space that "emulate[d] features of developed industrial societies" (p. 63), attempting to create the necessary conditions for a smooth transition of landless peasants into modern workers and citizens. However, the author argues that *parceleros(as)* (owners of land plots) reinterpreted the plans of the law's makers by resisting and altering the original provisions of the law. While the law stipulated state ownership, the beneficiaries of the law acted with the presumption of absolute private property, subdividing the lots into smaller ones to accommodate extended and/or growing families. Similarly, while the law attempted to avoid an exodus to the cities, the security of land provision facilitated migration to San Juan and the United States.

The new communities were incorporated into the political machinery of the PPD as the party's "community bases, allowing residents to become active participants in local and national politics" (p. 71). The law also legitimized the party as "an agent of reform" in the countryside, expanding the party's electoral base.

Discussion of the Land Law could have been enriched by situating Puerto Rico within the long nineteenth-century history of workers and the development of capitalism in Latin America. Access to land, private ownership, and multiple forms of labor coercion are essential and intrinsic parts of a story that characterized many countries of Latin America up to the 1930s. The presentation also would have benefited from a critical assessment of memory, nostalgia, and "subaltern" sectors as well as a workable definition of key concepts used throughout the book such as modernization and habitus. Nonetheless, the book fills a void in the literature of Puerto Rico and the Caribbean.

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EDWARD WRIGHT-RIOS. *Revolutions in Mexican Catholicism: Reform and Revelation in Oaxaca, 1887–1934*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2009. Pp. xiii, 361. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.

Secularization has notoriously failed to emerge as predicted by the bards of modernization, an unexpected historical twist that has encouraged a reappraisal of past religiosity. Nowhere is this truer than in Mexican history, where a spate of recent works explain the often vexed relations between lay and church piety. Skirting the older historiographical thicket of studies of the church's *rapprochement* with the Díaz regime and subsequent conflicts with the postrevolutionary state, Edward Wright-Rios instead tacks among Rome, Oaxaca City, and surrounding Indian communities to reveal committed Catholics' internal battles to control access to the sacred. Historians of Latin America will find an original set of protagonists in these pages: an energetic archbishop committed to Rome's latest innovations, a young female Indian visionary, a humble peasant family visited by Our Lord of the Wounds, parish priests, and the redoubtable church matrons who so dominated urban parishes beginning in the late nineteenth century. Gracefully written and informed by a wide-ranging grasp of religion's intersections with political and economic life, especially in Oaxaca's Indian communities, this endlessly absorbing book sets a new standard for twentieth-century Mexican religious history and should inspire comparative regional research for years to come.

Bad biography bores with numbing details; sophisticated biography opens up the vast historical contexts of individual lives. Happily, Eulogio Gillow's pastoral life provides Wright-Rios an opportunity to do the latter. Following Rome's lead, the determined archbishop set out to curb the exuberance of community-based religion in favor of an archdiocesan network of devotional associations focused on frequent sacramental observance. Segregated by class and gender, the new groups provided Oaxaca's well-heeled urban faithful a means to distinguish themselves from the state's rural and indigenous majority around the turn of the nineteenth century. But this was not the Jansenist faith that infused Bourbon reformers with such purpose: worship for Gillow and his ultramontane cadre centered on sacred figures and their cults—especially evocations of Mary that provided miraculous intervention with the divine. For these reformers, only intercession could save society from the godless modernity that had followed upon the Enlightenment.

The battle thus raged not over the truth of the supernatural but over who should interpret these miracles and thus bolster their social authority. The church had no intention of losing these skirmishes, and attempted to co-opt popular cults and create new ones—often to no avail. Gillow traced the sign of the cross on his abdomen with the skull of one of the Indian martyrs of

Cajonos, curing his inflamed appendix, as several doctors attested. To the archbishop, these stalwart Christians who reported their pagan fellow villagers to local missionaries were compelling martyrs and convincing proof of Oaxaca's pure Christian foundations, but the cult failed to move the communities themselves.

But if cults promoted by Rome or Oaxaca's hierarchy often failed to resonate with the Indians, the church did indeed find impassioned allies for its many projects: middle-class *mestiza* women, the famed *beatas fanáticas* that so haunted the imaginations of Jacobins and socialists, became all too real in the late nineteenth century. These women swelled the ranks of the new associations; here Wright-Rios joins Kristina Boylan and Patience Schell in underscoring women's support for the church in this period. These women embraced the church, he explains, because it offered them an alternative to marriage, meaningful careers, and acceptable public spaces as well as a sophisticated vocabulary to critique secular patriarchy. As is his wont, Wright-Rios provides evidence for this feminization of the church drawn not only from statistical data but from a carefully wrought portrait of a single exemplar: super *beata* Matilde Narváez.

The church provided Narváez ample scope for her considerable organizing talents. In 1928, when a nine-year-old Indian girl named Nicha repeatedly encountered the Virgin Mary in a small cave above the tiny village of Ixpantepec, Narváez rallied visitors to the miracle, even penning a detailed report to the ecclesiastical authorities, who ultimately rejected both the miracle and Narváez's too-independent activism. Wright-Rios's analysis of the popular cult stresses multiple causes: the national tumult of the Cristero Revolt, the area's recent and devastating earthquakes, and the prognostications of one Madre Matiana, whose widely circulated devotional pamphlets predicted a great conflagration and the church's triumph thanks to a female-led devotional movement in a year ending in eight. In this discussion, the author is at his erudite best, explaining the indigenous cosmology that would find the Virgin's appearance in a cave plausible, the clergy's stake in the cult's ultimate failure, and the region's recent agrarian transformations.

Wright-Rios is an expert guide to what mattered most to the committed Catholics he studied: their relationship with the Almighty. He fruitfully probes contests over access to the sacred and the right to interpret the areas' multiple divine interventions into the world, and he does so in compelling prose worthy of his three-dimensional protagonists. This book moves our understanding of the intersections of church and lay religiosity forward and will appeal to graduate and undergraduate students—particularly the many students with a *beata fanática* in their family history.

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#### EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

CATHY GERE. *Knossos and the Prophets of Modernism*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2009. Pp. x, 277. \$27.50.

Cathy Gere has written a thought-provoking and worthy successor to her first book, *The Tomb of Agamemnon* (2006). Like that earlier work—a study of the excavations at Mycenae and their political and cultural impact—this book provides an incisive, illuminating analysis of the use and abuse of the past. Approaching ideas and images of Knossos as modern-day projections, Gere dissects intellectualized myths about the timeless, prophetic quality of the ancient past. In the process, she provides a sober meditation on the dilemmas of historical analysis and the nature of modernist consciousness.

The book divides thematically into two parts: a history of archeology leading to the Knossos excavation, and a study of the literary revival and diffusion of the Knossos legend. The first part focuses on the archeological luminary Arthur Evans and his reconstruction of the ancient palace of Knossos. Few historical discoveries are as closely associated with one person as the palace on Crete is tied to Evans. Gere's discussion of Evans is one of the book's strengths and presents an example of Gere's skillful, balanced combination of biographical study and political and cultural analysis.

Seeking the palace of King Minos, the dwelling of his daughter Ariadne, and the site of the Minotaur's labyrinth, Evans recovered fragments of a little-known ancient community. More than that, he argued that in Crete he had unearthed the remnants of a pre-Mycenaean social system—a system vastly different from the Mycenaean world that Heinrich Schliemann claimed to have uncovered on the Greek mainland. Schliemann's image of an entire civilization ruled by patriarchal authorities, built around fortress structures, and organized for aggressive war owed as much to Homer and nineteenth-century nationalism as it did to the actual finds. Trained in the classics and a far more capable and serious technician than Schliemann, Evans organized a far better dig but also relied heavily on speculation. According to Evans, the remains at Knossos indicated the existence of a Minoan matriarchal order that encouraged cultural openness and social peace. Religious devotion focused on a regenerative Mother Goddess, a spirit that Evans eventually found symbolized in the figure of Psyche. Women performed the crucial ritual of bull riding. As the mythic princess of Knossos, Ariadne symbolized pre-Mycenaean political organization and cultural practice. And as the mythic bride of Dionysus, she transmuted the Dionysian danger of self-destruction into a spirit of self-sacrifice.

Gere carefully and convincingly analyzes the modern background and inspiration of Evans's vision. Evans benefited greatly from his early experiences as an itinerant traveler and journalist in southeastern Europe and the Mediterranean. While he still perceived ancient history as a history of competing races, he did not suc-



cumb to the rise of conservative, militant nationalism. Nationalist propagandists, antimodernist writers, and finally Nazi ideologues applied Schliemann's interpretation of Mycenae to their own ends. Evans, however, saw the threat of war as the greatest danger to modern society and perceived in Knossos a timeless social alternative and prophetic warning. Consumed by his oracular mission, he looked for evidence of the prophecy where none existed, becoming susceptible to Minoan forgeries, even those manufactured by his own assistants. Most important, Evans concluded that he had to give visible form to the ancient message. He spent decades piecing together the fragments of a palace that seemed to come as much from the future as from the past.

As Gere describes, even during Evans's lifetime scholars began to raise doubts about his interpretation and reconstruction of Knossos. Early on Evans himself had found evidence of a string of fortifications in ancient Crete. Such doubts did not plague classicists such as Jane Ellen Harrison, who used anthropology to confirm the existence of ancient matriarchal cultures. Nor did they plague modernist writers who shared Evans's oracular conception of Knossos. Chief among the latter were H. D. and Robert Graves, whose works provide the major focus of the second part of Gere's study.

The poet H. D. became a desperate communicant of the generative and pacifist message of Knossos. She found that prophetic message in her analysis with Sigmund Freud and its emphasis on pre-Oedipal attachments; in the hallucinatory memories that returned to her in wartime London; and in the shattering traumas that nearly overwhelmed her during the two world wars. All of those events seemed to her the fulfillment of an ancient oracle. Graves too conceived of poetry as transmitting oracular knowledge. Having survived the slaughter of the Somme, he isolated himself from the world as he once knew it and consumed himself in a perpetual search for female muses or, as he saw them, inspirational goddesses. For H. D. and Graves, however, Knossos embodied more than their poetic aspirations; it also reflected their constant battle with self-destructive impulses. For each, the idea of Knossos remained a prophecy that spoke most deeply to people struggling and suffering at the margins.

While H. D. and Graves found in the legend of Knossos a personal oracle, the myth did have one significant popular impact. Pablo Picasso's *Guernica* incorporated Ariadne and the Minotaur into one of the most powerful antifascist statements of the 1930s and one of the most scathing indictments of war in the modern era. In tracing the discovery and transmission of Knossos as both a private prophecy and public vision, Gere's insightful analysis reminds us strongly of the dynamic nature of the study of the past—personally, socially, and politically.

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ÉRIC GUERBER. *Les cités grecques dans l'Empire romain: Les privilèges et les titres des cités de l'orient hellénophone d'Octave Auguste à Dioclétien*. (Histoire.) Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes. 2009. Pp. 514. €24.00.

This book examines the privileges and titles that Roman emperors granted to cities in the Greek-speaking provinces of the empire, and the rivalry among these cities. Éric Guerber begins by discussing the status of cities as "free" and "autonomous," before moving on to their titles, such as *metropoleis*, *neokoroi*, and seats of provincial leagues ("*sièges des koina*"). He then probes the agonistic activities of these cities, with references to the establishment of local "sacred competitions" (*hieroi agones*); the role of cities as capitals of juridical districts (*conventus iuridici*); other titles, such as the "first of the province" and *navarchis* ("admiral," which was applied exclusively to port cities in Syria), and, finally, he turns to the cities that also assumed the status of Roman colonies. Guerber attempts to incorporate material about the rivalry among Greek cities over titles and privileges on a much larger scale (geographically and chronologically) than in earlier studies by Michael Dräger, *Die Städte der Provinz Asia in der Flaviozeit: Studien zur kleinasiatischen Stadt- und Regionalgeschichte* (1993), and Anna Heller, "*Les bêtises des grecs*": *Conflits et rivalités entre cités d'Asie et de Bithynie à l'époque romaine: 129 a.C.-235 p.C.* (2006). He also raises the problem of how the "hierarchy of privileges" accorded to these cities furthered their integration into the Roman Empire, emphasizing that titles and privileges granted by the emperor were a form of connection between the imperial authority and local cities.

The emperor was, indeed, the dispenser of benefactions for Greek cities. Guerber claims that it was also the emperor who determined the hierarchy of Greek cities. He adduces the words of Modestinus (*Dig.* 27.1.6.2): in his letter to the *koinon* of Asia, Antoninus Pius freed ten doctors and ten teachers in "great cities," four in "major cities," and three in "minor cities" from taxes. The emperor, however, had not established this division: he was merely reflecting on the hierarchy of cities that already existed, thus conforming with and therefore institutionalizing the existing local custom—which was a typical Roman approach. The emperors, in fact, combined Greek and Roman traditions, the hierarchies of prestige and status, respectively. One can clearly see this situation in the reign of Caracalla, who ordered that the governors of Asia begin their tenure by coming to the provincial capital, Ephesus, before all other *metropoleis* (*Dig.* 1.16.4.5). At the same time, he granted the third imperial *neokoria* to Smyrna and Pergamum, while leaving Ephesus with only two imperial *neokoriai*, allotting it the *neokoria* of Artemis (*I.Ephesos* II 212). As a capital of a Roman province, Ephesus received preference in terms of authority over other provincial cities; but the situation was different in terms of prestige among the Greek cities of Asia, where Ephesus always had to catch up with its two main rivals. Not

surprisingly, we never see anything about rivalries of Greek cities over the status of a “free and autonomous” city: only over such titles as the *metropolis* or *neokoros*.

This book thus mixes not only chronological and geographical approaches (essentially no evidence exists about a rivalry over titles among cities in mainland Greece) but also the concepts of “status” and “title”—probably because they were granted, or confirmed, by the emperor. But these concepts pertained to different sides of the existence of Greek cities. Guerber correctly examines the titles and privileges of Greek cities within a general framework of the relationship between the imperial authority and local cities, and justly points to some of the differences in this field between the eastern and western parts of the Roman Empire. In fact, this difference emerged to a large extent because the titles of Greek cities were more about prestige than practical significance for a city. Curiously, the internal administration of Greek cities reflected the same situation: officials occupying more prestigious positions (*agonothetai*, gymnasiarchs) had less authority than *archontes* or generals (cf. Sviatoslav Dmitriev, *City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor* [2005]). Unlike the Romans, the Greek system of values did not identify prestige with status. It is only, natural, therefore, that Guerber ends by speaking of a “relative hierarchy” and, still searching for explanations, turns to the “cultural dimension” of the fight by Greek cities for pre-eminence. The real reason was, of course, that there two hierarchies existed—Greek and Roman—at the same time. This casts a new light on the process of incorporating Greek cities into the Roman Empire: it was the cities’ prestige that allowed them to claim the right to establish imperial cults and “sacred competitions,” and to serve as capitals of juridical districts, thus furthering their status within the Roman state.

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DAVID WYATT. *Slaves and Warriors in Medieval Britain and Ireland, 800–1200*. (The Northern World: North Europe and the Baltic c. 400–1700 AD; Peoples, Economies and Cultures, number 45.) Boston: Brill. 2009. Pp. xix, 455. \$216.00.

David Wyatt has produced the first comprehensive account of slavery in Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and England across the central four centuries of the Middle Ages. He is also sensitive to the Scandinavian influences and ancient Roman as well as Christian traditions that shaped a distinctive northern slavery along the shores of the North and Irish Seas. Wyatt believes that the conventional portrait of medieval English slavery has been distorted by two subsequent developments. Abolitionism inevitably cast slavery as a moral and economic dead end that modernity and capitalism would have to sweep away. The important role church leaders played in the end of slavery in the nineteenth century has made it harder to understand the compromises medieval churchmen made with the practices of slavery.

The second filter seems to be economic history, which Wyatt sees as pushing certain interpretive lines about the course of slavery’s history that have obscured preferable explanatory models. Wyatt is not satisfied with models for the rise or fall of slave systems that depend on what he calls “economic rationale.” His careful definition of slavery sticks fairly closely to the views of Orlando Patterson, with a stronger emphasis on psychological dependencies resulting from the master-slave relationship.

Vivid and compelling arguments and opinions make clear where Wyatt stands in the vast historiography on slavery. His research and sources on slavery plainly emphasize the attitudes and activities of the slave owners, and it is their collective and individual honor and shame that dominate the book. Deprecating economic history means that there is no counting or comparing in this book (no graphs or indeed maps), and almost nothing on the labor of slaves. Here they are victims and markers of conspicuous display.

Wyatt still has a big story to tell and four central chapters make his case for the place of violence and patriarchy. The warrior ethos among the elite males in Irish, Welsh, Scottish, Anglo-Saxon, and Norse societies made slave raiding a major part of life and an important rite of passage. Capturing women and children yielded plunder that granted status to those able to seize people and exploit them. Wyatt is very clear on the violence needed to obtain slaves. He uses the functions of the berserker as a way to show the almost unlimited reach of the bloody hand to find and rape human victims as well as territories. Violence achieved the amassing of women in a system of resource polygyny that buttressed patriarchy and slavery. Wyatt is eloquent on the ways slaves used silence as a form of resistance (p. 154), but this is a rare foray into slave behavior.

Wyatt supports the findings of Ruth Mazo Karras and Susan Mosher Stuard in his analysis of slavery, power, and gender. He mines many literary works, especially the Old Norse sagas and the Welsh *Mabinogion*, for numerous examples of graphic sexual violence associated with slavery. His analysis of slavery and sin emphasizes how the work of church reformers to constrain male violence played a major role in a cultural explanation for slavery’s decline. Church reformers like Wulfstan of York in Anglo-Saxon England and then in increasing numbers after the Norman Conquest attempted to curb the violent sexuality of elite males and made sexual exploitation of female slaves dishonorable and sinful. Church reformers admittedly never called for the abolition of slavery in this period, but by attacking the sources of supply they almost seem to be aware of economic factors Wyatt has excluded. Finally, Wyatt makes a strong case for what he labels cultural antipathy playing a role in the rapid decline of slavery after 1066. The reforming English saw their “Celtic” neighbors as uncivilized brigands who needed to be tamed and reformed. Their habit of slave raiding was one of the reasons the English developed for intervening in twelfth-century Wales, Ireland, and Scotland.

Wyatt has read widely in the sources and scholarly literature, and knows enough languages to recast the entire debate about slavery in northwestern Europe. He misses the chance to make some fruitful comparisons to parallel developments in continental Europe and the Muslim world with respect to violence and male honor in slave systems. For a book published in 2009 there is a real falling off of references to work appearing after 2001 and so some arguments seem already dated or incomplete. Wyatt believes that fully thirty percent of English people were slaves in 1066, and that *Domesday Book* can be interpreted to suggest that this proportion had fallen to ten percent in 1086 (p. 31). This remarkable transformation of Anglo-Saxon society seems to call out for some more prompt explanation than the slow cultural tides of church reform or elite male codes of conduct. Markets and behaviors by slaves may have something after all to do with this result.

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RICHARD W. KAEUPER. *Holy Warriors: The Religious Ideology of Chivalry*. (The Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2009. Pp. viii, 331. \$59.95.

It is not easy to square the often harsh reality of medieval knighthood with the theories of chivalric conduct. The brutality of battle and the hard bargaining over ransom payments seem at odds with the pious ideals of works such as Geoffroi de Charny's *Book of Chivalry* (ca. 1350). One solution is to argue that the chivalric code applied only to knightly equals, and not to the way in which common people might be treated: the knightly order created by the French chivalric hero Boucicaut was, for example, intended to provide protection solely for upper-class ladies. There still remained, however, a moral dilemma at the heart of chivalry: how to justify violence while maintaining high Christian principles.

In this book, Richard W. Kaeuper provides a perceptive and skilled analysis of the religious concepts that underpinned chivalry. Geoffroi de Charny's treatise, and Henry of Lancaster's explicitly religious *Livre des Seyntz Medicines* (1354), provide a starting point in analyzing the strand of thought that saw knighthood as a religious calling. There was obviously no difficulty in seeing crusading in this light, but Kaeuper convincingly shows that for many there was no clear distinction between crusades and other forms of justified warfare. It was common to condemn enemies as being even worse than Saracens, and crusading was not the only route to salvation for a knight. Heroic deeds of arms could be a form of penance. The career of a true knight involved much suffering and pain, leading eventually to a chivalric heaven.

A wide range of evidence is skillfully used to elucidate the concepts of ideal knighthood. There are many instances taken from *chansons de geste*, in which great warriors suffer and even lay down their lives in direct

parallel to the Savior. *Exempla*, some used in sermons, provide unpleasant moral tales of wicked knights who were persuaded to change their ways and perform penitential deeds; one tells of a German knight who had one part after another of his body cut off at his request by a toothed machine, a *dentrix*. Another unfortunate who had taken to a life of plunder, assisted by the Devil, jumped into a fire as his penance, to be promptly reduced to ashes. Impressive as the range of material used by Kaeuper is, there are further sources could be added to reinforce his arguments. The account of William Longespée's crusading venture, which ended in his death in 1250, is one, for it celebrates the secular chivalric virtues and at the same time provides a powerful demonstration of religious motivation. Though Marshal Boucicaut would not allow his men to read the *chansons* that provide much of Kaeuper's evidence, his contemporary biography shows the way in which the religious concepts set out by Geoffroi de Charny might influence knightly conduct. It is inevitable that much of the evidence used by Kaeuper dates from the later medieval period, but he concurs with others who have argued that the concepts of chivalry can be traced back to the twelfth century and beyond.

Kaeuper's arguments brilliantly elucidate the theological ideas that were used to justify chivalric conduct. What his book does not aim to do is to explain how influential such ideas were. Clearly for Geoffroi de Charny and the earl of Lancaster they were of the utmost importance, but even in these cases it is not easy to see how far the ideas influenced conduct in war and tournament. The ideal knight confessed his sins, but, as Kaeuper puts it, "moving many knights into an ideal clerical frame for atonement could be difficult" (p. 185). Moving a man such as Werner of Urslingen, self-styled Enemy of God, Pity, and Mercy, would surely have been impossible. Yet the record of grants made to churches by nobles and knights shows that many were strongly influenced by the concepts delineated in this book.

A valuable chapter discusses the end of chivalry. Kaeuper argues that material factors such as the invention of gunpowder cannot provide an answer, but that ideological changes can. He suggests that Protestant theology was important in breaking the link between penitence and the performance of knightly deeds. An increase in governmental power was also significant, as service to sovereigns received greater emphasis, and concepts of an international chivalric world slowly faded.

This book is confusingly titled *Holy Warriors* on the binding and the dust-wrapper, and *Holy Warrior* on the title page. No one should be put off by this; the book is carefully and elegantly written, and the arguments are abundantly documented. It must be essential reading for any scholar concerned with the knightly culture of the Middle Ages.

MICHAEL PRESTWICH  
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DIDIER LETT. *Un procès de canonisation au Moyen âge: Essai d'histoire sociale; Nicolas de Tolentino, 1325.* (Le Nœud gordien.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 2008. Pp. 473. €29.00.

After his first book on the medieval cult of saints, discussing a hitherto barely researched aspect of miracle accounts, the healing of children (*L'enfant des miracles: Enfance et société au Moyen Âge (XIIe–XIIIe siècle)*, 1997), Didier Lett embarked on an equally ambitious enterprise. He decided to provide a kind of *histoire totale* of a single canonization process, that of the fourteenth-century Augustinian hermit, Nicholas of Tolentino. Since the influential books by André Vauchez (1981), Michael Goodich (1982, 1995) and Christian Krötzel (1994), the rich documentation of late medieval canonization processes has become a designated treasure mine for historians interested in a contextualized analysis of late medieval society and beliefs. Sharon Farmer's *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology, and the Daily Lives of the Poor* (2002), exploiting the testimonies of the miracles of Saint Louis of France, also provided a model for Lett. The analytic grid he presents at the beginning of his book proposes a microhistory of the ecclesiastical and lay society that elevated Nicholas to sanctity. He combines this with an attention to the judicial procedure that framed the process and structured the evidence. The third projected axis of the enquiry is the refined textual analysis of the corpus of manuscripts, paying attention to the problem of "réécriture" (relying upon the work of Monique Goulet and Martin Heinzelmänn) and the quantitative analysis of the vocabulary of the sources.

The book is divided into seven parts absorbing nineteen chapters, and the title of each part contains the infinitive of a verb: "to obtain a bull," "to fabricate a saint," "to produce documentation," "to diversify the witnesses," "to provide testimony," "to create spaces," and "to impose social domination." This implies a constructivist view of the canonization process, with a strong emphasis on the intentional and conscious strategies of all participants.

The two principal "pressure groups" behind the initiative were the Augustinians (in need of their own noteworthy saint) and the Guelph notables of Tolentino; the assumed patronage of Robert of Naples is convincingly questioned. There was virtually no trace of the cult of Nicholas during the two decades that elapsed between his death (1305) and the opening of the canonization investigations (1325), so we know little about his life, despite the 371 testimonies gathered. The saintly figure of Nicholas, as Lett stresses in his conclusion, "is not revealed but rather created by the canonization trial." He is shown to be a partisan of Pope John XXII, involved in a bitter fight against the rebel lords of the Marches in those decades, liberating the prisoners of local tyrants. His dedicated but moderately displayed poverty is an antidote against the radicalism of the Franciscan Spirituals of the times. His heroic fights are above all against the omnipresent devil (the

new obsession of John XXII, as recently uncovered by Alain Boureau); he resists courageously when tortured by demons in his own cell and he exorcises the possessed nuns.

Lett meticulously shows how the documentation was produced by the clerical and lay investigators (and also that one can go beyond the first edition of the proceedings by Nicola Occhioni in 1984). The machinery of the hearing is revealed; the selection that fit witnesses into clusters of age, sex, and social status is analyzed as an image of the world as the investigators conceived it. Conversely we also get a reading of how witnesses themselves worked on their memories to carve out the accounts expected by the investigators. Recent concerns of historians, psychologists, and anthropologists about memory, from Maurice Halbwachs to Harvey Whitehouse, are taken into account, and the inquiry on gender-based differences in memory is truly interesting. Lett's insights into the richness and the variability of often parallel oral accounts of the same event, and their transmutation into written record, are thought-provoking. The gist of his analysis, relying on recent concerns of French historiography, reconstitutes the spatial and the social structures of the society that produced this saint in the late Middle Ages, based on a reassuring set of statistical, topographical, and chronological computing, a consideration of the different scales, and a taste for description, such as the story of the diabolically possessed nuns of Santa Lucia or the spectacular healings within the family of local potentate Berardus Appilaterre.

All in all, Lett has managed to produce the most complex microanalysis of a medieval canonization process to date. This book is exemplary in its presentation, handling, and documentation, and in the way it fits its analysis into a broader set of questions posed by medievalists, social scientists, and philosophers.

My only reproach is that Lett neglected three recent studies that are very close to his own type of inquiry: Stanko Andrić's *The Miracles of St. John Capistran* (2000), which shows a similar concern for the complex documentary corpus of the investigation and the literary construction of the miracle accounts; Robert Bartlett's *The Hanged Man: A Story of Miracle, Memory, and Colonialism in the Middle Ages* (2004), which analyzes the social conflicts behind one miracle account in the early fourteenth-century process of Saint Thomas Cantilupe; and the collection of judicial-hagiographical case-studies edited by Goodich, *Voices from the Bench* (2006). One further omission is Thomas Wetzstein's *Heilige vor Gericht: Das Kanonisationsverfahren im europäischen Spätmittelalter* (2004), a most thorough analysis of the legal mechanisms of late medieval canonization processes. Nevertheless, Lett's book is a worthy competitor, also offering an admirably structured presentation and enjoyable reading.

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LEAH DEVUN. *Prophecy, Alchemy, and the End of Time: John of Rupescissa in the Late Middle Ages*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2009. Pp. xiii, 255. \$50.00.

In a not too distant past, as Leah DeVun critically denounces, historians interpreted medieval thinkers' scientific-naturalistic views not only by comparing them to subsequent or even current scientific results but also by drawing on strict modern definitions and distinctions (between science and theology, or naturalistic research and religiosity). This approach cannot but lead to results quite unsatisfying and at any rate misleading. The last two decades have witnessed a proliferation of studies that analyze the interchanges and the permeability between religious-theological perspectives and naturalistic research. These exchanges are most often reciprocal. For example, many thirteenth-century theologians used medical-biological doctrines while composing their theological or pastoral works, and various physicians and natural philosophers did not forget religious values and issues in the exercise of their profession as well as in their research. The attentive account of these ties, while preserving the relative specificity of the distinctive fields, allows for a better articulated and appropriate overview of the outcomes of scientific research in the late Middle Ages. DeVun's work on John of Rupescissa joins this trend. As the author states, "Only an integrated approach can account for the multiple bodies of knowledge that intersect with one another in Rupescissa's writings" (p. 6).

John of Rupescissa was a fourteenth-century Joachite and Spiritual Franciscan, prophet of the advent of the "end times" and of the Antichrist's threats, a religious reformer persecuted by the papal curia of Avignon, and an alchemist: we are indebted to him for theories and practical instructions on the quintessence, which were innovative in the context of the Latin alchemic tradition. John of Rupescissa's reputation and influence extended to Paracelsus and beyond; his alchemic works enjoyed noteworthy manuscript circulation and were soon printed. Maintaining a strong separation between his religious ideas (prophetic and Joachite in this case) and his scientific-naturalistic research (alchemic in this case) makes an effective interpretation of Rupescissa and his works impossible; moreover, such a separation is virtually impossible to achieve. In eight chapters, DeVun examines his subject's functional interweaving of a religious-prophetic approach (aimed at salvation and at the improvement of the *pauperes Christi* and Christendom through the tribulations of the "end times") and the necessary means to achieve these ends. Fundamental among the latter were the alchemic medicines obtained by distillation. DeVun's account of the historical framework in which John of Rupescissa moved (chapter one); of the prophetic tradition into which the author inserted himself (chapter two); of the alchemic doctrines he mastered with originality (especially those derived by Roger Bacon, Pseudo-Llull, and Pseudo-Arnau de Vilanova) (chapters three and four) is accurate and per-

suasive. Especially remarkable is chapter six: here DeVun, through an analysis of the lexicon and metaphors of Rupescissa's alchemic and prophetic language, discloses the continuous connection between the two levels. In particular, such an analysis points out that the religious nuances and themes of the alchemic works by Rupescissa, far from representing a purely rhetorical or expressive "mystical flavor" irrelevant to doctrinal formulation, are actually the very conditions which make the construction of theories possible. It is not the case that such a massively religious approach lead Rupescissa to outline exclusively spiritual transformations or inner improvements. Rather, Rupescissa's doctrine promised—and taught the realization of—concrete material changes, both in metals and in human bodies. These transformations, necessary to face the tormented end times in which the author believed himself to live, resulted from divine illumination coupled with the active initiative of men (certain men, the *virī evangelici*) able to contribute to the fulfilment of the divine plans thanks to their rightful wills and technical knowledge.

Such cooperation between man and God was aimed at the improvement of creation. Man's commitment to "taking care of nature and the world" through artificial intervention is a distinctive feature of the alchemic project, which is rooted in the same hermetic philosophic framework to which alchemy refers. This theme was particularly emphasized by Bacon, and DeVun examines its different implications. Here (and more generally in the whole book) the relevance of Bacon emerges: Baconian issues are detectable in the later alchemic works by Pseudo-Llull, Pseudo-Arnau, and also by John of Rupescissa. But DeVun has to admit that we lack trustworthy data regarding the circulation and reading of Baconian works. As a result, and notwithstanding some recent studies on the topic, Bacon's influence seems to have a "carsic" quality, appearing suddenly, disappearing inexplicably, only to reappear later as if from nothing.

DeVun's book is well constructed, thoroughly documented, instructive, and very useful. It sheds light on an author who has until now been little explored in his organic unity and complexity. One factual error: the *Tractatus parabolicus* quoted in Rupescissa's *Liber Lucis* and elsewhere is not "an unidentified Arnaldian work" (p. 111); it is likely instead to be an alchemic text of Pseudo-Arnau's corpus (see Antoine Calvet, editor and translator, "Le 'Tractatus parabolicus' du pseudo-Arnau de Villeneuve," *Chrysopoieia* 5 [1992–1996], pp. 145–171). It would perhaps have been useful to investigate previous articulations of the link between alchemy and prophecy, as this was not a novelty in Latin alchemy (see Chiara Crisciani, "'Opus' and 'sermo': The Relationship between Alchemy and Prophecy (12th–14th Centuries)," *Early Science and Medicine* 13.1 [2008], pp. 4–24). However, the connection between alchemy and prophecy was particularly evident in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as witnessed, among other attestations, by the whole activity of Rupescissa

and *Das Buch der heiligen Dreifaltigkeit* of the early fifteenth century.

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#### EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

ROGER COLLINS. *Keepers of the Keys of Heaven: A History of the Papacy*. New York: Basic Books. 2009. Pp. vi, 566. \$35.00.

Given its status as the last surviving sacral monarchy on the European scene and as an extraordinarily durable institution with claims to not much less than a two-millennial history, it is not surprising that the papacy has a perennial appeal to those who would like to mediate its remarkable story to the general reading public. Sometimes the chosen approach has been to present chronologically sequential biographies of the popes down through the ages, as, for example, in J. N. D. Kelly's *Oxford Dictionary of the Popes* (1986). At other times, as with Eamon Duffy's highly successful *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes* (1997), the approach has involved writing a history of the papacy, a work to be read through rather than consulted piecemeal. Roger Collins has chosen the latter approach, and from that choice flow both the strengths and the weaknesses of the account he has produced.

The strengths are real. A comment on the book's jacket positions it as a work of "accessible scholarship." The claim is justified. Collins has labored hard to write with the reasonably informed general reader in mind. The writing is clear; he does not take too much knowledge for granted; the chapters are given evocative titles ("Slave of the Slaves of God"; "Free, Chaste, and Catholic"; "Three Bishops on One Seat," and so on); Collins makes strategic use of the moments of high drama that have punctuated the institution's turbulent history—whether the Emperor Henry IV barefoot in the snow at Canossa, or the degradation of Boniface VIII at Anagni, or a whole series of cliff-hanging and intrigue-ridden papal electoral conclaves. And if the scholarship is almost always accessible it is also careful and sound, grounded in impressively wide reading and distinguished by balance and sobriety of judgment. The end product, then, is a narrative that is at once well-informed, thoughtful, and reliable. It will serve its readers well.

Of course, and almost inevitably, any work of this scope is likely to be punctuated by the occasional mistake of commission or omission and by momentary lapses into imprecision. Collins's book is no exception, and while it would be churlish to make too much of them, a few instances should be signaled. Simply attributing the authorship of the *Dictatus papae* to Gregory VII will not do; nor, even at the moment when they deposed him did the Constance fathers view John XXIII as an "antipope." To them, he was *verus papa*. It was not the "reinstatement" of the Latin Mass in 2007 that raised eyebrows, but the authorization in an at-

tempt to mollify the Lefebvre faction of its celebration according to the superceded Tridentine Latin rite. And does not Martin V's commitment of the papacy to the policy of reaching concordats with the secular rulers of Europe deserve a mention? It had the effect, after all, of parceling out among the nations the actual substance of the pope's sovereign ecclesiastical authority in return for a merely theoretical recognition of his supreme authority in the universal church. In its own way that amounted to a constitutional revolution in the church almost as far-reaching as that attempted by conciliarists at the Council of Constance.

One cannot help feeling quizzical, moreover, about a couple of the book's features that clearly reflect the author's conscious priorities. A surprisingly low salience is given to matters ecclesiological and ideological, especially when measured against the sustained and even relentless focus on the micropolitics of the city of Rome and the internecine quarrels among competing aristocratic families that repeatedly mired the papal institution in a corrupting morass of riot, violence, intrigue, and contested elections. Considerable detail has to be deployed in order to render such distant squabbles even quasi-intelligible, distorting the shape of the book. It calls for the commitment of almost as many pages to the frequently provincial papal history of the first thousand years as to the prominent international institution of the centuries following, and this flattens the overall narrative.

That duly noted, one should also acknowledge the strong and forceful fashion with which Collins brings that narrative to a conclusion. He does so with a clear recognition of the sheer importance of the very recent past for the rise of the papacy to the position of prominence in church and world that we today are easily (if improperly) tempted to take for granted. He concludes that "recent decades have . . . put the person of the pope at the forefront of the Catholic sense of identity to an unparalleled degree, and focused popular piety on it" (p. 498). Few, I suspect, would be moved to question that conclusion.

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JON R. SNYDER. *Dissimulation and the Culture of Secrecy in Early Modern Europe*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2009. Pp. xxiii, 280. \$45.00.

Jon R. Snyder's thoughtful, intricate, and nuanced book argues that dissimulation emerged toward the beginning of the sixteenth century in the form of a virtue distinct from simulation, with which it is often paired, and when prudence, for so long a prized virtue in the Renaissance, gradually waned in value. Dissimulation emerged as a key virtue, Snyder maintains, in response to the absolutist "Old Regime" of early modern Europe but then died out as the new virtue of sincerity firmly took hold during the Enlightenment.

The first chapter traces the prehistory of the concept

of “dissimulation,” while the subsequent three chapters investigate discrete aspects of the virtue of dissimulation as it found expression in a variety of treatises and manuals written by the cultural elite. The focus is on “Civil and Moral Dissimulation,” “Dissimulation at Court,” and “Dissimulation and Reason of State.” The final brief chapter examines for the most part a series of frescoes in the “Sala del Silenzio” in the town of Cherasco.

Just a glance at the endnotes reveals that this is an immensely learned book. They run for seventy-three pages, with lengthy citations from primary sources and handy accompanying translations, in a book whose actual narrative runs for barely 180 pages (not counting the substantive preface). The bibliography is equally impressive. Snyder has read a lot and read well. He has looked carefully at canonical and non-canonical treatises and manuals, both in print and manuscript. These sources firmly underwrite Snyder’s story about the importance of dissimulation and secrecy. And he is right: they were important virtues. They became the cornerstone of much thinking about civility, manners, conversation, conformity, trickery, ethics, interiority, trust, belief, passions, self-knowledge, self-mastery, sociability, social observation, self-expression, power, the court, fashion, display, patience, Neo-Stoicism, self-advancement, opportunism, self-preservation, the freedom to explore, strategies for evasion, lying, temporality, hypocrisy, transparency, social distancing, statecraft, and statehood. And there is still more.

But Snyder’s title is also perhaps a bit misleading. He writes about “discourse” rather than “culture,” and he analyzes how the elite theorized, rather than practiced, dissimulation. His sources, unlike those for cultural historians, are also pretty much all of one type: treatises and manuals. In this regard, Snyder’s book aspires to be an intellectual, as opposed to cultural, history. His concern throughout is with the normative and conflicting codes generated by the dominant culture. Above all this is a book, as he points out, about “attitudes.”

The book lacks some of the specificity one might expect out of a full-blown intellectual history. To be sure, Snyder offers an historical framework to explain why the cultural elite of early modern Europe was theorizing about the virtue of dissimulation. His framework is adopted from “the interdisciplinary and international Europa delle Corti group of scholars,” which he finds “has persuasively argued since the 1970s that the culture of absolutism (*la cultura classicista*) cannot be confined to traditional schemes of historical periodization or national literatures, because it functioned as a highly diffuse and enduring paradigm of cultural homologation in Europe” (p. xix). However, Snyder furnishes few historical particulars to explain more precisely why certain writers wrote the way they did about dissimulation and secrecy at a certain time—how, in short, those ideas and attitudes emerged out of local experiences. What we get instead are intensely close readings of texts, where concepts are scrutinized, meticulously compared with one another, and infinitely parsed.

As a historian, Snyder is therefore pretty much a “lumper”: broad-based discussions of the Old Regime, the court, absolutism, and their accepted modes of operating suffice to explain historical context and thus to account (and I think he is correct in making this argument) for the astonishing pan-European outpouring of reflections on dissimulation and secrecy. But Snyder is also a meticulous “splitter” when it comes to examining the strategies deployed in the treatises and manuals: here Snyder, as more of a literary scholar, is interested in not just what a text says but what it strategically does to shift and transform ideas and attitudes, no matter how slightly. And he certainly does a fine job of tracing these shifts and transformations.

Yet many of the treatises Snyder examines strike me—and I have not read them all myself—as so derivative of one another that in the end his distinctions grew finer and finer until, I confess, I had trouble sometimes distinguishing them even after a second reading. Snyder acknowledges in his preface (in which he openly reveals all the methodological cards that he has in his hands) that the arguments in these treatises and manuals do indeed blur into one another and therefore do not make for a neat or easy system of classification. His frank, “sincere” acknowledgement in this regard may perhaps be taken to suggest that reflections on dissimulation and secrecy were not only in a distinctly formative state during the early modern period in Europe but also—yet again like so much in the baroque—complex, interconnected, and remarkably difficult to pin down.

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ROBERT ZARETSKY and JOHN T. SCOTT. *The Philosophers’ Quarrel: Rousseau, Hume, and the Limits of Human Understanding*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 247. Cloth \$27.50, paper \$18.00.

For whatever reasons, the lives of philosophers seem never before to have attracted so much attention, from scholars and popularizers alike—as if biographical context and event were sure routes to philosophical meaning. But what were the odds that *two* dual-author studies of the famous falling-out between Jean-Jacques Rousseau and David Hume would appear in such rapid succession? Given the finite nature of the evidence, there was bound to be a good deal of overlap between *The Philosophers’ Quarrel* and David Edmonds and John Eidinow’s *Rousseau’s Dog: Two Great Thinkers at War in the Age of Enlightenment*, published in 2006. Robert Zaretsky and John T. Scott do acknowledge a debt to their predecessors for one crucial piece of detective work. More interesting, however, are the differences between the two books. Edmonds and Eidinow have now made a cottage industry of zestful accounts of intellectual combat, *Rousseau’s Dog* having been preceded by *Wittgenstein’s Poker: The Story of a Ten-Minute*

*Argument between Two Great Philosophers* (2002) and *Bobby Fischer Goes to War: How a Lone American Star Defeated the Soviet Chess Machine* (2005).

As the distance between a “quarrel” and a “war” suggests, Zaretsky and Scott have written a very different kind of book, to which its authors have brought the quieter virtues of their respective academic disciplines (French ideas and literature, and political philosophy). Zaretsky and Scott begin *in media res*, with the pivotal scene of the tale, when Rousseau, on the brink of his flight from London to his sanctuary at Wootton Hall, first accused Hume of treachery, then flung himself, weeping, into the arms of the astonished Scot. Hume shed tears as well, later saying, “I think no scene in my life was ever more affecting.” The authors then use the figure of the star-struck James Boswell to introduce biographical sketches of the three main players in their drama: first, the extraordinary itinerant of Rousseau, from obscurity to fame and then persecution, down to his refuge in Môtiers, where Boswell showed up at his door in December 1764; then Hume, another of Boswell’s heroes, whose own life had its share of distress and displacement, leaving him with a sense of “inner exile” not infinitely remote from that of Rousseau; and finally, Voltaire, now permanently established at Ferney—Boswell’s next stop after Môtiers—whose campaign of invective against Rousseau was certainly a *sine qua non* for the debacle that followed. From there, Zaretsky and Scott turn to the contingencies that brought Hume and Rousseau together late in 1765. Hume was already in something of an emotional state, as a result of his amorous entanglement with the Comtesse de Boufflers, lover of the Prince de Conti, during the preceding year. When the uproar over the *Letters Written from the Mountain* (1764) finally drove Rousseau from Môtiers in September 1765, it was apparently the combined efforts of Boufflers and Rousseau’s former neighbor Lord Keith that led Hume to renew an earlier invitation to seek asylum in England, under his protection. After the idyllic two months on the island in Lake Bienné, Rousseau, decked out in his Armenian caftan and in the company of his beloved dog Sultan, duly made his way to Paris, where he met up with Hume at Conti’s Temple residence in late December 1765.

Zaretsky and Scott provide consistently acute descriptions and analyses of the extraordinary scenes that followed: the two weeks in Paris, which left Hume deeply impressed with Rousseau’s personality and celebrity; the twelve-hour trip across the channel, Rousseau and Sultan on deck, Hume vomiting below; the pair’s tumultuous sojourn in London, which included their appearance at a royal command performance, to see David Garrick playing in Voltaire’s *Zara*; their sittings for Allan Ramsay, producing the wonderful oils that adorn the jacket of this book; and finally, Rousseau’s escape to Richard Davenport’s estate in Staffordshire in March 1766. It was suspicion over Hume’s role in securing payment for the carriage ride to Wootton that led to Rousseau’s initial meltdown—a warning of the violent unraveling to come. But its real trigger

seems to have been the cruel mischief of Horace Walpole, who in April published a satirical letter, supposedly from Frederick the Great, offering asylum to Rousseau, but on condition that “he stop finding glory in being persecuted.” From Ferney, Voltaire continued to pile on as well. Hume, who in the meantime had managed to secure a royal pension for Rousseau, attempted to avert the disaster, but it was too late. In isolation at Wootton, Rousseau now convinced himself of Hume’s complicity in the wider campaign against him. After ominous silence, in June Rousseau unleashed the long letters to Hume accusing him of the “blackest treachery.” Flabbergasted by the intensity of Rousseau’s turn, Hume hesitated. Some friends, including Adam Smith, urged restraint. But in October, egged on by Rousseau’s philosophic enemies and fearing that the latter intended to go public with his accusations, Hume published an impassioned preemptive defense of his conduct. Rousseau never answered, nor ever spoke of the affair again. But the liaison between the two famous philosophers had been a matter of “public” concern from the start. Hume’s recourse to print merely ensured that the quarrel with Rousseau would instantly be turned into one more battle in the wider struggle—for which the term “war” is perfectly appropriate—between the mainstream *philosophes* and their various enemies. In its course, the reputations of both Rousseau and Hume were badly damaged.

Posterity has, of course, fixed the major part of the blame for the fracas on Rousseau. In *Rousseau’s Dog*, Eidinow and Edmonds bend the stick as far the evidence permits in the other direction, making a strong case for Hume’s complicity in Walpole’s letter. Zaretsky and Scott are more circumspect, but acknowledge a degree of bad faith on Hume’s part beyond what most commentators have allowed. Wisely, however, they resist the temptation to draw any large conclusions about the fate of “the Enlightenment” as a whole, in regard to which this episode was something of a forlorn siding. Rousseau and Hume—neither of whom possessed anything beyond the most superficial acquaintance with the philosophical writings of the other—both looked awry at the rationalism of the mainstream Enlightenment, but from very different angles. Where Hume anticipated all the skeptical pressures that have tended to undermine the place of the “self” in modern philosophy, Rousseau, by contrast, stood at the origin of all Romantic self-assertion. Here is where Zaretsky and Scott locate the philosophical meaning of the debacle, in the efforts of both philosophers to lead lives of philosophical seriousness, but on very different premises, rooted in thoroughly modern dilemmas. It is an unspoken and pleasing irony that such a skillfully constructed and beautifully written account of a failure of minds to meet should itself be the result of intellectual collaboration. If *Rousseau’s Dog* is, as its blurb suggests, “a beach book for the brainy set,” the present title might better find its place on the nightstand—a sad and



moving meditation on human frailty, ideally suited for the small hours.

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ANDREW PIPER. *Dreaming in Books: The Making of the Bibliographic Imagination in the Romantic Age*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2009. Pp. xv, 303. \$35.00.

In the Romantic period, Andrew Piper tells us, a "surplus" of books overwhelmed readers and took possession of them. This perception of being captured by books was not caused by the technological changes associated with the industrialization of book publishing after about 1830; on the contrary, it predated them. Piper's aim is to explore this new "order of books" of early nineteenth-century Europe, to borrow the phrase that Roger Chartier applied to an earlier age. In order to do so, Piper draws on his own expertise in German studies and assembles examples from three countries: Britain, Germany, and France. He combines international book history with close textual analysis to offer something more than the existing literature by William St. Clair, James Smith Allen, myself, or Isabelle Olivero (whose work Piper neglects).

Piper examines several popular genres of the period: novellas, illustrated books, keepsakes, translations, and collected works. With the exception of collected works, which were not incidentally unique to Romanticism, he succeeds in defining some characteristic publishing strategies of the 1820s. Piper draws attention to the openness and unfinished nature of books. Novelists borrowed stories, plagiarized themselves, and invented recurrent characters through which they referred to both previous and future publications. Fictional texts were porous and constantly in evolution. Piper is interested in authors like Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Honoré de Balzac who published stories and parts of novels and then rewrote and reclassified them, for example as *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre* (1821 and 1829) or the multivolume *Comédie Humaine*. E.T.A. Hoffmann is another who revised what he published in an endless process of narrative recycling. Even collected editions never seemed to be quite definitive; new texts would be found or published by the author who was canonized by the publication of his *oeuvre*, necessitating a continuous stream of collected editions. Keepsakes, which were anthologies of poetry, essays, and short fiction designed as gifts, were deliberately incomplete: they contained blank pages which invited readers themselves to inscribe their own verse or dedication.

Piper refers to this porosity as the "intermediality" of the book. Books referred to other books and to other media, including the theater or oral sources in the case of folk tale collections or Walter Scott's edited Scottish ballads. Here in Romantic "intermediality" Piper finds the future of the book in our time. That future, he suggests, lies within a dense contemporary network of communication technologies, including text, speech, image,

which all overlap and interact with each other. The book flourishes not as the rival of other media but by connecting with them. The openness of fiction, and the derivative nature of edited and translated works raised questions about intellectual property that also have a contemporary resonance. Nineteenth-century editors of their national heritage, like Wilhelm Grimm or Scott, valued modernization over fidelity to an imaginary original. Editors of ancient texts sought original meaning not by reproducing the most authentic version but rather by bypassing surviving versions, which were deemed to be fragmentary and unrepresentative. The vogue for editing and translating, and the frenetic reprinting and copying of the Romantic period, opened up similar questions to those posed by massive (and unauthorized) digitization today.

These are valuable insights that any book historian will find of interest. They throw up unanswered questions about how the "Romantic period" should be defined in literary terms, and they illuminate some neglected aspects of publishing and writing strategies in the early nineteenth century. Piper, however, aims to do much more than this, by entering "inside" his chosen books to examine their symbols, imagery, and narrative ploys. Here, in this second part of his project, I find him far less successful. He gives us a very clear and insightful chapter on Scott, which includes an ingenious reading of *The Heart of Midlothian* (1818), but otherwise his personal interpretations are unsatisfying. They tell us how Piper understands his chosen extracts, but they throw no light at all on how actual Romantic readers understood Goethe, Scott, or Hoffmann in the nineteenth century.

Piper gives us more than our fair share of cultural studies vocabulary. He discovers developments that are either "key" or "quintessential" with astonishing frequency and exaggeration. In his opaque prose, there are many made-up words, like "guestness" (the opposite of foreignness), and "throwiness" (the state of being projected). There are words which sent me scurrying for the dictionary, usually to no avail, like "heterodiegetic," "catachresis," and "methexis." All this deepens the obscurity and, to coin a German-like compound word in the Piper fashion, it makes for readerunfriendliness. Piper has given us a book of considerable insight and intelligence that comes with a high degree of difficulty.

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ROY A. PRETE. *Strategy and Command: The Anglo-French Coalition on the Western Front, 1914*. Ithaca, N.Y.: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2009. Pp. xvii, 299. \$75.00.

Roy A. Prete's book is the first of three volumes he promises on the evolution of the Anglo-French Coalition in the first half of World War I. It is written within the now well-established paradigm that the essential starting point for an understanding of the strategies of the belligerents during that war is to recognize that it

was a war fought between two competing coalitions. Coalitions are drawn together by the threat of a common enemy. But they can crumble if the agendas of their members diverge too widely. If a coalition is to survive and prosper, the parties involved usually have to compromise.

Prete focuses on two issues: in what ways did British and French grand strategies clash; and how, at the level of the major field commanders, Field Marshal Sir John French and Marshal Joseph Joffre, did the two partners hammer out compromises that worked to hold the coalition together? He relates in some detail the development of the prewar plans that the two General Staffs produced to ensure that the British army arrived in France in time for the opening battles. But, as he shows, these plans had two major lacunae. They did not establish a clear structure to ensure unity of command between the two armies in the field, and they did not provide for the defence of Belgium. These became bones of contention because, although the British and French were equally determined to defeat Germany, they did not agree on how they should go about it. To French consternation, not only were the British slow to mobilize their army in 1914, but they also briefly considered lending direct assistance to Belgium rather than sending the army to France. Furthermore, even having taken that decision to go directly to the aid of France, the orders that Lord Kitchener, the British Secretary of State for War, gave to Sir John French on August 9 demonstrated that they were intent on fighting the war on limited liability principles. The small regular British army would lend the French moral support, but Sir John was ordered that at all costs he must not hazard it. Victory, according to Kitchener's formula, would come when the French and Russian armies had fought the Germans to a standstill, and the British could then step in to win the peace.

It is not surprising that allowing the British to fight the war to the last French soldier had little appeal to Joffre. Since the 1890s the French had been determined to extract every ounce of support they could, first from their Russian allies and, after 1904, from the British. They wanted not just the naval support and money that the British offered them but more importantly, the maximum number of British soldiers where they would count most, on the Western Front. Prete's analysis is at its most interesting and original when he explores the ways in which Joffre went about extracting support from the British. He tried direct negotiations with Sir John. He dismissed French commanders who seemed disinclined to co-operate with the British, and he replaced them with men like Ferdinand Foch, who were willing to do so. He also tried to get British commanders who were reluctant to work with the French replaced. But when these expedients failed he did not scruple to appeal to his own government, and through them to the British government. This led to two command crises. In the first Kitchener made his famous trip to France on September 1, 1914, reversed his own orders of August 9, and told Sir John to cooperate fully with the French.

The second, in October and November, led to an abortive attempt to have Sir John sacked.

This book has been a long time in gestation. It is based on the author's doctoral thesis, completed in 1979. Since then he has kept abreast of the burgeoning secondary literature around his subject, and has been able to delve equally deeply into British, and more especially, French government archives and private papers. Prete plans to follow this volume with two companion volumes, one on the place of the Dardanelles campaign in Anglo-French strategy, and the second on the battle of the Somme. It is to be hoped that they reach the same standard of scholarly achievement as this volume.

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ALEXANDER WATSON. *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Morale and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914–1918*. (Cambridge Military Histories.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xv, 288. \$99.00.

That soldiers proved capable of withstanding the enormous physical and mental pressures of trench warfare on the Western Front during World War I is a source of wonder. In assessing combat motivation Alexander Watson is travelling along a familiar road—he is far from the first historian to attempt to answer the question of how soldiers coped in this “war of endurance”—but building on the work of his predecessors, he has produced a deeply researched and in many ways genuinely original study. In brief, Watson argues that human robustness was the key to why the armies stuck it out so long; and ultimately British Empire troops proved more resilient than their German opponents. Generally, his British material, while sound, is less innovative than his arguments about the German army.

Watson devotes an important chapter to examining mental coping strategies among soldiers. These include religious observance and superstition, which were sometimes extremely bizarre: he cites the case of a German soldier who decided that his survival depended on offering the gods a “blood sacrifice” of thirteen flies. Perhaps more important was self-deception, soldiers managing blithely to ignore the evidence of their own eyes and persuade themselves that they would survive. While this is not a new insight, Watson brings a wealth of detail and analysis to the topic.

A central theme is the role of junior officers. Watson uses and confirms the thesis of this reviewer about the importance of British regimental officers in sustaining morale (G. D. Sheffield, *Leadership in the Trenches* [2000]) but goes on to argue that German junior officers played a similar role on the other side of No Man's Land. In the German army, while officer-man relationships were probably not quite as good as in the British Expeditionary Force, paternalistic attitudes, leadership, and inter-rank solidarity were important in holding units together. The well-attested “officer hate” of

1916 to 1918 seems to have been mainly directed at middle-ranking and rear area officers, not battalion leadership. Unlike the British army, which pragmatically opened officers' messes to "temporary officers"—men who demonstrated leadership ability or potential, regardless of social background—the German army was careful to restrict entry to the officer corps. As Watson argues, this had the effect of piling responsibility on frontline officers and reducing the time they could devote to the welfare of their men. In spite of this, the relationship between soldiers and their junior officers survived. Thus the prewar German army and the middle-ranking officers emerge as the villains of the piece in failing to adjust to the conditions of industrialized mass warfare on the Western Front. Watson's carefully constructed rehabilitation of junior leaders in the German army is convincing, and forms a central plank in his most distinctive contribution to the debate, a fundamental reassessment of the factors that brought about the end of the fighting in 1918.

During the final Hundred Days of the war in the West the German army was decisively beaten in the field and effective Allied strategy, tactics, and operational techniques clearly played a substantial part in this. So did the mistakes of German high command, but the state of the German army was also critical. Contemporary British observers commented that the German army in the second half of 1918 was not up to the same standard as the force that had fought in earlier campaigns. Previous historians have pointed out how few men could be fielded by hollowed-out German formations during the Hundred Days, and Wilhelm Deist's notion of large-scale "shirking" in the last months of the war that amounted to a "covert strike" by German soldiers has been particularly influential. Watson revises Deist's thesis by arguing that physical and mental exhaustion of German soldiers, combined with the conviction that they had lost the war, led to mass surrenders "in which officers led their weary men into Allied captivity" (p. 235). Thus inter-rank solidarity had a final twist. Loyalty to each other superseded loyalty to the army or the state. Watson's argument is bold and persuasive, but since his thesis overturns the existing orthodoxy and may well become the new one, this reviewer was left wishing that he had supplied further details and examples of such orderly surrenders. His insight could be tested by examining other armies in defeat. The Austro-Hungarian army in 1918 and, to move forward a war, the British Empire forces in Malaya and Singapore in 1942 are obvious candidates for this treatment.

This is an important book. Watson's arguments have profound implications for our understanding of morale and combat motivation on the Western Front, and his provocative thesis about ordered surrenders at the end of the war means the nature of the Allied victory in November 1918 needs to be reassessed.

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MARK MAZOWER. *Hitler's Empire: How the Nazis Ruled Europe*. Paperback edition. New York: Penguin. 2009. Pp. xl, 725. \$20.00.

This book is magnificently and seductively subversive. Writing in the narrative mode for a general audience, Mark Mazower's lucid prose and preference for straightforward presentation over historiographical debate means that readers may find themselves following his broader—and more radical—arguments despite themselves. The feat of this book is not only its sweeping coverage and vast erudition; it is to mainstream a thesis that hitherto has existed on the margins of scholarship on Nazi Germany.

Since the early 2000s, members of a younger generation of historians, like Jürgen Zimmerer, Wendy Lower in *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine* (2005), and the present writer have been drawing links between German and European imperialism and the Nazi empire and the Holocaust. But most Holocaust historians reject the connection and insist upon the centrality of antisemitism in the Nazi project, a perspective that culminated in Saul Friedländer's feted *The Years of Extermination: Nazi Germany and the Jews, 1939–1945* (2007). Mazower foreshadowed the imperialism thesis earlier in his well-known study of twentieth-century Europe, *Dark Continent* (1998), where he suggested—following Aimé Césaire—that the real transgression of National Socialism was not genocide per se but the importation into Europe of brutal colonial rule over non-Europeans. Moreover, this traumatic experience, rather than a Manichean struggle between "civilization and barbarism," was for Europeans the defining experience of the twentieth century. For many of them found liberalism and democracy attractive only after the shock of being treated like "the natives." Mazower seems to be implying that, *pace* the conventional wisdom, the Holocaust is not that defining an experience after all.

This latest book expands and immeasurably deepens his hypothesis by telling the story of the rise and fall of "Greater Germany." It began with the pan-German demographic arm wrestle on the Prussian-Polish borderlands in the late nineteenth century and culminated in the dream of a Central and East European empire encompassing the millions of far-flung ethnic Germans and ruling over the inferior Slavs. Adolf Hitler combined it with geopolitics and an apocalyptic world-historical perspective on rival English, Russian/Soviet, and American empires to envisage a continental autarky based on ruthless exploitation and the expulsion and eventually extermination of dangerous and enemy peoples, above all the Jews.

As Mazower shows, though, intense debate raged among German elites about how the empire should govern its subject peoples, in part because the incredible speed of the military expansion outstripped their administrative and intellectual preparation. Intelligent and pragmatic officers, as well as Italian and Japanese allies, soon realized that Hermann Göring's economic

policies of plunder and Heinrich Himmler's and Reinhard Heydrich's genocidal security imperatives alienated those nationalities likely to collaborate with the occupying Germans. Here was a missed opportunity, as all too many Europeans were prepared to cooperate with the Germans if it meant vanquishing hated parliamentarism and Jews, generating profit, redrawing Versailles borders, gaining statehood, and expelling unwanted minorities. This never applied to Poland, which bore the brunt of German invasion, partition, annexation, and exploitation. Preferring military occupation to collaborative arrangements with independent states, Hitler never appreciated the British tradition of "indirect rule" or civilizational uplift, which he derided as callow sentimentality or a fig leaf for the racial arrogance and outright violence that he thought actually guaranteed the British Empire's greatness. For an ethnonationalist like Hitler, only Germans mattered.

And yet harnessing the revisionist resentments of other states was vital to the Nazi project. In the chapter entitled "The Final Solution: The Jewish Question"—the only one dedicated to the Holocaust—Mazower shows that the geopolitical gains to be made in cooperating with the Germans, rather than antisemitic sentiment, was the decisive factor in the inclination of other nations to yield up their Jews to the German death camps. As soon as the war looked to be lost—as of late 1942—they were far less willing to do so. In this subtle way, the author again challenges the common view about the role of ideology in the unfolding of the Holocaust.

Equally controversial is the narrative denouement. Where *Dark Continent* targeted post-communist capitalist triumphalism by showing that European freedom depended on the Soviet victory over Nazism, this work ends with the transfer of ethnonationalism, the European curse, from the Prussian-Polish borderlands to Palestine courtesy of German Zionists. The forced population movement they envisaged—and achieved—was a familiar and current European lesson. While the destruction of the Nazi empire ultimately brought down the so-called liberal European empires in its wake after the war, the ethnically homogeneous nation-state lived on in Europe and, with concomitant decolonization, was exported around the world. This book, then, is far more than a survey of the Nazi empire; it is a fresh and provocative reinterpretation of global history. If skeptics will continue to insist on the uniqueness of the Holocaust because the Nazi empire was infinitely more ruthless and violent than its western rivals, Mazower has firmly planted the question of Nazi imperialism and consequences of ethnonationalism at the center of these historiographical debates.

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JOHANNA RICKMAN. *Love, Lust, and License in Early Modern England: Illicit Sex and the Nobility*. (Women and Gender in the Early Modern World.) Burlington,

Vt.: Ashgate Publishing Company. 2008. Pp. 236. \$99.95.

What happened to members of the nobility who engaged in illicit sex in later sixteenth and early seventeenth-century England? This is the central question posed by Johanna Rickman's book, with the further goal of illuminating the place of noblewomen in aristocratic culture. The sexual behavior of the lower ranks of society in this period, both men and women, was supervised by the church courts, justices of the peace, and town magistrates. In London, culprits could be sent to Bridewell Hospital to experience the harsh "medicine" of whipping and hard labor. We know also that in the north of England even some of the gentry were hauled before the High Commission to answer for their sexual transgressions. But the individuals whom Rickman discusses were not mere gentry. They were mostly titled and conversant with the court, moving in the highest circles and often related to one another. Indeed, she suggests that the major scandals of the time were particularly associated with a few prominent families, including the Howards and the Devereux—an intriguing idea that would bear further investigation.

Rickman emphasizes that people at this elevated social level mostly enjoyed immunity from ordinary legal procedures, although in the early seventeenth century some of them, notably Robert Howard and Frances Villiers, were indeed brought before the High Commission. Moreover, others did not escape completely. Queen Elizabeth—herself a skillful player of courtly love games, yet touchy about the marriages of her favorites and highly sensitive to the threats that sexual scandals among her maids of honor and ladies of the bedchamber posed to her authority and reputation—took exemplary action whenever necessary, banishing the culprits from court and sometimes imprisoning them. Predictably women got the worst treatment but men could suffer, too. James I—a paterfamilias married to Anna of Denmark, who had her own household—was in a different position and could afford to be somewhat less stringent. A feature of the notorious scandals of his reign was that usually punishment followed only when sexual transgression was associated with other crimes, as when Robert Carr and Frances Howard were convicted for the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.

Those who escaped public punishment were nonetheless subject to gossip, ridicule, and vituperative abuse. Yet one of Rickman's main findings is that the extent of such censure, even for women, was less than contemporary moral prescriptions might have led us to expect. The centerpiece of the book is an account of the illicit relationship between Penelope Rich, née Devereux, wife of Robert Rich, and Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy and eventually earl of Devonshire. The affair began in the early 1590s and produced five children, and it can be inferred that the couple were tacitly supported by a small, close-knit circle of people "in the know." The matter only became scandalous when in 1605 Rich



sued for a legal separation in the High Commission and Blount subsequently outraged convention by going through a form of marriage with Penelope, in defiance of the ban on remarriage after divorce—recently reaffirmed by the ecclesiastical canons of 1604. (Dissolution of marriage in the modern sense was not available.) The long-running relationship between William Herbert and his cousin Mary Wroth (*née* Sidney), author of *The Countess of Montgomery's Urania* (1621), was conducted with even greater discretion, though the couple did have offspring. In this case the absence of a brooding, vengeful husband—Robert Wroth having died in 1614—no doubt facilitated matters. But in truth it was not necessarily in an aristocratic husband's interests to take note of his wife's indiscretions, nor easy to prove adultery if he chose to do so, and the reactions of other members of aristocratic society varied for many reasons. Importantly, noblewomen enjoyed a superabundance of honor that could to an extent protect them from calumny. If they were beautiful or clever, or adept at playing a submissive role as occasion required, so much the better. Yet if some of these individuals "got away with it," it was frequently against the odds and at a heavy cost.

Some of these scandals have already been well researched, though Rickman adds further information and new insights. Among her original contributions is the suggestion that there existed a "courtly love" standard for aristocratic females, at odds with the usual prescriptions of chastity, obedience, and silence. Yet the impression remains that the women discussed here were not conforming to any particular stereotype, merely pursuing their emotional and physical desires by whatever means they could. Overall this is a well-researched, thoughtful analysis, based in a wide range of sources including family archives, state papers, legal records, and newsletters. It makes a valuable contribution to the study of sexual transgression, female agency, and aristocratic culture and society.

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RANDY ROBERTSON. *Censorship and Conflict in Seventeenth-Century England: The Subtle Art of Division*. (The Penn State Series in the History of the Book.) University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. Pp. xv, 272. \$75.00.

This work of literary scholarship surveys censorship from the early Stuarts to the early eighteenth century and represents an engagement with, and rejection of, three powerful historiographical strands. Randy Robertson rejects Whiggish ideas about the pervasive but doomed nature of Stuart censorship, challenges revisionist claims about the inefficiency of the Stuart state and the importance of consensus, and seeks to refute new historicist notions of the containment of dissonant voices. This is done through chronological case studies, beginning with William Prynne's trial for *Histriomastix*:

*The Player's Scourge, or Actor's Tragedy* (1632) and proceeding through Richard Lovelace, John Milton, Andrew Marvell, John Dryden, and on to Jonathan Swift. Along the way, Robertson makes bold claims about his topic and about other scholars, but the argument is ultimately unconvincing and at times highly problematic.

In Prynne's case, Robertson finds profound tension rather than consensus and a "continuous chain" between early Stuart censorship and the outbreak of civil war. Prynne recognized that the matter of early Stuart theater reflected profound issues of church and state, and his book was the first salvo in the civil war (p. 69). Prynne did anything but engage in self-censorship, and he faced a powerful and repressive response and became a cause célèbre who "preoccupied the national conscience" (p. 64). As such, Robertson rejects the arguments of both Annabel M. Patterson and Kevin Sharpe, and suggests that "if Siebert's account of Caroline censorship is overdrawn, Lambert's is inadequate" (p. 32). Turning to Milton, Robertson portrays the author of *Areopagitica* (1644) as someone who advocated a "public sphere" in a way that was entirely consistent with his role as a press licenser during the republic and who might even be regarded as having inspired the press legislation of 1649. In negotiating censorship during the late 1640s, Robertson suggests that Lovelace used studied moderation, "temperate rhetoric," and "delicate artistry" in order to camouflage a royalist agenda (p. 71) in a way that is considered problematic for Patterson's idea of a "social contract" between authors and governments. Robertson also suggests that Lovelace recruited independent parliamentarians to provide prefatory epistles to his poems in order "to divide the opposition along cultural lines." Lovelace thus "hoped to rescue the Independent literati from Presbyterian bores and hence to fracture the parliamentary coalition" (pp. 86–87).

Robertson's analysis in these and other chapters is open to criticism from a number of directions, most of which involve questionable contextualization of historical evidence. It is not clear, for example, that we can or should base our analysis of early Stuart censorship, or our conclusions about the work of Sheila Lambert and Sharpe, upon Prynne's case alone. Even if Robertson is right about Prynne's argument (I have doubts), it is surely too much to suggest that his case demonstrates that Charles I's government was using prerogative courts more aggressively than before. This may have been the case, but there is little in this book with which to substantiate such a claim, and the lack of contextual analysis ensures that Robertson's criticisms of scholars like Lambert and Sharpe are sweeping and premature. Their work is open to serious criticism, but this is not the way to do it, and it would have been wise to devote more attention to the most impressive recent work on censorship by Cyndia Susan Clegg and Anthony Milton. A failure of contextualization also leads to some other questionable claims, such as that the English press was noticeably free during Milton's period as

licenser (1651–1652). This suits Robertson's argument, but it does not fit with the historical evidence.

What this failure of contextualization ultimately means is that Robertson can be challenged on the very idea of censorship. He seems to have only a tenuous grasp on the distinction between licensing and entry into the stationers register, and demonstrates little detailed engagement with the numerous measures designed to effect control of the presses. Readers are presented with rather simplistic readings of events from the closing of the theaters in 1642 to the lapse of licensing in 1695, and more importantly of what it meant to censor. Apart from the fact that to "censure" and to "censor" are sometimes conflated, Robertson effectively defines as censored any book that the authorities took any kind of action against. He thus claims that over 1,000 books were censored or suppressed between 1660 and 1685, and reads the effectiveness of censorship into such numbers, but this is surely a crude way of dealing with a variety of phenomena, including perhaps everything from action taken against a book that infringed copyright or that was badly timed to those which were seditious or blasphemous. Confused and erroneous though much scholarship on censorship clearly is, the way forward requires a more nuanced understanding of contemporary behavior—not crude definitions, lumping of evidence, and questionable claims about the power of early modern censorship.

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DAVID B. WILSON. *Seeking Nature's Logic: Natural Philosophy in the Scottish Enlightenment*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 344. \$55.00.

Whatever it was, when it happened, where, why, and with what longer-run consequences, the Scottish Enlightenment—or should that be (the) Enlightenment in Scotland?—has been the subject of scholarly inquiry from a variety of intellectual quarters. Modern historians of ideas and philosophers scrutinize its intellectual and social content and question its historiographical context. Historians of science and of medicine see in its experimental cultures and teaching traditions a complex array of ideas, institutional practices, and networks of exchange. Geographers have reviewed the Enlightenment's spatial dimensions. National historiographies, once essential devices in Enlightenment studies, now stand alongside recognition of the Enlightenment's local variations and its transnational dimensions. Literary scholars and art historians have charted the Enlightenment's gendered dimensions, its authors, artists and patrons, and its cultures of sociability. Historians of the book take it to be both diverse—in the many texts and authors—and quite strongly concentrated: arguably, the Scottish Enlightenment, in terms of printing and publishing, was made in London more than it was in Edinburgh or Glasgow.

The picture we are given in David B. Wilson's work

is at once attentive to the movement's wider geographical and temporal setting—"the Scottish Enlightenment, in pivotal ways, began neither in Scotland nor in the eighteenth century" (p. 1)—and a more restricted account of elements of it. Wilson's focus is upon questions of natural philosophy, which is largely taken to be René Descartes's and Isaac Newton's legacy and reception in Scottish intellectual context. Four figures are central to his account: Thomas Reid, the Common-Sense philosopher; Joseph Black, the chemist; John Anderson, natural philosopher and mathematician; and John Robison, sometime mathematician to the Russian Navy and maritime surveyor, professor of natural philosophy at the University of Edinburgh from 1774, and, for Wilson, the man whose writings provided "the fullest expression of turn-of-the-century, Scottish natural philosophy" (p. 271). This is not to treat Robison as the Scottish Enlightenment's inevitable apotheosis. As Wilson shows in his final chapter in examining the work of John Playfair, Dugald Stewart, and John Leslie alongside that of Robison, the ideas of these and other men concerning nature's logic and causal workings were not shared, Robison's and their view of the Scottish Enlightenment's natural philosophy being never the same thing.

The book is organized in eight chapters, with an additional initial chapter wherein the ideas of Newton, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, and Descartes—the three men whose works constitute the world of natural philosophy with whom the Scots and others grappled—are accessibly introduced. The book's first substantive chapter examines the reception of Newton's work in early eighteenth-century Scotland. Chapters follow on the natural philosophy of the Aberdeen-based Reid and his colleagues in and out of Marischal and King's Colleges, on the practical chemistry of the Edinburgh-based Black, on the Glasgow-based Anderson, and finally on Robison, the subject of two chapters. Interspersed with this largely biographical treatment come chapters on mid-century Glasgow University and, to end the volume, a study of turn-of-the-century Edinburgh University.

Wilson's treatment of the making of natural philosophy in the works of these men and in these places is detailed and largely textual in interpretation—he discusses the books and papers they published and students' lecture notes of their teaching—and is generally clearly written. The book's strength rests in its combined biographical and textual approach: this is a strongly intellectual history of some fairly rarefied ideas as they were debated in academic institutions and publications. But it is also only a particular cast list, so to speak, of men, books, and ideas then addressing the nature of natural philosophy.

For if there was, as Wilson shows, a complex institutional and textual engagement with natural philosophy as ideas and theory, in part experimentally tested, we must also recognize that there was a strongly utilitarian natural philosophy at work in Scotland and elsewhere, practically evident in agrarian experimentation,

natural history teaching, medical theses, and ideas of improvement. Relatively, we hear little of James Hutton in this respect (nothing of his unpublished treatise on agriculture), little enough of William Cullen's lectures in agricultural "chymistry," or Adam Smith's work on astronomy, nothing of the teachings at Edinburgh University of the natural historian John Walker, or of the networks of correspondence emanating from the botanist John Hope to Carl Linnaeus in Uppsala and Antoine Laurent de Jussieu in Paris. In one sense, perhaps this does not matter much: books have to have defined limits and Wilson's measured account essentially traces the genealogy and archaeology of Newton's thought and works in eighteenth-century Scotland. In another sense, it may matter a great deal. Whatever else it was in Enlightenment Scotland or elsewhere, natural philosophy was also profoundly grounded and rooted in concerns for material advance.

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GORDON T. STEWART. *Journeys to Empire: Enlightenment, Imperialism, and the British Encounter with Tibet, 1774–1904*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 280. Cloth \$95.00, paper \$34.99.

Gordon T. Stewart's book attempts, in part, to undo simplistic understandings of the connection between imperialism and the Enlightenment by examining two very different accounts of travel to Tibet written by agents of empire. Stewart rightly maintains that "confining orthodoxies" that suggest a direct or consistent connection between Enlightenment thinking and imperialism fail to do justice to the diversity and complexity of either. This undoing, one might think, should be easy enough to do given the figures he considers: George Bogle, who traveled to Tibet in 1774, and Francis Younghusband, who led an Indian army expedition to Tibet in 1903–1904. Bogle traveled at the behest of Warren Hastings, and his account of Tibetan culture and Tibetans demonstrates tolerance and respect; indeed, Bogle goes so far as to suggest that there may be something excellent and wonderful about this place so different from Europe. Francis Younghusband's journey over a century later stakes out very different territory: confidently asserting the superiority of British rule, Younghusband denigrates Tibetan religion and culture, with its monks who are "fanatical" and "lazy" by turns. In short, both men filter the materials of Enlightenment and empire according to their place and time, leaving us with vastly divergent accounts: while Bogle seems curious and respectful, Younghusband appears dismissive and supercilious.

But, Stewart suggests, such an interpretation of things has its own problems, as it too simplistically casts Bogle as self-reflective hero and Younghusband as imperial villain, complete with walrus moustache and topee. This leaves Stewart with more undoing to be done. He goes on to explore the complexity of Bogle's position as a child of the Scottish Enlightenment, pro-

tégé of Hastings, and ambitious member of the East India Company. In this way, Stewart elicits how the ambiguities of empire in the late eighteenth century led to Bogle's personal conflict, if not anguish.

Stewart does his best work in the chapters on Bogle. The rumor that Bogle had an "Asian" wife has long teased scholars of Tibet, as have reports that Bogle sent two India-born daughters to Scotland to be raised. Stewart's research into Bogle's correspondence with friends and family and other documents produced just after his early death fleshes out the domestic and sexual arrangements in which Bogle and many of his contemporaries participated. Stewart's theory about Bogle, his "wife," and his children adds depth to the portrait of Bogle at the same that it reveals the vexed nature of race, power, and sex at this moment in the imperial project. Similarly, Stewart's careful reading of Bogle's ambiguous relationship to making money in India is compelling, as it offers new details about Bogle's family and financial situation. Stewart presents Bogle as a figure who desired to profit handsomely during his time in Bengal and, at the same time, who knew firsthand that such profit was often brutally extracted at the expense of the local citizenry.

Stewart's careful work in these chapters depends largely on letters and other unpublished documents. Since he does such interesting things with manuscripts from the Mitchell and British Libraries, one can only wonder why he relies on Alistair Lamb's 2002 edition of Bogle's writing rather than examining the manuscript accounts of Bogle's journey, which are also housed at the British Library.

Stewart's treatment of Younghusband is less detailed and less nuanced. Perhaps this is because Patrick French's excellent biography of this complicated man casts such a strong shadow. It may also be due to Younghusband's own account of his journey, which lacks the charm and self-reflectiveness of Bogle's. But given Stewart's careful look at the complexities of Bogle's position, one might expect a similarly thorough treatment of Younghusband. To be sure, Stewart does complicate the face of empire at the moment by considering European challenges to the Younghusband expedition and British imperialism more generally. But the man himself is not complicated, allowing Stewart to declare the Younghusband Expedition "a crude example of a bundle of Orientalist prejudices and misconceptions in the service of aggressive Western imperialism." Consideration of Younghusband's strange epiphany on the Tibetan plateau is left to the final chapter, where it cannot undermine the rather one-dimensional figure Stewart has created.

The final chapter collects a number of oddments, including the suggestion that a verbal account of Indian history by Bogle made its way into a 1775 Tibetan religious text written by the third Panchen Lama. Other parts of this chapter seem less successful: Stewart seems especially ill at ease when entering the terrain of Tibetan religion or when he tries to join the conversation

about Western tendencies to exoticize and mystify Tibet.

The broad strokes of Stewart's argument will be familiar to scholars of Tibetan culture and history, and historians of empire perhaps know better than anyone that monolithic approaches to empire are bound to reduce complexities. Stewart's main contributions lie in his exploration of the life and times of George Bogle and in his insistence in moving beyond simplistic approaches to the relationship between Enlightenment and empire.

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JOHN PLOTZ. *Portable Property: Victorian Culture on the Move*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008. Pp. xvii, 268. \$35.00.

There is a word missing from the title of this book that really ought to be there. The impression is conveyed by words and images (on the front jacket appear a rocking horse, a cricket ball, an antique book, and a silver teapot) that this is a study of Victorian "things" viewed through the intriguing concept of "portable property." There is no reference to what is actually the central subject of the book: the Victorian novel. Perhaps this does not detract greatly from what turns out to be a stimulating if rather frustrating study, but it does lend weight to the already overburdened adage that one can't judge a book by its cover.

Victorian middle-class homes were packed with objects, and some had the atmosphere of small museums replete with the clutter of "collectomania." As John Plotz remarks in his opening sentence: "the Victorians loved their things." Moreover, in an era of unprecedented advances in means of communication and travel, the portability of certain objects could lend them value as agents of cultural transfer that they never possessed before. Victorian Englishmen and Englishwomen cavorted across large segments of the globe that commerce and imperialism had taught them to regard as their own. They carried with them a variety of "things" and in doing so these portable objects acquired a cultural meaning when used or displayed outside their original context.

An excellent introduction charts the intellectual territory. Plotz argues "that we ought to investigate ways in which cultural value is imagined circulating, in objects, practices, even in persons—even imagined as precisely inhering in that capacity to circulate, rather than in any detail of those two categories so beloved of economists, production and consumption" (p. 9). There are some insightful comments on the case of cricket as a marker of national identity for the English overseas, an instance of culturally portable practices and objects (think of tea breaks and cricket whites) that retained their indigenous idiosyncrasy and resisted global modernity (unlike that other English export, soccer). Plotz even proposes "portable property" as a third term between "abstract commodity" and "autochthonous

thing" as they appear in Arjun Appadurai's influential *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (1986; pp. 16–17). This whets the appetite somewhat, but in the remaining work the author's sights are more narrowly focused.

Plotz's chief intention is to explore how cultural portability was shaped in a number of novels published between 1830 and the end of the century. The author's justification for this is that Victorian novels "made much of . . . objects, returned to them repeatedly, and interrogated their significance in a variety of puzzling ways, because of the novel's own status as an exemplary portable property" (p. 1). This is a perceptive and suggestive observation but after a wide-ranging and theoretically imaginative introduction we are offered a series of discrete chapters on a rather conventional range of fiction writers (Anthony Trollope, Wilkie Collins, George Eliot, Elizabeth Gaskell, R. D. Blackmore, Thomas Hardy, and William Morris). These contain often impressive literary criticism that has interesting things to say about issues such as Englishness, empire, race, and regionalism.

Much of this is excellent. For example, chapter three includes some penetrating analysis of the blurred boundaries between Englishness and Jewishness as portrayed in Eliot's novel *Daniel Deronda* (1876). But however sophisticated and allusive the analysis, readers will be frustrated if they expected to read a history of real objects and their cultural significance. There are some infuriating generalizations: the author refers repeatedly to "the Victorians" and makes doubtful claims about the decline of English regional fiction—which this reviewer's knowledge of Lancashire fiction belies (probably the fact that much of the latter appeared in short story format and via periodical publication allowed it to escape the author's gaze). It is churlish to complain that this is not the book this reviewer hoped it might be. However, Plotz's insightful analysis makes the case for such a further study that would take the notion of portable property beyond its fictional boundaries.

ALAN KIDD  
Manchester Metropolitan University

LESLIE HOWSAM. *Past into Print: The Publishing of History in Britain, 1850–1950*. London: The British Library, and University of Toronto Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 182. \$50.00.

The last decade or so has witnessed a surge of research on British representations of the past, their production and consumption. Leslie Howsam's slim volume belongs to this expanding field. Its originality lies primarily in the perspective of a historian of the book who has long studied book culture in Britain. The volume's format and structure have been dictated by its origins in the Lyell Lectures in Bibliography, delivered at Oxford University in 2006. Drawing on the intersecting disciplines of bibliography and cultural history, Howsam seeks to redress the lack of histories of history publish-



ing in England (a term used here in its literal sense) by studying its development during the century in which history gradually came to its own as a separate discipline, an academic occupation, and a repertoire of professional practices.

Her study is organized around four themes: the part played by publishers in the development of historical writing and studies, the thin and repeatedly crossed borderlines between the rapidly professionalizing field and popular writing of history, the materiality of history books, and the life-cycle of history readers (the last a substitute for Robert Darnton's famous communication cycle). Of these themes the first two are the most convincingly and absorbingly followed.

Howsam's ample use of the correspondence between publishers and historians, dug mainly from the archives of Macmillan and Company, Oxford University Press (OUP), and Cambridge University Press (CUP), reveals the vital role publishers played in the development of both popular and academic history. They were far more than commissioners and middle men; quite often they conceptualized research and editing. Until about 1880 Alexander Macmillan dominated the publishing scene as Britain's leading history publisher, as the London publisher of the straggling Oxford University Press, as the nurturer of popular authors—like Charlotte M. Yonge—who spawned general narratives, and of an increasing number of historians—notably Edward Freeman and J. R. Green—who allied themselves with scientific standards and the new historical profession and had little patience for Macmillan's "hacks." Freeman thought Yonge "never catches the points, never brings out the great landmarks, all oh, oh, oh & such sentences" (p. 33). But the "serious" historians too were accused of hiding argument underneath layers of narrative (p. 39). Macmillan deftly maneuvered between commercial considerations and his astute assessment of the changes which history underwent.

Like Macmillan and Company, the university presses, apparently the hallmarks of the new discipline, were commercial publishing houses that catered to schools and non-specialized readers. Each press cultivated one form of publishing and research. CUP specialized in mammoth series, starting in the Cambridge Modern History and expanding to the medieval, ancient and India history series, and OUP in monographs' series. The Cambridge format set the ground for historical research as a collaborative venture and embodied in print the assumptions underlying scientific history, such as uniformity in writing, collectivity, and an effacement of authorial presence. Disparaged by the Oxford delegates as "sausages" produced by the competitor's sausage machines, some of these *summae* of knowledge became superannuated even as they were published. OUP, slowly emerging from cautiousness and conservatism, retorted with its own formula: a series of discrete histories with distinct authorial voices that took long to materialize. Throughout the period of their professionalization both the syndics and the delegates courted popular stars, from G. M. Trevelyan to Churchill,

familiarly referred to in the correspondence as "Winston," proving again how tenacious the thralldom of narrative was.

Howsam's main working assumption is that during the century her volume covers, print was history's dominant medium and books and periodicals were the "only media available outside the classroom" (p. 121). This assumption certainly needs modifying. Scholarship by Peter Mandler, Stephen Bann, and a number of others has amply shown how prominent visual histories were precisely during this century. Historical spectacles, paintings, the theater, monuments and buildings, and—from the 1920s—historical film made the past accessible to mass audiences. The democratic potential of these media was greater than that of the printed histories and formulae which Howsam expertly and most usefully chronicles in the last three chapters of the book: the collaborative series and the professional journal. A greater degree of democratization than Howsam would allow also manifested itself in the role played by women historians. She, correctly, notes their marginalization and relegation to the lesser branches of the historian's *métier*: domestic histories, school books, and children's histories. This status is apparent in the "little books" spawned by Elizabeth Penrose (the first Mrs. Markham and author of *A History of England from the First Invasion by the Romans to the End of the Reign of George III* in 1823) and in Eileen and Rhoda Power, *Boys and Girls of History* (1926). But at the same time that the Markham histories replicated themselves, Agnes and Elisabeth Strickland wrote monster serial biographies of royal women, some of which were based on archival research. Eileen Power orchestrated two state-of-the-art forms of collaborative history: *The Cambridge Economic History* and the *Economic History Review*. Moreover, until the outbreak of World War II women historians were visible outside the precincts of the delegates and syndics, precisely in the new and experimental fields of social and economic history.

Notwithstanding these slants and lacunae, this lucid, engaging, and timely history of a barely covered topic should pave the way for further research on the intersections of book culture and the culture of history.

BILLIE MELMAN  
Tel Aviv University

JAMES R. LOTHIAN. *The Making and Unmaking of the English Catholic Intellectual Community, 1910–1950*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 2009. Pp. xxiii, 487. \$60.00.

This pioneering book bridges intellectual and religious history to make a substantial contribution to the hitherto underresearched history of English Catholicism in the early twentieth century. The central figure is Hilaire Belloc (1870–1953), who, according to James R. Lothian, in writings between the 1900s and the 1920s "presented a unified and self-consciously Catholic theory of government, political economy and history" (p. xii).

The book is divided into five substantial chapters. The first surveys Belloc's life and thought, highlights his distinctive cultural and political inheritance as the child of an Anglo-French marriage, recounts his early parliamentary career, and summarizes his seminal publications, notably *The Party System* (1911) and *The Servile State* (1912). Belloc's own experience as an MP led him to conclude that British parliamentary democracy had become corrupt. He advocated the importance of property for economic freedom and upheld an idealized version of medieval Catholic society as a model for the radical transformation of contemporary England. The next two chapters are concerned with men (but no women) characterized by Lothian as respectively the "greater" and "lesser" "servants" of Belloc, first Vincent McNabb, Eric Gill, and G. K. Chesterton, and then a younger generation consisting of Douglas Jerrold, Douglas Woodruff, Christopher Hollis, Evelyn Waugh, and Arnold Lunn. Significantly, of the eight figures selected for particular attention, six were converts: only McNabb and Jerrold, like Belloc himself, were cradle Catholics. The fourth chapter examines an overlapping network of intellectual influences that developed in the interwar period, inspired by the historian Christopher Dawson, who was critical of Belloc's abuse of history "as a weapon against the modern age" (p. 286) and fostered by the publishers Frank Sheed and Maisie Ward and the editor Tom Burns, who hosted an influential salon at his Chelsea home. The final main chapter explores the "unmaking of the English Catholic intellectual community," in part as a consequence of tensions between "Bellocian" and "Dawsonite" networks, and in part because World War II and its aftermath starkly exposed the inadequacy of Belloc's ideas as a realistic economic and political prescription for contemporary England.

There is much to admire here, with extensive research on unpublished correspondence complementing Lothian's wide-ranging familiarity with the published writings of his subjects. The book provides valuable accounts of hitherto neglected individuals and enhances understanding of more familiar figures, such as Chesterton, Gill, and Belloc himself. Nevertheless, the analysis is questionable insofar as it is founded on a tendentious portrayal of Belloc as a seminal genius and primary influence on all the other intellectuals discussed, with the partial exception of Dawson. There is little discussion of Belloc's own intellectual debts to earlier Catholic generations beyond the suggestion (p. 8) that he owed little to John Henry Newman and a lot to Henry Edward Manning. Both cardinals were, however, already old men by the time Belloc was born, and it is disappointing that prominent Catholic intellectuals in intermediate generations such as Lord Acton, Cardinal F. A. Gasquet, and Wilfrid Ward—surely a formative influence on his daughter Maisie—are only mentioned in passing or not at all. It may well be that the star of the Catholic modernists, George Tyrrell and Friedrich von Hügel, was in eclipse by the time of Bel-

loc's prime, but Lothian too readily writes them out of history altogether.

Not only did the "English Catholic intellectual community" of the first half of the twentieth century have a more diverse inheritance than Lothian acknowledges, but some of Belloc's prominent contemporaries are also neglected. For example, Ronald Knox only appears in the wings of this book and Bede Jarrett hardly features at all. In general, with the significant exception of McNabb, Lothian's intellectual community is almost exclusively a lay one, with a high proportion of converts, whereas the contribution of the clergy and the religious orders (female as well as male) should not be discounted. Moreover, while some continental influences are quite well explored, minimal attention is given to developments in Ireland that must have had a significant impact on thinking English Catholic observers. One also wonders in vain whether Saunders Lewis, a towering figure in Welsh political and intellectual life in this period, had any contacts with his English Catholic co-religionists.

In view of the book's expansive title, unexplained omissions of this kind are hard to justify. It is unfortunate that what is essentially an excellent and valuable study of the intellectual influence of Hilaire Belloc is marred by thus appearing to claim too much for itself. In other respects Lothian is insightful and judicious, for example in explaining and critiquing several of his subjects' disconcerting enthusiasms for the Mussolini and Franco regimes. His work is also an important building block toward a fuller and more rounded appreciation of early twentieth-century English Catholic intellectual life that must await further research.

JOHN WOLFFE

*The Open University*

JEFFREY S. REZNICK. *Healing the Nation: Soldiers and the Culture of Caregiving in Britain during the Great War.* (Cultural History of Modern War.) New York: Manchester University Press. 2004. Pp. xii, 172. \$75.00.

Jeffrey S. Reznick provides a detailed study of the recuperative and curative treatment received by "other ranks" in rest huts, general hospitals, and orthopaedic facilities during World War I. Using a range of written and visual sources, both published and unpublished, Reznick highlights the tensions that existed among public perception, official propaganda, and individual experience, and in so doing adds another layer to our understanding of the material and psychological impact of the war.

The focus first falls on the rest huts that provided soldiers moving up and down the lines of communication to the front with a brief respite from the dislocation of trench life. Run on a voluntary basis by the Young Men's Christian Association, the Church Army, and the Salvation Army, and predicated on the late Victorian model of salvation through social and spiritual reform, these huts carried on the improving mission of the pre-war Evangelical movement by doling out small com-

forts in a carefully constructed environment of middle-class domesticity. Although the dual wartime imperatives of economy and efficiency led to charges from the War Office of profiteering and concerns among the religious authorities about the secularization of their core mission, the rest hut appears to have been a relatively uncontested site where the recreation of an idealized domestic space was largely in harmony with both the expectations and self-image of the visiting Tommy.

The same cannot be said, however, for the general military hospitals. Here concerns about economy and efficiency predominated and served to undermine the administration's self-professed aim of providing havens for heroes. Firmly rooted in the architectural motifs of the late Victorian and Edwardian periods, the two hospitals that constitute Reznick's case studies—the First Eastern General Hospital in Cambridge and the King George Hospital in London—channelled their resources into pavilion wards and “fresh air” treatments. Although official publicity campaigns propagated romanticized visions of recuperation and convalescence in the tranquil surroundings of an English country garden, the patient experience frequently pointed to a very different story. It is here, when reclaiming the voice of the ordinary soldier through the pages of hospital magazines (albeit officially filtered), that Reznick is at his most persuasive. Poems, sketches, and letters are all used to highlight the soldiers' negative perceptions of their treatment and the hospital environment. One particularly telling sketch, entitled “Patient's Dream of Thorncombe,” pictured the recovering soldier imprisoned in the tightly folded sheets of his hospital bed surrounded by “Out of Bounds” notices. By viewing the care provision of military hospitals in the same light as the repressive discipline of army life, Reznick contends that the soldier-patient's sense of alienation from an apparently uncomprehending and uncaring non-combatant world was heightened, while simultaneously feelings of comradeship—what George L. Mosse has termed the camaraderie of the trenches—were reinforced.

In the final section of the book attention turns to the rehabilitation of the maimed and, in particular, the work of the orthopaedic center at Shepherd's Bush Military Hospital, located, not inappropriately, at the site of the London's Hammersmith Workhouse Infirmary. Once again themes of continuity, economy, and identity are brought to the fore. The authorities' insistence on the therapeutic and rehabilitative value of work reflected the convergence of traditional modes of medical care with wartime demands for military efficiency. Although established as a means of facilitating the reintegration of disabled soldiers into civilian society, curative workshops, more often than not, engendered feelings of bitterness and resentment. Official attempts to reconfigure the soldier-patient as a productive worker and thereby promote feelings of individual and communal worth were undermined by the charitable subtext of hospital work and its association, at least in

the minds of the servicemen, with the workhouse. Ultimately, Reznick concludes, the rehabilitation centers failed to achieve their goals and the disabled veteran found himself marginalized in postwar society as he was left to survive, as best he could, on the periphery of the employment market.

Notwithstanding the tight parameters that frame the investigation, this source-rich text illuminates a wide range of issues, from gender to the built environment, propaganda to the history of medicine. In so doing, Reznick makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the cultural experience of World War I. By highlighting the rift that existed between official rhetoric and individual experience in the culture of caregiving, he provides a fascinating insight into the role that the shared experiences of hospitalization and convalescence played in shaping the collective identity of frontline troops. This, as Reznick concludes, opens up wider questions about how the memory of caregiving enabled individuals and the nation at large to come to terms with the losses of the war years. It is for further research to pursue these lines of enquiry.

PETER DONALDSON  
University of Kent

JOHN G. MAIDEN. *National Religion and the Prayer Book Controversy, 1927–1928*. (Studies in Modern British Religious History, number 21.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press. 2009. Pp. xii, 210. \$95.00.

On December 15, 1927, the British House of Commons debated a proposal to authorize an alternative to the *Book of Common Prayer*. This proposal had been under discussion for more than twenty years, and the “Composite Book” that eventually reached Parliament came with the endorsement of the bishops, the National Assembly of the Church of England, and the Convocations of Canterbury and York. Despite this support, however, and despite a convincing majority in the House of Lords a few days earlier, the Prayer Book Measure was defeated in the Commons by 240 votes to 207. A lightly amended text presented in June 1928 suffered an even heavier defeat, failing by 268 votes to 222.

Many explanations have been adduced to account for this humiliation of the leadership of the Church of England at the hands of the House of Commons. Some have appealed to growing secularization, quoting the Labour MP who suggested that most of the British people were “more interested in the rent book than they are in the Prayer Book.” Others have observed that the advocates of the measure spoke badly on the night in question, while the opponents, particularly William Joynson-Hicks and Rosslyn Mitchell, excelled themselves in persuasive oratory. Contemporaries were surprised at the strength of feeling displayed: the left-leaning *Manchester Guardian* commented, “The Protestant watchdog has barked, and has proved to be a bigger dog than was perhaps expected in these Laodicean days.”

The argument of this well-researched study by John G. Maiden is that the Prayer Book controversy was

more than an expression of frustration with the bishops, more than a debating contest in the House of Commons, and more than a throwback to the polemical Protestantism of Victorian times. It was, rather, a crucible for a lively debate about English and British national identity, about the place of religion in national life, and about the relationship between the Church of England and the nation. This debate engaged a broad swath of the British population, drawing in Welsh, Scottish, and Irish voices as well as English ones, and attracting the keen interest of the English Free Churches as well as the warring factions within the Church of England. Maiden argues that everyone had a stake in the liturgy of the established church—hence the unprecedented lobbying of peers and MPs and the high level of public awareness of the issues addressed by the Composite Book.

Four particular strengths of Maiden's work may be noted. First, Maiden places Prayer Book reform in context, describing the *de facto* broadening of Anglican liturgical practice under the influence of an increasingly powerful Anglo-Catholic movement. The proposals of 1927–1928 were an attempt by the church's leadership to set limits to comprehensiveness and thus to re-establish a measure of discipline after generations of ritual anarchy. Second, Maiden analyzes the different church parties and their internal conflicts. At times neat tabulation breaks down, and it has to be admitted that individuals defied tidy classification. Third, the lobbying and politics surrounding the measure are described in greater detail than in any previous study, with analysis of parliamentary voting by political and religious affiliation. Fourth, different ideological models of the relationship between church and nation are explored, drawing out the tensions between the advocates of a tolerant, comprehensive national church, the supporters of a distinctive English Catholicism, the Anglo-Catholic Romanizers, and the Low Church and Evangelical defenders of the Protestant constitution. Maiden argues that revision represented the agenda of comprehension favored by most of the bishops and endorsed by English Catholics and Liberal Evangelicals. It failed, however, to satisfy the extreme Anglo-Catholics, while signalling to Protestants inside and beyond the Church of England that the Reformation, Restoration, and Revolution settlements were being abandoned.

For this reviewer, Maiden's otherwise persuasive case has one omission and one claim in need of greater substantiation. The omission concerns the neuralgic issue of Ireland in the British political and ecclesiastical landscape over the century before Prayer Book reform. Although the strength of Protestant feeling is discussed, little is said about the Irish dimension and this would be worth further consideration in accounting for Protestant paranoia. The claim that may be found debatable concerns the existence of a "Centre-High" "outlook," "ideological umbrella" or "consensus," covering such disparate individuals as Randall Davidson, Cosmo Lang, William Temple, Walter Frere, and Percy

Dearmer. Categorization quickly breaks down in a welter of exceptions to general rules and definitions. For the episcopate, moreover, the practical challenges of managing diversity in the dioceses may have been as important as ideology in winning support for reform.

Maiden is to be congratulated on a fine piece of research that not only illuminates an episode in English church history but also offers an important contribution to the burgeoning debate about religion and the construal of national identity.

MARTIN WELLINGS  
*Oxford*

ALISON ORAM. *Her Husband Was a Woman! Women's Gender-Crossing in Modern British Popular Culture*. (Women's and Gender History.) New York: Routledge. 2007. Pp. xii, 192. \$35.95.

Anyone who has spent any time at all browsing the early twentieth-century popular press in England will have come across a story or two about a woman passing as a man and marrying another woman. Indeed in the 1930s, as Alison Oram's lively book claims, the British popular press was full of such stories and reported them with barely a nod to identity categories such as lesbian or transgender. Many of the stories in the press, furthermore, told stories of "female masquerade" with humor and a great deal of admiration. Oram notes in her introduction that as she did her research, she fully expected to see the tide to turn against these passing men, and she presumed that she would see a sexological language of perversion and pathology take over from the sensationalist and voyeuristic language of freakery and human wonder. But, she proposes, it was not until the late 1940s in Britain when press coverage of gender variance switched from amusement and amazement to judgment and fear; and only then, claims Oram, did notions of lesbianism and transsexualism emerge as explanatory frameworks for the cross-dressing woman.

In the book's conclusion, Oram speculates that comparative work might show that gender norms in Britain unfolded at a very different pace to those in the United States or in Europe. While Germans discussed the relations between gender variance and sexual desire from the very early twentieth century, the language of sexual deviance emerged earlier in the United States, with connections being made between female masculinity and lesbianism beginning in the late nineteenth century. Oram does not offer much in the way of an explanation for these different chronologies of gender and sexual variance, but her comments on English masculinity at various points in the book do offer some insights. For example, in relation to a press-fueled frenzy in the 1930s focused on racialized and foreign masculinities, Oram claims that white masculinities looked tame and unmanly in comparison to the Latin and Middle Eastern "gigolo" heroes of popular novels and films: "The diminished and domesticated image of British masculinity between the wars—the reliable clerk in his cardigan, the foppish upper-class chap—could not



compete" (p. 96). This weakened white British male masculinity, also leaving the door open for the cross-dressed woman—the "passing man," or the charming and adventurous gender crosser who found plenty of women ready and willing to explore other forms of desire.

Oram's book is well constructed and covers a lot of material in clear and compact manner. But there are a few areas where one might have hoped for more detail or more questions or more speculative leaps. In the chapter entitled "The Gigolo and Cosmopolitanism in the 1930's," for example, she writes, "The relationship between gender, sexuality and national identity flavoured the cross-dressing story in complex ways. A sense of British national identity was collectively imagined in relation to both the colonized people of the empire and the foreign rivals across the channel" (p. 90). And while she goes on to explore the particular threat of French sexual excess, Oram never really digs into the colonial context. Here she could have consulted Mrinalini Sinha's excellent *Colonial Masculinity: The "Manly Englishman" and the "Effeminate Bengali" in the Late Nineteenth Century* (1995) and explored the crisis of white English masculinity in relation to English fears of imperial unrest. Similarly in the chapter "Perverved Passions," and particularly the section on "Murderous Lesbians," Oram could have worked with Lisa Duggan's influential *Sapphic Slashers: Sex, Violence, and American Modernity* (2001) to raise considerations about the relations among violence, sexuality, race, and class. While Duggan's book used the murderous lesbian to highlight connections made within American modernity between racial violence and sexual otherness, one would like to hear more from Oram about the kinds of fears and social anxieties that these cases animated in Britain.

Oram discusses only one case of a passing man who was black—Paul Downing in 1905—and although she does discuss racial minstrelsy in the chapter on gigolos, one feels that there is much more to say about a white masculinity in crisis and about black, female, and foreign masculinities on the stage and in the press. At the same time, we could expect to hear more about the continuities between xenophobic white male masculinities and the racial fears harbored by the white women passing as men. Indeed, in relation to the case of Colonel Victor Barker, which Oram discusses at length, she omits mention of Barker's involvement with the National Fascist Party in the 1920s.

All in all, Oram has written a commendable book with lots of insight on the topic of gender roles and gender relations in Britain between the wars. She has also uncovered much new material on the lives of working-class passing men and on the reception of their stories by the general public via the popular press. But the book does not push its own conclusions very far beyond received wisdom on modern British sexual culture, and one is left with more than a few questions about the relationship between inverts and passing men, about emergent lesbian cultures and emergent transgender-

ism, about race and masculinity, and about sexuality and gender variance. As a survey of female to male cross-gender behavior, however, it offers a rich compendium of stories for scholars to ponder.

JUDITH HALBERSTAM

*University of Southern California*

VINCENT J. PITTS. *Henri IV of France: His Reign and Age*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2009. Pp. xvi, 477. \$45.00.

The 400th anniversary of Henri IV's assassination is commemorated this year. That serves as one justification for this new and substantial biographical study of the first Bourbon king of France, the first in English for twenty-five years. Vincent J. Pitts sticks closely to his brief, concentrating on the narrative thrust. The result is not quite "life and times," more "life and events." The book is a galloping history for the general public, in which the author displays an eye for striking quotation and a narrative historian's sense of the dramatic. Supporting the narrative is a good knowledge of the printed sources of the period and some immersion in relevant manuscript materials. Pitts offers a shrewd assessment of the politics of the moment, nowhere more so than in the last chapter of the book, which effectively draws the reader into the crescendo of tension that surrounded the moment of the king's assassination on Friday, May 14, 1610. The biography also takes seriously the seventeen years before 1589, when Henri de Bourbon was king of Navarre (five chapters) as compared with the twenty-one years afterward when he was king of France (seven chapters). The downside, however, is that there is almost nothing by way of overall assessment of the king's contribution to the French *ancien régime*, no evaluation of what he thought he was about, and precious little notion of what made him such a remarkable figure. These are the stuff of the debates about Henri IV, of course, and the historiography of the reign is one in which real debate has often been masked by post facto Bourbon adulation of someone who, in comparison with the majority of his Bourbon successors, had a remarkable capacity to convey human warmth and charm. Pitts signposts where such debates might exist while at the same time he gently and prudently tiptoes round them. The result is somewhat emaciated history. Was Henri IV a "foundational" king, someone who in some way or other established the absolute monarchy on new or reshaped foundations? Or was he a "transitional politics" character, mediating between different groups and actors, finding a royalist rhetoric that was capable of uniting different aspirations and numbing the recent bruising experiences of civil war? This book leaves us to ask and answer those kinds of questions for ourselves. Each chapter begins with some well-chosen and often contradictory assessments of the king's role and intentions. These are sometimes the only indication to the reader that the king's reputation was the subject of contemporary hesitations, doubts, and criticism—ones that went much deeper and broader than the result of

his famous “perilous leap” of 1593 (a further moment in the king’s life where Pitts makes good use of the dramatic tension implicit in the narrative). Especially in the period before 1598, the complex events of the French Civil Wars tend to overwhelm the subject. We learn next to nothing of the king’s Protestant education and formation, although a good case could have been made for a kind of residual royalist providentialism in the king’s discourse as a result. Much more could have been done with the detailed and remarkable records of the little Protestant court at Nérac, which, despite the fire in the relevant archives in the early years of the twentieth century, remain largely intact. Once Henri became king of France, the royalist image-makers took over, especially after 1598, so that it is often difficult to disentangle myth and reality. Pitts tends to rely somewhat heavily on contemporary royalist memorialists (especially Pierre de l’Estoile) and the foreign ambassadorial reports of the carefully choreographed first Bourbon court. This was a world where the king and his close confidants insisted (understandably, in the context of the sensitivity of the abjuration from Catholicism in 1593) that the royal conscience was an arcanum into which the eyes of common mortals should not pry. Similarly the royal heart and libido were not for close inspection either. Contemporaries were treated instead to royal propaganda that implied openness and frankness even as his discourse told them that absolute obedience was what truly mattered—actions counted louder than fruitless discussion. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the dynamics of the first Bourbon’s reign have remained a subject of debate. Pitt’s biography tells us what happened but fails to answer the larger questions.

MARK GREENGRASS  
University of Sheffield

DENA GOODMAN. *Becoming a Woman in the Age of Letters*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 386. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$29.95.

When we think of eighteenth-century women letter writers, our ideas are shaped by an iconography defined by such painters as François Boucher, Jean-Baptiste Greuze, and Jean-Honoré Fragonard, and a novelistic tradition comprising Montesquieu, Françoise de Graffigny, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Pierre Choderlos de Laclos. In this book Dena Goodman offers a counter-narrative to that understanding. In her story, women letter writers were not the objects of male love and desire, passive subjects destined to endure absence. She recounts instead how a new, modern woman emerged in France, a woman who cannot be explained by the narrative representing women either as frivolous, pleasure-seeking members of a decadent *ancien régime* or as virtuous, republican, and maternal citizens.

In eighteenth-century France, increasing numbers of elite women were writing letters, a practice that shaped the meaning of modern womanhood, claims Goodman. To understand this phenomenon, it is to women’s real

letters, not to the letter novel (even those written by women), that Goodman turns in this rich account of how women came to know themselves as modern subjects through writing. Writing prepared women for life in a world where families were dispersed, accomplishment competed with birth, social mobility was assumed, and motherhood was a career. In this world, argues Goodman, epistolarity was becoming the most important medium for women’s aspirations.

A first chapter analyzes how the iconographic tradition of letter writing in genre painting gendered “inner life” as feminine. Through insightful commentary, Goodman shows how these paintings occluded the historical phenomenon of letter writing, creating instead an imaginary world that depicted nothing so much as male desire at work, visible through the image of an epistolary woman designed to figure desire for the absent other. This figure, infused with Rousseauian and Greuzean erotics, is the one Goodman strips away from letter writing to reveal a complex of social, intellectual, and material practices in which women were engaged, practices that made them modern.

Girls’ training in letter writing is the subject of three subsequent chapters. In the liminal space of convents through which girls passed to become women and mothers, girls were taught to socialize in a female world through writing, forging bonds of friendship and family. Through letters, mothers participated in their children’s education, imparting the social knowledge and values they would need to navigate in the world as adults. In an insightful discussion of penmanship and orthography, Goodman shows how the letter functioned as the material sign of that knowledge and those values, and thus why women’s writing had to be disciplined. Since their writing was the medium of feeling, women were allowed to spell as they felt, especially because, not having been taught Latin, they could not be expected to spell correctly. Increasingly though, women were called to become self-conscious about their writing, disciplined by educators who would train them to write naturally and thus, argues Goodman, provide them with greater cultural agency. In yet another richly suggestive chapter, Goodman deftly analyzes the myriad texts—treatises, novels, and manuals—that underpinned common assumptions about gender and writing, texts that shaped girls’ education and their epistolary practices. The natural female voice that girls learned to write was less and less that of eighteenth-century men of letters, who nonetheless continued to claim to express that voice.

The following two chapters treat women’s letter writing from the perspective of material history. Participants in a modern world in the making, eighteenth-century women were becoming increasingly active in commerce and consumption. These practices involved taste and fashion, practices that Goodman reads as providing women with opportunities to use their knowledge and judgment, and thus to make choices and assert agency. Letter writing, involving the acquisition of epis-

tolary paraphernalia such as paper, pens, and writing desks, was one such opportunity.

The closing chapter offers rich close readings of sets of letters written by four women. Skillfully bringing these letter writers to life, Goodman shows how letter writing created for them a private space of reflection, self-expression, and autonomy. These women's letters reveal an understanding of marriage that allowed them freedom and happiness in a world where an old system based on kin and patronage still coexisted with one shaped by family values celebrated by Rousseau.

This book repeatedly invokes a modernity for which letter writing prepared women by expanding their horizons and creating a space of freedom. Its title echoes Simone de Beauvoir's celebrated claim, "one is not born a woman, one becomes one." Quibbling, one might wonder whether the emancipatory modernizing narrative of becoming that underpins Goodman's narrative serves to essentialize writing, a practice that elsewhere can imprison as much as it is said here to liberate. But this quibble takes nothing away from the insightful, variegated, and fresh understanding that Goodman provides of women writing in the eighteenth century.

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WILLIAM DOYLE. *Aristocracy and Its Enemies in the Age of Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2009. Pp. viii, 371. \$60.00.

D. M. G. SUTHERLAND. *Murder in Aubagne: Lynching, Law, and Justice during the French Revolution*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xvii, 316. \$95.00.

These two imaginative studies advance important arguments about the revolutionary origins of modern democracy. William Doyle treats the aristocratic order and its triumphant opponents on a grand scale, focusing on revolutionary France's legislative debates and the triumph of democratic equality. Under D. M. G. Sutherland's well-focused microscope the ghastly violence with which one small town experienced the great revolution reveals troubling connections to notions of popular sovereignty.

Doyle's aristocrats were a fractious bunch, engaged in invidious comparisons of titles, the length of lineages, the financial advantageousness of marriages, and social roles, ceaselessly upholding their honor by denying the claims of others. They deployed a variety of justifications—aristocracy was the natural order of things, as demonstrated by how widely it was found; it was a training ground for martial excellence; it provided a vital counterweight to royal power. But each argument could and did suggest a counterargument as the new United States seemed on its way to doing just fine without a nobility and European monarchs elsewhere sought to rein in their nobles; as noble-led French armed forces failed; and as royal despotism seemed on

the increase. Some of the emerging and increasingly wide-ranging critiques of nobility were penned by nobles. In a particularly interesting chapter, Doyle shows how French debates about America, and especially about the Society of the Cincinnati, opened up fundamental questions about whether a nobility was a useful thing to have, an especially devastating question in an era when its defenders were prone to invoke social utility.

As France entered revolution, the claims of noble advantage, from tax exemptions to privileged access to office, and the closely associated seigneurial rights, came under attack. Some nobles were conspicuous among the attackers, others complained, and still others kept their heads down as they hoped for better days. The more vocal or dramatic the resistance by some, the more sweeping was the revolutionary attack on all. Intransigent noble militancy in émigré ranks (a smallish proportion of all nobles), helped trigger radical measures of property seizure and sale. Not that the émigrés were any more united than the nobility as a whole: to the old divisions, persisting in exile, were added debates about who caused the revolution, and there were new sources of invidious distinction: those early to emigrate versus the latecomers, those who emigrated for this reason rather than that.

The Napoleonic effort to create a hierarchical order organized around gradations of power conferred by government service and personal wealth led to the effort to bring in those nobles who wished to be included, creating yet another arena for them to compete with each other. But however well some nobles did in Napoleonic or Restoration attempts at formal hierarchy, in the long run, the loss of wealth and privilege and corporate identity made noble descent increasingly an irrelevance in the democratizing centuries ahead.

Doyle has made many distinguished contributions to our understanding of the range of noble views and actions in his earlier work on the late Old Regime judiciary, venality, and the onset of revolution. He has drawn deeply on this knowledge here to take us through the pamphlet and legislative debates and the memoirs and diaries of those who were engaged in the conflicts of the revolutionary years as well as those just hoping to get through tough times. Challenges to privilege, nobles, and nobility from below make their appearance, but Doyle's spotlight is usually on nobles themselves or the holders of power in the revolutionary order. The rather tragic threads that run through the work are the arguments that a small number of highly visible noble resisters triggered the broadest and deepest of the revolutionary assaults and the frequency with which nobles were among the most effective critics of nobility. But there is perhaps also an implied cautionary moral. As late as the eve of revolution, even critics hardly imagined a world without these squabbling seekers of advantage in a largely taken-for-granted inegalitarian view of how human societies must necessarily be organized. Are the assumptions of the triumphant democratic order in which we live any better secured?

Sutherland begins with three murdered bodies in southern France in 1795. His investigation into who they were, who killed them, and why takes him deep into the social conflicts of one small Provencal town in revolution. It looks beyond that town at the surrounding region and at the national context as well. And it raises important questions about some of the meanings of democracy as revealed in the violence that was a consequence of political rivalries. Sutherland depicts a local scene of overlapping tensions. There were conflicts between peasants and those who lived from investments. There were important issues under debate, especially taxation, seigniorial rights, and the control of local government. But local people were united and divided as well by ties of neighborhood or by which penitential association one belonged to.

Around Aubagne, Jacobinism was a popular movement drawing on peasants and people from the poorer parts of town. But anti-Jacobins soon were organizing, too, and formed their own broad movement. Elections were occasions for both sides to mobilize, but so was a local olive festival that one side promoted and the other attempted to suppress. When they could, one side or the other appealed to more distant players like the district government in Marseille or the National Assembly. Shifts in regional or national politics had great consequences locally. But the local and regional scenes were not smaller scale versions of the national one. Marseille-based Jacobin radicalism was significant beyond Thermidor. One theme that seems to run through Sutherland's account is that both Jacobins and anti-Jacobins could hope for change at the regional or national levels that would enable them to call on external support in their local battles. Sutherland shows Provence to have been a pretty violent place even before there was any threat from foreign armies, often held to be a major trigger of both popular and state violence in the French Revolution. The "murder in Aubagne" of the title refers narrowly to a specific series of killings that frames the work, but also more broadly to the waves of vigilantism and barely legalized trials that generated an elevated body count.

At various points either side might identify itself with the virtuous people, decry the inadequate action of the authorities, and organize violent attacks on their enemies. The action (and inaction) of officials is depicted with great insight and complexity. Those officials are often looking the other way when they favor the perpetrators of violence, but at points are carrying out their own violent policies, and at still other points are concerned to recover control of violence from the locals. Sutherland is at great pains to establish the differing social bases and views of the two camps, which lends a poignant irony to his demonstration that in the spiral of mutual violence they not only acted in many ways alike but even found the same kinds of self-justification. That justification was, Sutherland contends, a specifically democratic one: the direct, immediate action of the people against dangerous enemies had a higher authority than the procedural rules of courts or even the laws

and regulations issued by elected representatives in national government or local bodies. Dragging someone away from jail was a statement that the acting crowd was stronger than even the new officialdom.

Building his account from a masterful command of detail, Sutherland is equally convincing in explaining local factions, regional struggles, and national contexts. It is a major and deeply original contribution to understanding the French Revolution's violence.

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HELENA ROSENBLATT. *Liberal Values: Benjamin Constant and the Politics of Religion*. (Ideas in Context, number 92.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. xiii, 275. \$99.00.

Historians and political philosophers rediscovered France's liberal tradition in the 1980s. Alexis de Tocqueville, Francois Guizot, and the Doctrinaires were prime beneficiaries of the trend, but so too was Benjamin Constant (1767–1830). Constant's impassioned defense of the private sphere against state encroachments was his principal claim to fame, and it was a claim that served more than one purpose. What he had to say against the soul-forming ambitions of Jacobins could be turned against communists, would-be Jacobins of the present day; and Constant's brief for individualism and free enterprise could be cited in justification of dismantling the institutional citadels of the postwar welfare state. These are not Helena Rosenblatt's concerns, although, as will be seen, she has her own presentist preoccupations. The present at stake for her, however, is not so much the Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan 1980s as the era of religious intolerance post-9/11.

Rosenblatt does ample justice to Constant, the critic of modern-day statism. As a young Swiss transplanted to France, Constant managed to land himself a provincial job working for the Directory. In that capacity, he had occasion to impose the regime's dechristianizing agenda on a recalcitrant local populace. Constant learned from the experience how futile it was for states to attempt to manufacture citizens, and subsequent years of Bonapartist tyranny drove the point home. True, in the name of public order, Constant at first welcomed Napoleon's 1799 coup, but he soon recognized his mistake and swung into opposition. By Rosenblatt's account, it was hard experience that taught Constant to reject state meddling in the private domain.

But what was so important about the private sphere in the first place? This is where Rosenblatt's discussion takes an interesting turn. The private for Constant meant in part economic activity. He was always a defender of private property and laissez-faire. It was also the domain of emotion, and this too was a subject dear to Constant. He was the author of *Adolphe* (1816), the tale of a melancholy young man whose erotic attachments and chronic indecision prevent him from plunging into the serious business of life. Yet most of all,



Rosenblatt argues, the private for Constant was the domain of religion.

Constant was born a Protestant; he worked and lived in Protestant Germany and paid visits there; and his paramour of many years, Madame de Staël, was a germanophile herself and author of a substantial work, *De l'Allemagne* (1813), which vaunted the intellectual and moral qualities of life across the Rhine. Providence had implanted in every heart, Constant believed, a religious impulse that sought out the good. The quest for moral improvement was conducted in part through an examination of conscience and in part through what Constant called "free inquiry," the pursuit of truth guided at once by reason and humankind's inner ethical compass. The outward trappings of religion—church organization and ritual practice—were of secondary importance, changeable and evolving forms that adjusted themselves in step with the progress of humanity's ethical sense. Humanity in the present day had attained the stage of commercial civilization, and Constant had little doubt which religious form was most in tune with humanity's current moral condition: liberal Protestantism. Liberal Protestantism sanctioned the search for moral perfection through self-scrutiny; it did not fetishize outmoded dogmas and rituals; and not least of all, it placed free inquiry front and center.

The appeal of liberal Protestantism to Constant, however, lay not just in its enabling of humanity's moral progress but also in its endorsement of principles conducive to a freer public life. Debate and the exchange of ideas, these were what free inquiry was all about, but they were also practices that made political liberty possible. Liberal Protestantism then held out a double-barreled promise. It fostered the pursuit of individual moral perfection, but, more than that, it vouchsafed freedom in the public sphere.

Keeping Constant's liberal Protestant predilections in mind is critical, Rosenblatt argues, to understanding just where he stood in contemporary political debate. As might be imagined, he was no friend of Joseph de Maistre and Louis de Bonald, who touted a reactionary Catholicism out of touch with the emotional and moral requirements of the modern age. He had little more liking for the materialist doctrines of the *Idéologues*, who took self-interest, rather than ethical seeking, to be the wellspring of human action. And, of course, statist doctrines of all kinds were anathema to Constant. Guizot, liberal though he was, looked to the state as an instrument to manage opinion. This was not to Constant's taste, nor was the administrative outlook of Henri de Saint-Simon and the young Auguste Comte, who looked on politics not as the arena of human freedom but as an impediment complicating the rational organization of industrial life. Rosenblatt's book is a reading not just of Constant but of the moral and political arguments that patterned the thinking of an entire era, and this is one of the book's greatest strengths.

Constant was a complicated man, and religion was just one part of a multifaceted persona. He led an extravagant private life. There were affairs, duels, and

gambling debts. *Adolphe* was understood by readers—and for good reason—to be a *roman à clef*. For serious-minded contemporaries, all this was proof of Constant's unreliable character. It might be more correct to say that he was very much a man of the Romantic age, which raises an interesting question that Rosenblatt does not address. What was the relationship between Constant the liberal and Constant the Romantic, between his politics and his aesthetics?

Rosenblatt's book, however, is not a literary history but an analysis of Constant's political thought. That still leaves a pair of questions unanswered, one theoretical and one practical. For all Constant's liberalism, he was never much of a democrat. He favored a property-based franchise which excluded most citizens from the kind of participation he so much valued. The founding fathers of nineteenth-century French liberalism—and this includes Guizot and Tocqueville—did not much care for the rough-and-tumble of democratic politics. It is easy enough to imagine why, but it would be interesting to know Rosenblatt's take on the problem. On the practical end, there is the puzzle of Constant's record as a political actor. He held a provincial appointment under the Directory. After the 18th Brumaire coup, which he backed, he wangled an appointment to the Tribunat. He took a disliking to Napoleon's authoritarian and clerical ways, however, making himself noxious enough that Napoleon had him purged. It is no surprise then to find Constant in 1814, with Napoleon now on the way out, maneuvering to install a constitutional monarchy. Yet, when Bonaparte returned during the Hundred Days, the anti-Bonapartist Constant did not scruple to accept an appointment to the Conseil d'état from an ex-emperor he so much execrated. Post-1815, Constant remained in public life, winning multiple mandates to the Chambre des députés thanks in part, as Rosenblatt notes, to his skills as a "great constituency man." He then went on to back the Revolution of July 1830, dying that following December unhappy with the inadequate liberalism of the new regime. To many, Constant would appear the consummate opportunist. Rosenblatt is inclined to see him as naive. He was no doubt someone who hankered for the political limelight, a man whose egotism led him, if not to betray his principles, then to play fast and loose with them. That too was Constant.

This is not the image, though, that Rosenblatt want to leave the reader with. She sees Constant, and all the evidence backs her up in this conclusion, as an unbending paladin of the freedom of religion. He believed in toleration and the quest for moral perfection that lay at the core of all faith. This credo was Constant's and it is one, Rosenblatt implies, that religion-obsessed republics in the dawning twenty-first century, whether French or American, would do well to attend to.

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ANNELIEN DE DIJN. *French Political Thought from Montesquieu to Tocqueville: Liberty in a Levelled Society?*

(Ideas in Context, number 89.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 212. \$99.00.

In this stimulating and important book, Annelien de Dijn argues that "aristocratic liberalism" constituted one of the most vibrant and historically significant political discourses in nineteenth-century France. Aristocratic liberals feared that the social leveling of the modern age had negated traditional aristocratic resistance to central power, leaving liberty constantly under threat. In response, they looked to "intermediary bodies"—often envisioned as an aristocracy, but not necessarily so—to safeguard liberty (p. 5).

The core principles and lexicon of aristocratic liberalism were first sketched by Montesquieu in the middle of the eighteenth century before being transformed by a series of major and minor thinkers in the nineteenth century. In *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748), Montesquieu claimed that monarchy would be the most stable form of government and the most likely to preserve liberty if a hereditary, landowning nobility was institutionalized as an intermediary power. After briefly detailing this "invention of aristocratic liberalism," de Dijn's narrative jumps ahead to the Bourbon Restoration of 1814–1815, when "aristocratic liberalism à la Montesquieu" was revived by royalist writers such as Charles Cottu, Joseph Fiévée, Nicolas Bergasse, and Louis Simonde, who argued that "liberty could not exist in a society without an aristocracy" acting as an intermediary power (p. 44). Restoration liberals such as Benjamin Constant and Pierre-Paul Royer-Collard also believed that some form of intermediary power was necessary to preserve liberty, but rejected the nobility—and thus the royalists' version of aristocratic liberalism—as obsolete in the modern society of equals. Restoration liberalism, however, was not a homogeneous body of thought. Charles Dunoyer propounded a laissez-faire liberalism, Constant a "neo-republican" version, and Prosper de Barante, François Guizot, and Charles de Rémusat sought to bring a new "natural aristocracy" to the political forefront. Following the July Revolution of 1830 that installed the Orléanist dynasty on France's throne, Guizot and likeminded liberals ascended to power. Orléanist liberalism provides the context for de Dijn's reading of Alexis de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, the most sustained treatment of any thinker or text in the book. In fact, de Dijn argues that *Democracy in America* "was to a large extent written as a critique of Orléanist liberalism" (pp. 135–136). She also posits a strong difference between its two volumes, published in 1835 and 1840, respectively. The first resembled Constant's "neo-republican" liberalism while the second echoed the aristocratic liberalism of the Restoration royalists. Indeed, volume two, she writes, "was in many ways inspired" by the Restoration royalists' strident critique of democracy and celebration of "the aristocratic type of society" (pp. 148–149). De Dijn's treatment of France's greatest liberal thinker stands as the culmination of her argument, but she nonetheless extends her case in a final chapter arguing that there was an

important strand of aristocratic liberalism well into the Second Empire.

De Dijn's interpretive method stands squarely within the "Cambridge School" of intellectual history: context provides the key to unlocking texts' meanings. "Context" in this book for the most part means arguing against political adversaries. Montesquieu's aristocratic liberalism "must be understood in the first instance as a critique of the republican paradigm" (p. 27); the Restoration royalists aimed their arguments against the republican legacy of the French Revolution; Restoration liberals were primarily responding to their royalist adversaries; Orléanists to republicans; and Tocqueville, as mentioned above, to Orléanist liberalism. Such an approach undoubtedly offers a rich hermeneutic tool for reading texts, but it can leave the impression that the different thinkers studied arrived at their political philosophies more by what they were against than by any more positive values.

This book's greatest strength is that it brings to life the writings of a good number of frequently neglected thinkers, notably the Restoration royalists, and in so doing provides a rich context that reveals important new insights regarding luminaries such as Constant and Tocqueville. Any book that addresses such a wide range of thinkers will of course provoke disagreement in specific instances. The discrepancy between the two volumes of *Democracy in America*, for example, seems overstated to this reviewer. The book's biggest flaw, however, is that it is too brief given the purview of its topic. 194 pages is simply not enough for such a sweeping story. Analyses are tantalizingly short, whether or not the meaning of liberty for the different thinkers in question might have changed is underscrutinized, and the rather eventful sixty-six years between the publication of *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748) and the Restoration (1814) is dealt with in seven pages. This criticism notwithstanding, this book succeeds in its principle goal: "aristocratic liberalism" will surely take its place in the standard narrative of nineteenth-century French political thought.

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LUDOVIC FROBERT. *Les canuts, ou la démocratie turbulente: Lyon, 1831–1834*. Paris: Éditions Tallandier. 2009. Pp. 224. €25.00.

The silkworkers (*canuts*) of Lyon, their insurrections in November 1831 and April 1834, and the emergence of *mutuellisme* (mutual aid organizations, illegal and thus basically secret) and republican politics in what was then France's second city have been the subject of a good many studies. Among them are Fernand Rude's *Les Révoltes des canuts, 1831–1834* (1977, 1982), Robert J. Bezucha's *The Lyon Uprising of 1834: Social and Political Conflict in the Early July Monarchy* (1974), and George J. Sheridan's *The Social and Economic Foundations of Association among the Silk Weavers of Lyons, 1852–1870* (1981). In the second insurrection, the ca-

*nuts* poured down the Croix-Rousse—that massive hill with its *traboules*, the passageways between and through buildings that served to keep the silk dry—with banners that shouted out “Live free or die fighting!” Many silk weavers bravely did the latter, even if the first time around the insurgents managed to hold onto virtually the entire city for ten days. Lyon’s silk industry enriched the merchant-manufacturers of the city, even in tough economic times that followed the July Revolution of 1830—seemingly a victory of “the people” that really was not—made worse when in 1832 cholera tore through France’s second city, as most everywhere else. The *fabrique* and the workers in the hierarchy of skill suffered, with the piece-rate falling, as many of the 30,000 tall Jacquard looms fell silent.

*L’Écho de la Fabrique*, founded in October 1831, several weeks before the first insurrection, has long been considered the first working-class newspaper. The self-proclaimed organ of the *canuts*, it was an important part of the “creative democracy” (p. 177) of the *canuts*. Lasting into 1835, it became “une arme nouvelle, formidable” (p. 119). Ludovic Frobert, a specialist on political economy and the French press, presents the first focused study of the newspaper. He uses *L’Écho* as a prism to understand *les canuts lyonnais* (*chefs d’atelier* and *compagnons*), as they tried to defend artisanal silk manufacturing and thus their autonomy against the threat of further “mechanization, specialization and concentration” (p. 169) during the highly contentious early years of the July Monarchy. The very existence of the *fabrique* seemed menaced. *L’Écho* described the declining conditions of work confronting the *canuts*, denounced the fact that the Conseil des prud’hommes was weighted against them, considered ways of usefully reorganizing the *fabrique*, provided accounts of work stoppages, defended the dignity of the *canuts*, and, increasingly, that of all workers. The paper denounced those who exploited workers (the merchant-manufacturers) or defended those who did, such as Saint-Marc Girardin, who famously claimed in December 1831 that “the barbarians who threaten society are not in the Caucasus or the steppes of the Tartary but in the faubourgs of our manufacturing cities.” Amid increasing calls for social equality and insistence that proletarians were “the foundation of the social edifice” (p. 54), a banquet celebrating the first anniversary of the founding of the newspaper proclaimed a “fête prolétaire.” This excellent analytical study brings to life a dramatic time. Moreover, Frobert has worked to make the newspaper, a fantastic resource for historians, available online.

Frobert provides a close, informed, and fascinating reading of the pages (3,000) of the newspaper’s dramatic history. He divides the existence of *L’Écho de la Fabrique* into three periods, each corresponding to one lengthy chapter: “Une feuille tout industriel”; “Le journal de la ‘caste prolétaire’”; and “L’Écho du Mutuellisme.” Frobert effectively presents the convergence of Saint-Simonianism (insisting on the benefits of technological progress while underlining the difference between “producers” and “non-producers”) and the develop-

ment of republicanism. Political emancipation increasingly was seen as necessary in order to achieve economic reforms, as reflected in a fascinating debate in *L’Écho de la Fabrique* in 1832, when the newspaper took up the banner of republicanism, despite the doubts of some *canuts* that republicans would leave the “social question” secondary in their efforts. Through all, we follow the influence of Marius Chastaing (and Antoine Vidal, the first editor-in-chief), not a *canut* but a republican lawyer who guided *L’Écho* beginning in August 1832, and used the poems and songs of local republican poets to evoke the moral dignity of the *canuts*. As *L’Écho* became a forum for debates on the political economy in a time of intense reflection, Frobert marshals the interpretations of the British observers (whose already enormous factories and mechanization were viewed by the *fabrique* as ominous portents) John Stuart Mill, Jeremy Bentham, and John Bowring as they considered the challenges of growth, decline, and the increasing explosion of work out of the Croix-Rousse faubourg and into the countryside.

Readers not familiar with Lyon and its silk industry and the two insurrections may regret that much is assumed. Essential context is only briefly provided in the introduction, with further references here and there: the social geography of Lyon and particularly the faubourg of the Croix-Rousse (which would be annexed to the city in 1852); the timeless struggle between Lyon’s “federalist pretensions,” as state prefects like to put it, seeing in it precocious republicanism, and the Parisian-centered state; and even the Revolution of 1830 itself, which played a crucial role in the evolution of radical politics. This led to a remarkable period of political and social contention—and indeed a subsequent insurrection in Paris—that was part of the revolutionary process. A law following the second insurrection restricted the creation of associations and another restricting freedom of the press followed the attempted assassination of King Louis-Philippe in July 1835. Inside footnotes identify significant terms (Society of the Friends of the People) and important people (Casimir Perier) in the compelling story.

But no matter. *L’Écho de la Fabrique* provides a fascinating entry into the Lyon silk industry and the troubled world of the *canuts* during the first years of the July Monarchy, as well as into the publishing strategies of early nineteenth-century journalists. The world of the *gônes*—the *canuts*—has long since disappeared, even if some of their favorite dishes remain staples in Lyon’s *brasseries* and *bouchons*. The silkworkers’ struggles, and their remarkable accomplishments, are central in the collective memory of Lyon, and in the history of large-scale industrialization.

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WILLA Z. SILVERMAN. *The New Bibliopolis: French Book Collectors and the Culture of Print, 1880–1914*. (Studies in Book and Print Culture, number 21.) Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2008. Pp. xvii, 312. \$75.00.



In an age of the Kindle and e-books, how refreshing and meaningful to read Willa Z. Silverman's fascinating study, which so eloquently describes a time when printed books not only mattered but were treasured, sought after, and treated almost as lovers at times. Far from being a treatise on monomaniacal, "nebbishy" bookworms, Silverman sheds light on a facet of *Belle Époque* history hitherto underdeveloped and introduces us to a colorful, eccentric, artistic, and fanatically driven set of bibliophiles bent on creating a haven for the book, a "bibliopolis," or as one of Silverman's subjects, Robert de Montesquiou, put it referring to the importance of a book's cover, "a portal into a world of illusion" (p. 153). Contrary to the "Ancients," represented by the Société des Bibliophiles Français, who were focused on collecting old and rare books and who concentrated on the book as though it were a museum piece, the "new" bibliophiles Silverman delineates were passionate about books as a sign of the modern. For them, since books were synonymous with the excitement of the times, books needed to be perceived as "exclusive, unique, and contemporary" (p. 88).

With great elegance and insight, Silverman introduces us to the vanguard of the Third Republic, pre-World War I bibliophiles, who knew that appreciating and collecting books could become a highly sensual, artistic conduit. For Octave Uzanne, one of the most engaged and innovative leaders of these "moderns," the latest technological or technical improvements to the ways books felt and looked were keys to a new form of "luxury book" (it is interesting to note how prescient he was when one considers the current wars contemporary book publishers are waging against "big box" stores like Wal-Mart that discount books to such a degree as to devalue their worth in the eyes of the public.) Similarly, de Montesquiou also viewed books not only as evolving artistic endeavors but as extensions of his own daily life. Montesquiou considered his library, which Silverman describes in sensual detail, as the "mirror of [his] soul." Although Montesquiou actually wrote his novels in a spartan room void of any decoration, the library was the room where he could luxuriate in the pleasure of reading and savor books as art objects. As Silverman recounts, "With its glistening, lacquered leather walls and peacock-eye motif, this library was meant to stimulate the intellectual work and inspiration associated with writing and reading" (p. 155), and as his contemporary Edmond de Goncourt remarked, the rest of the rooms in Montesquiou's house were also arranged "like the chapters of a book" (p. 157). In her intricate and extremely well-documented narratives of these engaged bibliophiles, Silverman touches upon how they had to maintain a delicate balance between a perceived fetishization of the book, which they considered *bibelots* or little objects on the one hand, and their appreciation of the book as filled with texts they savored on the other. Silverman does an extraordinary job of chronicling the intensity of the Parisian literary world at that time through its polemics, journals, salons, and literary discoveries.

In her last chapter, "The Enemies of Books? Women and the Bibliophilic Imagination," Silverman delves into the role of women within a male-dominated bibliophilic tradition in France. As most of the bibliophiles Silverman writes about were bachelors, it is not surprising that they perceived women as "the bibliophile's hell" (p. 164) since they treated their own books as lovers, wives, or objects of fantasies. Yet what is truly fascinating in Silverman's study is the progressive feminization of the exclusive male club of bibliophiles who were so wrapped up in the dreamy romance book collecting held for them that they became exceedingly "woman-like" themselves, appropriating many of the feminine characteristics they claimed to dislike.

Silverman's concluding chapter is particularly entertaining as it describes the numerous inventions and imaginative technologies many of the bibliophiles came up with to preserve the book from extinction. Inventions such as the téléroscope and the théâtrophone anticipated today's audiobook, for example; yet, over a hundred years since the fanciful and sybaritic bibliophiles Silverman studies began their mission to elevate the book as a luxurious artistic pleasure, it is gratifying to know that contemporary bibliophiles are still fighting the fight to keep books from fading into a computer screen. Indeed, Silverman has written a marvelously entertaining and rich mosaic, filled with many equally enriching illustrations, which will ensure that her own book should be an integral part of any future bibliophile's library for many years to come.

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ROXANNE PANCHASI. *Future Tense: The Culture of Anticipation in France between the Wars*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 203. \$39.95.

In this fascinating volume, Roxanne Panchasi seeks to draw salient conclusions about post-World War I French culture via an examination of the ways in which the French in the 1920s and 1930s anticipated what the future portended for themselves, their nation, and the globe. The intention is thus to explore the future as history, as Panchasi notes explicitly at the outset. Citing the value of cultural anticipation as a fertile ground for historical study, she puts a unique twist on the well-established literature regarding memory and commemoration, using those concepts as launching points to suggest that attitudes and images about the future, "a cultural remembrance of things not yet past" (p. 5), can illuminate valuable and significant lessons about inter-war French society.

While fiction, film, and cultural criticism provide an important basis for the study, there is as well a sizeable quantity of material from the realms of urban and military planning as well as parliamentary and diplomatic records. The cumulative weight deriving from the integration of such variegated sources makes for a highly persuasive argument. Each chapter in the text analyzes a distinct element of French concerns about the future:



the frailties and imperfections of the physical body, and prosthetic devices (both literal and figurative) to compensate for these shortcomings; the perils awaiting the capital city of Paris, whether destruction or unsightly architecture; a foreseen upcoming war requiring strong fortifications and a healthy body politic; the specter of Americanism; and the dangers posed to the long-held international primacy of the French language. In every case, Panchasi looks to uncover what she labels traces and disappearance, namely traces of the future in the present and, at the same time, signs of the impending loss of important cultural characteristics. For instance, the presumed edifices of the future, skyscrapers, were already evident in the aftermath of World War I, but they likewise appeared as a harbinger of the disappearance or diminution of historic sites and architecture vital to French history and culture (strikingly illustrated by the reproduction of interwar photomontages depicting the anticipation of Parisian landmarks such as Notre Dame being dwarfed by neighboring high rises). As this intimates, the tension between tradition and modernity is another critical aspect of Panchasi's work. The balancing act between the maintenance of past practices and cultural markers, on the one hand, and the onslaught of new, modern ideas and realities, on the other, was a vital factor that effected anxieties about the future held by many French in the two interwar decades.

The focus on anticipation and the future allows Panchasi to bring fresh perspectives and insights to terrain that has been elucidated at length in the scholarly literature. Her analysis of French fears of Americanization, for instance, is informed in part by Jacques Spitz's 1935 science fiction story *The Agony of the Globe*, the plot of which involves the disappearance of the United States (indeed, the Americas) from the planet and the consequent impact of that on nations such as France. Panchasi also addresses subjects that have been accorded scant historiographical consideration. The best example of this is her chapter on the consternation created by the potential loss of status held internationally by the French language. Panchasi devotes part of that chapter to the debates at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 over whether to accept English as an official language of record for the conference in addition to French. Most of the chapter, though, deals with French reactions to the emerging movement to include Esperanto among internationally recognized and utilized languages. Panchasi's exploration of this issue is both riveting and significant, as she outlines the nature of French debates over this "artificial" language and its perceived threat to French culture, culminating in the French government's prohibition of pro-Esperanto "propaganda" in 1922, a ban that would last until 1924.

Among the subjects of French anticipation and unease in the 1920s and 1930s that Panchasi covers, issues of class and race receive relatively little attention. While the book treats gender-related concerns at various points throughout the text, race and class garner only fleeting reference in comparison. Given the wider

contours of French culture in the interwar age, it may have been illuminating if Panchasi had incorporated to a greater degree French anxieties regarding colonialism or the blurring of class lines as a means of demonstrating the manner in which those subjects likewise contributed to a sense of foreboding about the possibilities that the future held for France and the notion of "Frenchness."

This minor criticism aside, this well-written and quite engaging book constitutes a substantial addition to the cultural history of interwar France, and its innovative approaches and methods, not to mention its conclusions, should inspire further research on the topics raised within it.

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ELISA CAMISCIOLI. *Reproducing the French Race: Immigration, Intimacy, and Embodiment in the Early Twentieth Century*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2009. Pp. xi, 227. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.

In the interwar years, France agonized over its demographic crisis; well over a million virile Frenchmen died on the Western Front, exacerbating France's historically low birth rate. Bodies were now needed not only for postwar economic reconstruction but also for reproduction. Immigrants, who would come to comprise some seven percent of the population by 1930, were thus welcomed, and it was assumed that they would assimilate and become French—but only, Elisa Camiscioli demonstrates, if they were white Europeans, not dark colonial subjects. In this book, Camiscioli goes far beyond a skillful analysis of interwar immigration discourse and policies to argue that the French employed "embodiment" to temper the logical implications of their universal ideals, most importantly, the equality of all individuals. Embodiment, Camiscioli details, infused foreigners with particularistic and unequally desired racialized identities to justify the differential assimilation or exclusion of immigrants from the regenerated national body.

Camiscioli begins her argument by discussing the flourishing of a form of "biopolitics": interwar pronatalism. Pronatalists argued that France had fallen victim to modernity; individualist couples and feminists were checking their reproductive capacity to the detriment of the nation. To regenerate France, pronatalists exalted fecundity in the racially hygienic, traditional family. They projected positive values on white immigrants who, they suggested, could reproduce with the French. The resulting hybridity would revitalize the race. But not all populations were equally worthy of such crossbreeding. Indeed, the pronatalists, Camiscioli argues, "hierarchized foreigners according to their assimilability and potential for citizenship" (p. 35). The fecund and hardworking Italians and Spaniards, for example, placed high on the hierarchy, possessing virtues now lost to the too modern French.

French labor experts furthered this racialized hierarchy. They rejected the liberal economic position that considered all workers as equal, abstract laboring bodies. Rather, labor scientists claimed that both culture and race intrinsically marked the laborer, thus differentiating immigrant workers in a hierarchy of desirability. Jules Amar's prewar experiments, for example, demonstrated that Africans and Asians did not have the speed or endurance of Europeans. These conclusions were instrumental: virtually all colonial immigrants who were invited, even compelled, to work in France during the desperate years of World War I were expelled after the war. French officials then negotiated labor agreements with various European nations for workers: "because the French nation required both productive workers and potential citizens," Camiscioli concludes, "a biocultural definition of belonging emerged which privileged white European immigrants at the expense of colonial subjects" (p. 73).

Medical and race scientists, many of whom were sympathetic to eugenics, also engaged in the biopolitics of immigration. Underlying their discourse, Camiscioli argues, was a belief that the white race was, paradoxically, both a cohesive category, distinct from the colored races, and a fragmented one, encompassing different degrees of whiteness. Scientists typically accepted that the French race was not pure but hybrid, the product of *métissage*, racial mixing. Indeed, procreative sex between the French and any other (white) European was considered *métissage*. Rather than rejecting all mixing, scientists advocated the importance of racially good crossings—specifically between the French and Western Europeans, those possessing positive traits, not other Europeans, Jews, or Levantines. The former type of hybrid would easily assimilate, both culturally and physically, while the latter combinations would be degenerate and unassimilable, as would the issue with African or Asian populations.

Even French women, whose embodiment excluded them from many of the fruits of universalism, suffered from immigration policies: since the Napoleonic Code of 1804, women who married foreigners had to assume their husband's nationality. Thus by 1926, over six percent of the foreign population and fifteen percent of all foreign women were actually native-born French women who lost their French citizenship by marrying a foreigner. Feminists stridently argued that the law was unjust, and they expounded on traditional republican universal ideals of equality, individual liberty, and natural rights to denounce the law of derivative nationality. Finally, in 1927, a new law was passed that allowed for independent nationality—but not because of feminist appeals to universal ideals. Rather, the new law, Camiscioli argues, developed from pronatalism, not women's rights. Indeed, women could keep their nationality because of their unique, particularistic capacity to bear French children and thus sustain the nation.

French republicanism, at its best, articulates universal ideals and a belief in the indiscriminate potential for assimilation. Not surprisingly, France has not lived up

to its lofty ideals. Camiscioli's smart, carefully constructed, thoroughly and widely documented argument suggests that this national failing was woven into the fabric of the republican dialectic between universalism and particularism. All too often particularism dominated, excluding many from the national body, a fact made all too devastatingly clear under Vichy, which, Camiscioli suggests, was not so discontinuous with previous French republican history.

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CHARLES WEBSTER. *Paracelsus: Medicine, Magic and Mission at the End of Time*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2008. Pp. xiv, 326. \$40.00

This book consolidates eminent historian of science and medicine Charles Webster's decades of research on the Swiss physician Theophrastus von Hohenheim, known as Paracelsus (1493–1541). Paracelsus has long proven an elusive quarry for historians of science. Scholars have toiled to decipher his precise contribution to the Scientific Revolution, puzzling how this adamant devotee of empirical inquiry was even more fanatically committed to mysticism, and how this pioneer in the chemical tradition believed in creatures intermediary to men and angels. Reformation historians have struggled no less to identify Paracelsus's proper significance for their narrative. His voluminous theological writings present a bewildering range of arcane and frequently paradoxical beliefs that respect no orthodoxy. Sometimes Paracelsus invoked Neoplatonic, gnostic, and mystic traditions, while at other times he insisted upon the superiority of peasant or artisan knowledge and pronounced ancient wisdom inapplicable to his modern world. Like his medical writings, his theological works roil with hostility toward his contemporaries, directing the same vitriol at Catholics, Lutherans, and Anabaptists as at his Galenic and humanist competitors in the medical marketplace.

Webster has made a career of examining paragons of the Scientific Revolution whose theological proclivities contributed to their methods and beliefs. Here, as in his 1975 classic *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform 1626–1660*, Webster shows that the desire to ameliorate the condition of mankind encouraged the development and spread of revolutionary natural philosophical methods. Theological inquiry directed men to seek divine causation in the natural world and to forge intellectual tools aimed toward salvation. Similarly, Webster shows how innovative thinkers fused magic and medicine with natural philosophy and theology to generate powerful new curative practices.

Paracelsus's radical empiricism, emphasis on magic, and profound piety make him an ideal subject for Webster. Paracelsus was above all a self-appointed prophet, fired by abhorrence of the "commodification" and "professionalization" he perceived driving physicians, priests, and political figures to monopolize power and erect capricious barriers restricting entry to their pro-

fessions. Paracelsus's few publications and sprawling manuscripts reverberate with the conviction that he held an apostolic calling to heal the fissures afflicting his society and endangering the salvation of souls.

Webster's contextualization reveals Paracelsus as exemplar of the Radical Reformation, a member of the culture of firebrand preachers, wayward monks, and peasant prophets whose complexity is clumsily conveyed by post-confessionalization nomenclature. But if Paracelsus was a conventional sort of extremist, the transformation he proposed possessed a hue distinct from contemporary scripturalist or revolutionary social programs. Webster differentiates Paracelsus from the Anabaptists, Lutherans, and other reformers toward whom he might express sympathy, but never devotion. Instead, Paracelsus sought to regenerate the body of humanity with cures based on the idea that spiritual and corporeal illness did not derive from an imbalance of humors, as Galenists maintained. Rather, he saw bodies as constituted by substances drawn from a cacophony of material influences streaming through the universe and believed it his mission to teach devotees to attract and repel such hidden powers. Anatomizing these forces required rejecting conventional beliefs and building a new corpus of knowledge from empirical investigation of all substances and effects in the natural world.

Webster argues that over his brief career, Paracelsus moderated his virulence to distinguish himself from militant enemies of the status quo. In fact, Webster claims, Paracelsus's acolytes and opponents, rather than the man himself, stoked the controversies that drove the reformer from town to town and earned him a Faustian reputation. But if his public voice softened, his empirical approach to pursuing knowledge remained the cornerstone of his method.

In Webster's hands, Paracelsus's empiricism and career emerge as neglected artifacts of the Reformation. Historians of science, medicine, and magic along with Reformation historians will benefit from this work. Nevertheless, elements of the volume will frustrate readers. The press seems to have constricted Webster's pictorial program unreasonably, and the book would have benefitted considerably from more and higher-quality images, especially given the pressure Webster puts on interpreting those few that were included. Webster devotes little energy to describing Paracelsus's individual works, instead focusing on ideas within them. While the bewildering chronology of Paracelsus's works encourages this tactic, it will leave some readers feeling marooned. Lengthier discussion of obscure Reformers would help illuminate their parallels with Paracelsus. Readers may wonder if Paracelsus's alleged desire for publication derives more from Webster's assumptions than from his subject and will find the several mentions of pirated editions of Paracelsus's work intriguingly unresolved. Finally, some will remain unconvinced by a characterization of Paracelsus as an anti-humanist who mastered Lucian's satirical idiom.

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ANNE IRENE RIISØY. *Sexuality, Law and Legal Practice and the Reformation in Norway*. (The Northern World: North Europe and the Baltic c. 400–1700 AD, Peoples, Economies and Cultures, number 44.) Boston: Brill. 2009. Pp. vi, 212. \$132.00.

Anne Irene Riisøy sets out to challenge the conventional view among Norwegian historians that the Reformation introduced radical changes in the way that church and state authorities in Norway dealt with aberrant sexual behaviors. She contends that, on the contrary, the Protestant reformers created no new sex crimes and made few substantial changes in the way that the medieval church had dealt with sex offenses since roughly 1250. Reformation Norway, she argues, was in this respect remarkably conservative both in theory and practice. Such changes as there were, Riisøy notes, were gradual and incremental. The only major innovations that she found in Norwegian sex law during the Reformation were the legitimization of clerical marriage and the abandonment of fasting, pilgrimages, and pious works as punishments for sex offenses.

To support her argument Riisøy relies on legal texts and records of practice. The legal texts that she employs are primarily Norwegian, although she does refer at times to Danish, Icelandic, and Swedish laws for purposes of comparison. All of these are written in the vernacular, and she scarcely mentions the *Corpus iuris canonici* or other Latin legal texts. Her evidence for Norwegian legal practices in dealing with sex crimes emerges from records of prosecutions in regional court assemblies, records of fines in account rolls of fiefs and rental books for church property, as well as trials before the king and royal council. These sources furnished her with a total of ninety-six pre-Reformation sex cases and 796 such cases from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Armed with these records Riisøy proceeds to demonstrate that each major category of sex offense—adultery, fornication, prostitution, incest, rape, bestiality, and homosexual relations—that was punished as a crime during the Reformation and its aftermath had already been subject to criminal punishment during the high and later Middle Ages. She then turns to the punishments imposed on those found guilty of each type of offense. Here she turns up evidence of a few modest innovations. Thus, for example, none of the thirty-eight medieval adultery cases in her records was treated as a capital crime, whereas at least a handful of the 180 adultery cases in the Reformation period led to death sentences. By contrast, in the only rape case from medieval Norway whose punishment is documented (Riisøy discovered only three medieval rape cases in her sources) the convicted culprit got off with a fine, albeit quite a substantial one. Convicted rapists in the early modern period may have faced much harsher consequences. They could, at least in theory, be executed. In the sole case whose outcome is known, however, the rapist was outlawed. Still, since this meant that he was no longer under the protection of the law and hence could be

killed with impunity, outlawry might very well lead to premature death.

Toward the close of her book Riisøy devotes four brief chapters to the topic of gender differences in the ways that Norwegians dealt with sex offenders. Overall Riisøy's case records show that men were charged and convicted of sex offenses far more often than women: men were the defendants in three-quarters of adultery cases, eighty percent of incest cases, and more than ninety percent of fornication cases, for example. She rejects the notion that this indicates that women were better able than men to restrain their sexual urges. Instead she prefers the argument that women were seldom defendants in prosecutions for adultery or fornication because their husbands or fathers usually preferred to punish them privately and chose to bring charges against the male partner instead.

Riisøy's comparison between late medieval and Reformation laws and practices in dealing with sex offenses shows persuasively that the evidence belies the conventional assumption that Norwegian reformers punished sex offenders, male or female, more harshly than their medieval predecessors had done. That assumption presumably arose from a disinclination among Norwegian Reformation historians to invest substantial time and effort in examining the medieval evidence about these matters, as Riisøy has done. It does seem slightly odd, however, that although she dealt with the problem of clandestine marriage, Riisøy had so little to say about the medieval church's requirement that marriages be celebrated publicly (*in facie ecclesiae*) in order to be licit. Indeed she passes over the distinction between licitness and validity altogether, although this was fundamental to medieval matrimonial law. Regardless of one or two such blemishes, Riisøy's book makes a valuable contribution to late medieval and early modern legal, social, and religious history.

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JUHA MÄLKKI. *Herrat, jätkät ja sotataito: Kansalaisotilas- ja ammattisotilasarmeijan rakentuminen 1920-ja 1930-luvulla "talvisodan ihmeeksi"* [*Gentlemen, Lads and the Art of War: The Construction of Citizen Soldier and Professional Soldier Armies into "the Miracle of the Winter War" during the 1920s and 1930s*]. (Bibliotheca Historica, number 117.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2008. Pp. 364. €29.00.

The topic of Juha Mälkki's book is a highly promising one, and the work is both methodologically and theoretically an ambitious undertaking, in which he can be said to have been only partially successful. The main problem lies in the finalist viewpoint, which is allowed to guide the author's analysis to an unfortunately significant extent. The work employs the 1939–1940 war between Finland and the Soviet Union as a peephole through which to view the organizational construction

and functional capacities of the Finnish army in the 1920s and 1930s.

The war began with a Soviet incursion into Finland on November 30, 1939, and ended with the signing of an armistice on March 13, 1940. The "miracle of the Winter War" is a phrase that is frequently used to refer to the Finnish army's achievement in containing the offensive mounted by the numerically superior Soviet forces, thus preserving Finland's independence. The same phrase is also used to refer to the fact that, following the divisive experiences of the civil war of 1918, the Finns were able to join forces in a concerted effort against the Soviet Union. Considerable admiration has also been aroused by the ability of the Finnish army to create a properly functioning organization for itself within such a short space of time. In practice this organization was established in the late 1920s. How did all this become possible?

Mälkki sets out to explore this field of problems by focusing his analysis on human resources, claiming that their successful deployment in the war was attributable to the smooth functioning of the military organization, where successful deployment means commitment on the part of ordinary male citizens to the objectives of the armed forces. Mälkki suggests that the military structure had a functional model concealed within it by virtue of which men entering the army were taught collectively to distinguish between their military identity and their own personal civilian identity and to appreciate the mental and physical boundaries between the two. The army as an institution became a common arena for men of different backgrounds, thereby uniting the Finnish people. Mälkki justifies this claim by distinguishing three structural strengths of the military organization. The first is the Finns' finely tuned military skill in their defense planning and armaments, the war preparations made by the professional soldiers, and the curricula for the training of conscripts. Military skills are treated here as a matter of theoretical preparations rather than practical activity. The second strength was the local connections Finnish soldiers had. Mälkki's idea is that the young men learned during their initial training to commit themselves primarily to their own unit within the force—a form of group commitment that would stand them in good stead later under war-time conditions.

The third dimension was the dichotomy within the army, which was both an organization of professional soldiers and a body of citizen soldiers. The bridge between these two mutually hostile worlds was formed, in Mälkki's opinion, by two groups of officers who served as "linchpin persons": the officers of the reserve and the officer cadets. These men were able to mediate between the professional and civilian soldiers and dispel the tensions existing between them.

It is on these grounds that Mälkki argues that the miracle of the war was brought about by the Finnish military organization. This is not a surprising conclusion, as he has limited his research very strictly to the context of the army organization and has not even at-



tempted to explain the powerful commitment of ordinary Finnish men to the military action in any other terms, although there would have been good grounds for drawing attention to the reforms carried out during the same decades, including the land reform (the delay in which has been seen as one of the main reasons for the outbreak of the civil war) and social legislation. The narrowness of the research design and of the initial questions posed lead Mälkki to emphasize the military organization as a crucial explanatory factor. One might even say that the fact that Mälkki is himself a professional soldier is reflected in the conclusions he reaches.

Although I do not believe that the miracle of the war can be attributed exclusively to the military organization or the experiences of young men in the army, Mälkki's work also has its merits. He opens a door on the internal structures and relations that existed in the military organization in an interesting manner, especially in his innovative presentation of the linchpin persons.

Equally innovative is the use of oral history to study a military organization. His main source material for this purpose was the Recollections of Military Training archives compiled in 1972, but it should be remembered that the archives consist of competition entries and that prizes were awarded for the best accounts, which would have affected the nature of the information given. From a source-critical point of view, problems arise on account of the way the material was gathered, the bias introduced by the questions used to elicit accounts, and the generalizations made from individual oral history in the course of the research itself.

Mälkki's work opens up new perspectives on the evaluation of the war by directing our attention to the human resources aspect, and in this sense it breaks new ground in terms of military history. It would have been desirable, however, for more time to have been spent on the finishing touches to the manuscript. The language is poor in places and the concepts used are imprecisely defined, in addition to which a more disciplined approach to the theoretical frame of reference would have been in order.

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SUSANNAH HESCHEL. *The Aryan Jesus: Christian Theologians and the Bible in Nazi Germany*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2008. Pp. xvii, 339. \$29.95.

Susannah Heschel's book represents the latest in a long line of work on church and state under the Nazis and the culmination of Heschel's own research on the topic, which first found published expression sixteen years ago in a tantalizing article in the journal *Church History*. The usual benchmark work in this vein is deemed to be J. S. Conway's *The Nazi Persecution of the Churches* (1968). The degree to which later writers, such as Germans Klaus Scholder and Kurt Meier or English-language scholars like Robert Ericksen or Doris Bergen, followed Conway's frame of analysis is hard to deny. The basic narrative was one of Christians and

their religion put on the defensive by a movement that was intent on destroying past traditions, and that was inherently as godless as communism. According to this narrative, the way Christians reacted was by heroically plunging into moral and thus political opposition, being finagled into supporting the Nazis through Adolf Hitler's and others' treacherous deception, or bankrupting their moral integrity by caving in to Nazi ideological pressure and disemboweling themselves theologically.

By and large, research agendas of the last forty years have hewn surprisingly closely to these three basic leitmotifs. Oftentimes historical actors are depicted as sequentially falling into one of these categories and then another; someone who was first an avid supporter of Nazism becomes disenchanted when the Nazis unfurl their "true colors." Such cases, though popular with the reading public, have been researched out of proportion to their historical occurrence, as very few such actors "awakened" to their true calling and sought ways to resist the totalitarian system that had insidiously trapped them. Challenges to this narrative would—and have—pointed out how Christians may have viewed Nazism not as an attack on but as a defense of Christian values.

Heschel's long-anticipated contribution to this historiography is a work that is not only of immense importance and insight empirically but also one that attempts analytically and conceptually to break away from prior narratives. That the rich archival vein of her historical subject, the Institute for the Study and Eradication of Jewish Influence on German Religious Life, should have been untapped for so many decades can be considered something of a scandal, given that Martin Niemöller and Dietrich Bonhoeffer and others on the right side of history and morality have been analyzed and reanalyzed until very little new remained to be said about them. Heschel shows irrefutably through her analysis of the history of the institute and its leaders that there existed a cohort of Christians in Germany who not only knew and understood entirely what Nazism meant but believed that they could do their theological work in this period in ways that both continued the trajectories of their pre-Nazi theological development and had something to contribute to the Nazi state and worldview.

Where other scholars have explained away such coexistence in terms of a Christian "accommodation" with the Nazis' allegedly anti-Christian radicalism—in the aryanization of Jesus, the removal of the Old Testament, and other modern departures from Christian orthodoxy—Heschel carefully demonstrates the ways in which these departures were not a function of Nazi "infection" or an internal dechristianization but rather of an intellectual genealogy going back several decades, deep into Christian debates of the nineteenth century. Challenging old but persistent assumptions that the combination of religion and race was theologically "perverse" or "absurd," she shows how it was "so easy to racialize Christianity" (p. 18). Referring to the "tired argument that racism is about biology" (p. 22), she concomitantly suggests that Christianity actually helped

shape Nazi racism within rather than simply legitimating it without.

Her findings offer incontrovertible proof that the Protestant establishment in the Third Reich was very much intent on keeping pride of place in German society, not simply scrambling to keep up with the new, racially overdetermined scheme of things. Scholars and moralists today are still tempted, as they were seventy years ago, to see the adaptation of the "Aryan Jesus" among learned Protestants as little more than puerile aping of Nazi ideology, which itself is always assumed to have no possible roots in Christianity. Heschel's most long-lasting contribution will be to show that explanations for a Protestant synthesis with Nazism—for those who believed in it—cannot be explained away as "heresy" but rather were the fruit of intellectual developments *within* the Christian world (both inside and outside Germany) that long predated Nazism.

Unfortunately, the clear empirical and analytical distinctiveness of Heschel's intervention is in more than one place diluted, even reversed, by her more conventional characterizations of motive among historical actors. Oddly enough, Heschel repeatedly asserts that the relationship between the Institute and the Nazi state was one of tension. She makes frequent reference to Nazi "despisers" of Christianity and how, implicitly if not explicitly, the work of the Institute was meant to co-opt them. She asserts that Christian love of Nazism was an "unrequited affection," even though there now exists substantial evidence that challenges this seemingly undifferentiated judgment. After correctly asserting that "Nazism's relationship to Christianity was not one of rejection, nor was it an effort to displace Christianity" (p. 8), Heschel puzzlingly refers to "the Nazi project of undermining Christianity" (p. 9) and "the Reich's contempt for theology" (pp. 23–24). If the Nazis refused to acknowledge the import of Christian antisemitism or anticommunism for their own worldview, as she seems to suggest, how does that support her assertion elsewhere that religious antisemitism was a fundament of Nazi racism? Is it sufficient to explain this as a case of Nazism's denial of its roots, perhaps a cognitive dissonance? Surely neither would suffice, especially since we know that there were not a few Nazis who did acknowledge and reciprocate Christian affections. This is the one conceptual oversight in an otherwise masterful analysis but a particularly important one, since Heschel wants us to take seriously theological ideas like the "Aryan Jesus"—her most singular and necessary contribution to this scholarship.

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HILARY EARL. *The Nuremberg SS-Einsatzgruppen Trial, 1945–1958: Atrocity, Law, and History*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. xv, 336. \$85.00.

As Hilary Earl's study of the SS-Einsatzgruppen Trial shows, Case No. 9 was the least controversial of the twelve subsequent trials staged by the Americans

against German war criminals at Nuremberg. Since their own account of the mass murders lay on the table and as leading defendant Otto Ohlendorf openly admitted to his supervision of the murder of 90,000 men, women, and children, the trial against Ohlendorf and his twenty-two codefendants was an open-and-shut case for both the prosecution and the court. In fact, the only real puzzle about the trial concerned the explanation for the conduct of Ohlendorf and his colleagues: in brief, their defense.

Although Earl raises many issues in her thoroughly researched book on the Einsatzgruppen case, ranging from the lack of counsel for the accused during pretrial interrogation down to the timing of Adolf Hitler's extermination order, in my view the most intriguing parts of her study relate to the two main protagonists: trial defendant Otto Ohlendorf and judge Michael Angelo Musmanno. Of all the Einsatzgruppen commanders in the dock, Ohlendorf was probably the most intelligent, but he was certainly also the most enigmatic of the lot. Why he freely admitted to his command over the Einsatzgruppen killings at a time when his allied captors were still very much in the dark on the subject remains a mystery, even though Earl gives a highly detailed account of the circumstances under which Ohlendorf made his disclosure. Earl suggests that Ohlendorf's direct frankness may be explained by his inability to grasp the criminal nature of his actions. This substitution of one puzzle with another brings us to the rationalization of the conduct of Ohlendorf and his fellow mass killers.

The defense counsel sought to deny or at least to minimize the defendants' criminal responsibility by arguing along various—and for some like Ohlendorf, contradictory—lines. On the one hand the defendants were supposed to have acted under the duress of orders, i.e., out of fear for their own personal safety in case of disobedience they could not have acted differently. On the other hand was the argument that the defendants had, even if erroneously, actually believed in the justifiability of their actions. This position is also the one Earl takes when she writes on "the quintessential ideological warrior" (p. 145): "The truth is that Ohlendorf would not have carried out his orders so willingly unless he believed they were right" (p. 139). Given this conclusion, it is somewhat surprising that Earl makes no effort here to expand on the nature of Ohlendorf's beliefs on this crucial point, for how indeed could he sincerely have believed that his orders to murder defenseless men, women, and children were justified?

The defense gave an elaborate answer to the question by arguing that Ohlendorf and his men had been genuinely convinced that the German people faced a deadly threat from the combined forces of Bolshevism and East European Jewry. Consequently Hitler's order to exterminate both was justified as it aimed to defend the fatherland. That the defendants admittedly had erred in their assumptions did not make them any less genuine at the time they carried out the order. In other words, Ohlendorf and his men had acted in assumed (putative) self-defense on behalf of the German Reich,

which excluded or in any case diminished their criminal responsibility.

The man who was to deliver a devastating reply on this line of defense was leading judge Musmanno, and Earl must be credited for doing a great job in bringing him to our attention. Her description of him is a fascinating one, picturing a brilliant and impassioned lawyer with a flamboyant and controversial personality, who evolved from a socially and politically engaged pro-working class attorney during the 1920s to a fanatical anticommunist during the Joseph McCarthy era. Although she does not like him, Earl writes with great respect on Musmanno's powerful performance at Nuremberg and his sincere efforts to guarantee the defendants a fair trial. Strangely enough, however, she omits his closing comment on their ideological defense strategy: "The argument that the Jews in themselves constituted an aggressive menace to Germany, a menace which called for their liquidation in self-defense, is untenable *as being opposed to all facts, all logic and all law*" (*Trials of War Criminals before the Nürnberg Military Tribunals*, Vol. IV [1951], p. 470). It was a crushing conclusion by Musmanno that not only exposed the nonsensical quality of the putative self-defense arguments of Ohlendorf and others but at the same time cast considerable doubt on their alleged motives. It is, I believe, therefore doubtful whether Musmanno would have agreed with Earl's observation that Ohlendorf committed his crimes in good faith. With all due respect for her work, I, for one, do not.

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GAVRIEL D. ROSENFELD and PAUL B. JASKOT, editors. *Beyond Berlin: Twelve German Cities Confront the Nazi Past*. (Social History, Popular Culture, and Politics in Germany.) Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2008. Pp. viii, 321. \$70.00.

Historians of modern Germany seem obsessed with examining how Germans have dealt with the Nazi past. Gavriel D. Rosenfeld and Paul B. Jaskot note in their introduction to this edited collection that such examinations have tended to focus on Berlin. The volume under review is an attempt to take the subject "beyond Berlin," to examine the ways in which Germans have regarded, commemorated, obscured, confronted, forgotten, and remembered the Nazi past in a variety of other cities. Each of these cities has had to deal with its own legacies, Munich having been the "capital of the movement," Dresden having cultivated a victim culture, and Wolfsburg owing its existence (and its architecture) to the Third Reich. The contributions are presented in four clusters dealing with "sites of reconstruction" (Dresden, Cologne, and Rostock), "sites of construction" (Wolfsburg and Essen), "perpetrator sites" (Nuremberg, Munich, Bremen, and Quedlinburg), and "Jewish sites" (Potsdam, Hamburg, and Frankfurt am Main), and rounded off with a thoughtful, brief essay by Brian Ladd on "the view from Berlin."

Predictably, the contributors (who approach the subject from a variety of disciplines) stress that it was not really until the 1980s that significant effort was made publicly to grapple with the Nazi past, that *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (coming to terms with the past) has only been taken up seriously in recent years.

As Jan Otakar Fischer notes in his fascinating discussion of "Engineering the Past in Wolfsburg," the famous speech by President Richard von Weizsäcker to the Bundestag in 1985 acted as an important catalyst in this regard. Yet in previous decades attempts to confront the Nazi past were not completely absent, as the establishment of the German Institute for the History of the National Socialist Era (today's Institute for Contemporary History) in Munich in 1949 and the Research Center for the History of National Socialism in Hamburg (today's Research Center for Contemporary History) in 1959 testifies.

Furthermore, what does confronting or "coming to terms with" the Nazi past mean, and how are we to judge the actions of the people who emerged from the horrors of Nazism and war? Some of the contributors resist the temptation to criticize Germans for making imperfect moral choices, such as Jeffry M. Diefendorf in his sensible and sensitive account of how the inhabitants of Cologne sought to "relegate the Nazi years to a relatively small place in the city's history," and Michael Meng in his excellent discussion of how the East German regime dealt with the traces of Jewish Potsdam. Others do not, such as Susanne Vees-Gulani, who castigates the inhabitants of Dresden for avoiding "an honest confrontation with history." But what is an "an honest confrontation with history"? Is it one that confirms our perspectives and convictions? In her revealing essay on Rostock, entitled "Evading What the Nazis Left Behind," the anthropologist Susan Mazur-Stommen notes that "no qualms seem to surface about reusing any buildings built explicitly for aggressive use by the Nazis, such as the contemporary Marineamt barracks." But what should be done with such buildings? Should they not be reused?

In her contribution on the New Börneplatz Memorial to the Jewish community in Frankfurt am Main, Susanne Schönborn observes that "memorial sites document—if sometimes unintentionally—the interests, historical interpretations, and self-image of those who erect them." To that might be added, "and of those who write their histories." Altogether, the issues raised by this volume are challenging in many ways. Rosenfeld and Jaskot have given us a collection that adds greatly to our understanding of a subject of considerable contemporary interest and (not least in their own fine contributions on Munich and Nuremberg, respectively) tells us a great deal about the political cultures of post-war Germany.

At the same time, however, some of the contributors could have been less keen to point a moralizing finger at people whose efforts to "confront the Nazi past" may

not have met our high contemporary standards but were of their time.

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DIETER DÜDING. *Parlamentarismus in Nordrhein-Westfalen 1946–1980: Vom Fünfparteien- zum Zweiparteienlandtag*. (Handbuch der Geschichte des deutschen Parlamentarismus.) Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag. 2008. Pp. 823. €88.00.

North Rhine-Westphalia is the most populous state of the Federal Republic of Germany and economically the strongest. The British occupation power created it in the autumn of 1946 ("Operation Marriage"), amalgamating some western parts of former Prussia into a new political unit without historical predecessor and with the Ruhr area as its industrial core. The other three victorious powers had mixed feelings about the British initiative: the Americans applauded unreservedly, but the French and Soviets objected, because they feared eventually losing any say in the future development of defeated Germany's industrial heartland and a share in its economic potential. However, the authorities in London and their political and military representatives on the spot in Germany were undeterred by either misgivings or protests from Paris and Moscow. Less than eighteen months after the Third Reich's unconditional surrender they laid the foundations for the political structures of the new "Land" in their zone of occupation. They nominated the members of parliament and government for the rather artificial province. Lacking a suitable assembly hall, the first provincial parliament met in Düsseldorf's opera house, which was one of the few large buildings to have survived the bombing raids during the war. A huge Union Jack adorned the stage. Nevertheless, the rather authoritarian decision by the British Labour government and the bizarre circumstances of the parliament's inaugural meeting were the modest beginnings of North Rhine-Westphalia's flourishing democratic and parliamentary government in the following decades.

In his book Dieter Duding tells that intriguing story from the early days in the opera house until 1980, when the state elections of that year decimated the number of competing parties from originally five in the late 1940s down to two (all other parties, including the Free Democrats, failed to win more than five percent of the vote) and gave the Social Democrats an absolute majority in the Düsseldorf parliament for fifteen years. His essentially chronological approach from 1946 onward is ambitious in its scope and convincing in its execution. Based on vast source materials such as newspapers, memoirs, private papers, interviews, and relevant secondary literature he presents the political history of this crucial "Bundesland," its parliamentary institutions, the policies of coalition governments led either by Christian or Social Democrats, their involvement in the issues of the day, the changes in party programs, and the interaction between the provincial governments in Düs-

seldorf and the federal government further up the Rhine in the capital, then Bonn. Furthermore, Duding does not neglect the background of the rise to power of prominent prime ministers such as Karl Arnold, Franz Meyers, Heinz Kühn, and Johannes Rau. All of them exercised considerable influence on federal policies, particularly in those times when the governments in Düsseldorf and Bonn were formed by the same party. One of them, Rau, even became federal president in 1999. And one should not forget Konrad Adenauer, postwar Germany's first chancellor, who relaunched his political career after the war in North Rhine-Westphalia's parliament.

Apart from Duding's detailed accounts of decision-making processes, efforts to create a provincial consciousness (*Landesbewusstsein*), political answers (or passivity) vis-à-vis the dramatic decline of the coal and steel industries since the 1950s, and the handling of severe social problems in times of economic crises, his concise portraits of North Rhine-Westphalia's leading politicians are highlights of the book. In Duding's assessment the parliamentary and democratic history of the "Bundesland" North Rhine-Westphalia—whose origins were overshadowed by the experiences of Weimar, the Nazi dictatorship, and British occupation—is a remarkable success story that no one in Germany or Britain would have expected in the gloomy days of 1946. However, Duding does not ignore obvious drawbacks and dark spots in the story as, for example, the deplorably low percentage of female members in the provincial parliament well up to 1980, the incredibly high percentage of former Nazis in the Free Democratic Party in the 1950s, or the steadily increasing number of members of parliament in all parties since the 1960s who were civil servants.

Usually, meticulously researched studies on parliamentary institutions and politics offer somewhat dull reading. Duding's book, however, is refreshingly different. To a large extent this is due to his elegant style, his ironical asides, and his noteworthy ability to explain difficult and complex subjects in plain language. One has to criticize a few things: the occasional repetitions and redundancies, the excessive use of footnotes. But these are minor points that cannot detract from the book's merits. There is not the slightest doubt that Duding has firmly established himself as the leading scholar and most prolific writer on the history of North Rhine-Westphalia. His new book is another outstanding achievement covering, with exemplary thoroughness and a masterly command of the archival sources, the humble beginnings and the subsequent unfolding of parliamentary democracy, with all its strengths and flaws, in Germany's core federal state.

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GREGORY HANLON. *Human Nature in Rural Tuscany: An Early Modern History*. (Italian and Italian American Studies.) New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 2007. Pp. xii, 218. \$74.95.



CECILIA HEWLETT. *Rural Communities in Renaissance Tuscany: Religious Identities and Local Loyalties*. (Europa Sacra, number 1.) Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols. 2008. Pp. xii, 234. €60.00.

So much of early modern historiography is urban history by default that it is unusual to encounter works devoted to examining social structures and relations outside of cities and towns. Even more unusual is the coincidence of two separate studies of rural life in a particular region like Tuscany. A host of scholars have analyzed Tuscany's larger cities—Florence, Siena, and Pisa—and even many of its smaller towns like Cortona, Pescia, and Pistoia have received treatment by leading historians. Renaissance Tuscany has been a critical methodological laboratory since the nineteenth century, with particularly heated exchanges developing in the postwar period when the place and period became a *de rigueur* stop on the curricular tour that was “The History of Western Civilization.” Yet very few historians moved out into Tuscany's villages or fields. These two works do just that, with different approaches that arise out of quite distinct historiographical traditions. It is less clear whether their very different ideological starting points work toward distinct conclusions, and that itself raises questions about the relation of methodology to ideology, and whether in the modern academy the former trumps the latter.

Gregory Hanlon pins his colors to the mast early and often. Rooting his empirical research deeply in structuralist anthropology, the behavioral sciences, and rational-actor sociology, Hanlon argues that these together “provide new and better ways of thinking about human existence” (p. xii; emphasis his) when compared to histories that shove causality into the “black box” of culture. To demonstrate his thesis that humans construct their lives with the universal building blocks of hierarchy and governance, cooperation and competition, reproduction, invention, and adaptation, Hanlon organizes his study with separate chapters for each of these themes. His subject town is Montefollonico, a small, walled farming settlement of 350 on a ridge sixty kilometers south of Siena. An unusually rich cache of documents covering a period of fifty to sixty years in the later seventeenth century allows Hanlon to undertake an extraordinarily detailed analysis. His technique is unparalleled in English-language studies of early modern Italy, and by comparing communal, criminal, notarial, confraternal, and economic records, Hanlon is able to trace the complex social relations of myriad individuals who would normally enter the historical narrative more as the subject of anecdote than of analysis. He recreates the threads of village political and criminal careers, confraternal and ecclesiastical offices, marriage choices, and economic opportunities as these string around the external points of authorities in Florence, Siena, and Rome, and as they weave back and forth within Montefollonico's walls. It could be brutally complicated, but Hanlon writes his narrative with a deft touch. Two longer-term developments orient the nar-

rative by setting the village's social relations in a longer *durée*. One was the town's re-feudalization under the Tuscan dukes which, Hanlon claims, actually increased the efficiency and accountability of local institutions. The other was the gradual replacement of small-holding with sharecropping as production, population, and prices declined into the eighteenth century; here again, Hanlon asserts against received wisdom that sharecropping preserved subsistence. Hanlon argues that historians who interpret both these developments as economically retrograde and socially oppressive are letting ideology steer their pens, and that in fact the behavioral sciences allow us to see both more positively as the results of rational choices made by intelligent actors aiming to improve their condition in difficult circumstances.

Cecilia Hewlett takes a comparative approach as she considers how three rural communities evolved internally and in their relations to Florence through the fifteenth and into the sixteenth centuries. The study began as a dissertation under Bill Kent, and Hewlett successfully crafts a careful reconstruction of neighborhood life in conjunction with the operational forms of Florentine politics that adapts her mentor's methodology and extends it into rural areas. This work is as much about the expanding forms of Florentine territorial dominance as it is about the intricacies of rural sociology. Hewlett chooses three communities that represent distinct forms of rural settlement, areas of the Florentine state, and historical relations with the metropole. A quartet of settlements in the mountains above Pistoia reproduced the factions and violence of that subject city in conditions of poverty and isolation that made them both hostile to Florentine interests while also vital to its security. The densely populated, fertile, and prosperous sharecropping community of Gangalandi was close enough to Florence (twelve kilometers to the southwest) to have a high level of Florentine property owners and a tight and generally peaceful integration into the city's politics. Scarperia was a Florentine “new town” created in the early fourteenth century through the merger and relocation of four villages into a new walled community that was located where a vital Apennine pass entered the Medici power base of the Mugello Valley thirty kilometers north of the city.

While Hewlett does not organize her study explicitly around Hanlon's building blocks, her analysis underscores the importance of each for understanding rural development. Yet she also shows how these blocks are conditioned by each town's many particularities. Both authors place great emphasis on religious institutions and identities when describing each town's social composition and its relations with outside powers, although Hewlett remains at the institutional level of local cults, confraternities, and hospitals while Hanlon delves deeper into the personalities involved and into how doctrine translates to action at the level of the laity. This to some extent highlights their broader differences. Hanlon's longitudinal study uses the dynamics of

the world within Montefollonico's walls to validate certain human universals. Hewlett's comparative study shows that social, geographical, and political location all twist these universals in profound ways, and set up dynamics which compound the differences over time; in her analysis, "culture" is hardly the causal "black box" that Hanlon criticizes. Hanlon is certainly more determinedly and combatively ideological, yet these elements of his argument are more overt in the framing of each chapter than they are in the various intricacies that he draws out with his *annaliste* method. The intricacies demonstrate Hanlon's methodological mastery, although basing so broad a case on so small a sample renders his case about human universals less persuasive, particularly when read in conjunction with Hewlett's comparative work. In the end, these two studies work very well when put in dialogue with each other, and they demonstrate the continuing richness of Tuscan history as an ideological and methodological testing ground for creative and combative historical scholarship.

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MARK JURDJEVIC. *Guardians of Republicanism: The Valori Family in the Florentine Renaissance*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. x, 199. \$110.00.

One time-honored narrative tactic adapts an existing story by retelling it from the perspective of its supporting cast. There is some danger, however, in retelling a story in this manner in that attention is given *for its own sake* to those who were previously in the historical corps de ballet. Such accounts may become trapped in the effort to convince the audience that secondary characters really do matter, and thus they may become self-limiting in their theoretical objectives.

There is the possibility of such an outcome in this book. From the outset—and here the choice of subtitle is a little unfortunate—it might appear that Mark Jurdjevic's goal is a modest one, dutifully scouring the archives and previously published documentary material for tidbits of information about a particular family—a prominent one, no doubt, but at first blush not one of convincingly greater importance to Florentine history than many others. If this were all, we would have here a monograph of quite circumscribed value.

But happily Jurdjevic's goal is much more substantial. First, he tells a story of late-fifteenth and early sixteenth-century Medicean Florence through the lens of the Medici's foils: members of the Valori family. This works well because that family in various ways supported individuals of major importance on the Florentine political and philosophical stage. Bartolomeo *il vecchio* was politically prominent in the time of the Medici's first rise to power. Francesco was a key political player in the late 1490s, locked in a contrapuntally rich but to this day still inscrutable relationship with Savonarola and Savonarolan republicanism. Niccolò was a friend and interlocutor of Niccolò Machiavelli at a time when Machiavelli was negotiating his own

delicate relationship with the Medici, distancing himself from his own anti-Medicean politics without outright repudiation of the Soderini regime. And Filippo Valori was a devoted friend and patron of the Platonist Marsilio Ficino. Thus the family provides connective tissue tying together disparate and contending strands of how republican life was conceived and practiced. Over time and across texts, they cobbled together a "hybrid" republicanism (pp. 9, 174)—a term that might actually have made a superior title for this book.

Thus, Jurdjevic uses the Valori primarily as a filter for dealing with larger issues of the organization and drama of Florentine republicanism. Analysis of the diverse ways in which members of the family negotiated a path between republican practice and the world of ideas, between attachments to particular persons and commitment to the political values for which they stood, "demonstrate[s] the degree to which the political life of the city informed the world of ideas" (p. 167)—which is a terrific corrective to typical ways of engaging in the study of political theory. Conversely, as the author goes on to note, "[f]or all the studies of Renaissance republican thought, we have few reliable indicators of its significance for its primary patrons and audience . . . the political actors for whom the republican stage existed" (p. 170). It takes some effort to seize upon that claim as the focal research goal of the book, but once grasped, it deepens one's appreciation of the book considerably.

Chapter one, on Francesco Valori and Savonarola, establishes just how fascinating and complex a person Francesco was, but I wish the ambiguity of his legacy, which is central to the subsequent chapters, was the most explicit theme. In chapter two, on the family's relationship to Ficino, Jurdjevic shows that Platonism was not simply an esoteric political philosophy adopted for its encouragement of political quietism, but was viewed by many as integrally connected to the energetic practice of citizenship. Chapter three presents evidence that Machiavelli altered his account of contemporary Florentine politics not only cognizant of Medici favor, but also in light of his interactions with Niccolò Valori, "rewriting aspects of Florentine history that were politically awkward for him and his immediate circle" (pp. 94–95).

Chapters four through six deal with less imposing historical figures, but perhaps more intriguing general themes. Now retrospection and historical revisionism undertaken by members of the family reveal historical actors grappling with characterizations of their own past. The biography of Bartolomeo *il vecchio*, discussed in chapter four, was commissioned to fill a gap in the construction of the family's "precocious" republicanism (p. 112). In chapter five we see just how contorted the hermeneutics of family history could become, as Baccio Valori "transforms Savonarola's reputation for radical moral and political reform into an association with political conservatism, order, and stability" (p. 135). And chapter six presents divergent later portraits of the family legacy. Throughout, Jurdjevic stresses that "[p]rivate

documents, particularly the autobiographical, biographical, and familial, provide the historian a more direct glimpse into patrician values and identity" (p. 141), an identity layered with multiple accretions.

Jurdjevic claims his study is "as much about the social and political uses of family memory . . . as it is a study of [a] specific and historically discrete family" (p. 10). But it remains a bit unclear whether to take the Valori as a typical or ideal-typical Florentine family. Was their involvement in intellectual patronage typical? Was their self-conscious devotion to republicanism and reform typical? And were they actually as reflective on the meaning of Florentine republicanism as Jurdjevic states, even as they practiced a complex engagement with republican institutions? Hopefully future studies will address these questions. While the Valori may have fancied themselves "guardians" of republicanism, more crucially they were engaged—through their friendships, practices, and politics—in an ongoing struggle to define for themselves exactly what republicanism meant. Showing how politics and self-constructions were concretely linked to the various isms that we take to be definitive of Renaissance Florence: this, I believe, will prove to be this book's most enduring contribution.

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PAUL F. GRENDLER. *The University of Mantua, the Gonzaga, and the Jesuits, 1584–1630*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2009. Pp. xx, 287. \$60.00..

This book tells a story worth telling, the little-known history of the short-lived University of Mantua (1625–1629) and its place in Italian Renaissance culture. Because of his prior work on Italian universities, Paul F. Grendler does a good job of situating the university within the educational and cultural patterns of Renaissance Italy. It was the brainchild of the exceptionally cultured prince of Mantua, Duke Ferdinando Gonzaga (1587–1626). Working in concert with the Jesuit Order, which had had great difficulty in gaining a major foothold in the Italian university system, Duke Ferdinando first orchestrated the establishment of a Jesuit college in Mantua in 1624 and then combined the Jesuit school with the university at the latter's inauguration the next year. Tragically, a local succession conflict pulled Mantua into the pan-European Bourbon-Hapsburg struggle. The university dissolved in the fall of 1629 as the city prepared to withstand a siege by imperial troops. The Jesuit school survived the devastating siege and sack of Mantua, but the university itself never came back.

Grendler has made a fair-sized book out of this brief history by expatiating upon Ferdinando Gonzaga, which is reasonable given his seminal role, and by going on at length about almost any other relevant topic. For instance, the Jesuits formally constituted half the university faculty, teaching everything but the subjects of law, medicine, and natural philosophy. But Mantua would seem a weak reed upon which to construct a

lengthy analysis of the whole Jesuit educational enterprise, not only because of the short duration of the university but also because virtually all the major Jesuit texts and figures discussed by Grendler had little directly to do with Mantua. One could say the same about Grendler's discussion of the lead law professor, Alessandro Marta, whose long and illustrious career involved Mantua only in the last four years of his life. The oddest of these excursions is the last chapter, which spans twenty pages, of which only five actually deal with the university rather than with contemporary politics, family feuds, and military affairs. Some of the extra material is original with the author, and he may have wanted to ensure its publication. But much is secondary and could have been condensed.

More troublesome is the clear evidence that Grendler has a very shaky grasp of Latin. This is obvious at the start and end when he mixes up Latin and Italian (p. xv: *ab uova* [sic; "egg" in Italian is *uovo*] instead of *ab ovo*; p. 242: translating *Martha qui* as "Martha here" instead of "Martha who") and numerous times in between, when as often as not he botches in one way or another the translation of simple Latin titles (e.g., on p. 159, he does not understand that *institutio* means in this context "inauguration" or "foundation" and not "education"; or on p. 184, where a long title leads to multiple errors in translation). This failing is not disabling as long as Grendler sticks to institutional history with its teaching rosters, course lists, formulaic declarations, and such, or can rely on translations and good secondary literature on substantive intellectual issues. But since universities and schooling in general were intellectual pursuits dominated by an untold number of discursive Latin texts well into the eighteenth century, his judgment on texts can only remain suspect. Also, there is what may be called, in economic terminology, a vast opportunity cost. One cannot have insights into or make discoveries in texts one cannot read accurately. The basic contours of the institutional history Grendler lays out seem sound enough to me. But intelligent use of secondary literature and reliance on translations will only take you so far in exploiting the ocean of Latin texts in manuscript and printed form that need to be studied to have a deep understanding of premodern education and learning.

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MAURICE MAUVIEL and ELSO SIMONE SERPENTINI. *Enrico Sappia: Cospiratore e agente segreto di Mazzini*. (Historia, number 1.) Mosciano Sant'Angelo: Artemia Edizioni. 2009. Pp. 545. €25.00.

If an adventurous life were enough to secure a place in history, Enrico Sappia (1833–1906) might well have earned one. He left his native city of Nice and his family at age fifteen to join the revolutionaries of 1848, was at Giuseppe Mazzini's side during the short-lived Roman Republic of 1849, then joined the flood of political ref-

ugees who wandered from place to place until he was arrested in Naples in December 1850 for plotting to assassinate King Ferdinand II. The Sardinian government, to which he was subject, secured his release from jail in January 1854. Sappia then linked up again with Mazzini in London, and proceeded to join the army of the Kingdom of Sardinia, where for the next three years he was instrumental in spreading subversive republican propaganda among the troops. The army eventually discharged him for offenses that apparently had nothing to do with his political activities. His whereabouts for the next several years constitute one of several lacunae in his life that make it difficult to construct an accurate biography. He may or may not have played a role in the events that brought about the political unification of Italy in 1859–1860. He surfaces, somewhat dimly, as a rabble-rouser (*agitatore di folle*) in street protests against the Italian government in the 1860s. He published the book for which he is best remembered, *Mazzini: Histoire des conspirations mazziniennes* (1869), which he wrote under the assumed name of Ermenegildo Simoni (Simoni was his mother's name). In May 1870 he was arrested in Paris for plotting to assassinate Napoleon III. Sentenced to serve fifteen years in prison, Sappia was released in September of that same year, after the imperial government fell following the debacle of the French army at the battle of Sedan. After 1870 Sappia gave up on conspiracy and turned his attention to teaching and journalism. He moved frequently, settled in mostly inconspicuous places, and pursued various editorial projects.

Assumed names and false identities have complicated the work of biographers, for Enrico Sappia and Ermenegildo Simoni appear also as Henri Sappia, Enrico Sappia De Simone, Enrico Teodoro De Simone, and as Count of Toetto. He has also been confused with a French radical named Pierre-Théodore Emmanuel Sapia, who fought and died for the Paris Commune in 1871. Hence the real Sappia remains somewhat elusive. His upbringing, education, family life, whereabouts, and political connections for long stretches of time are the subject of guesswork. Recently discovered documents fill in some gaps, but questions remain. The very nature of Sappia's relationship with Mazzini has long been the subject of debate. The authors use questionable tactics to justify making the Mazzini connection the central theme of their study and of Sappia's life. A frequent ploy is to treat possible eventualities as established facts, as they do when discussing Sappia's contacts not only with Mazzini, but also with Giuseppe Garibaldi, Felice Orsini, and other Risorgimento figures. The editing leaves much to be desired. The text should have been scrubbed thoroughly to eliminate repetitions and digressions. Too many footnotes are approximate or downright inaccurate. Names are misspelled. Such flaws do not instill confidence in the factual accuracy of the account.

There is no doubt that there was a connection between Sappia and Mazzini. Mazzini mentioned him several times in letters, provided information for the book

Sappia was writing, and expressed a desire to help him when he was in trouble with the French police. Mazzini was seldom reluctant to work with people whom he may not have trusted entirely, as long as they could be helpful to the causes of Italian unification and republicanism. He denied any secret connections, but it is also true that he could hardly admit to them in writing without incurring the risk of compromising both himself and Sappia. Their politics were similar: both favored Italian unification, professed republican ideals, condemned the policies of Napoleon III, and were critical of socialists and Communards. But their views were not identical. Sappia thought that Mazzini was insufficiently sensitive to social issues, and therefore unlikely to win broad support for his cause. The divergences suggest that Sappia was no blind follower. There were those close to Mazzini who regarded Sappia as a double agent working for the French or Piedmontese governments. The authors do not ignore such charges, but do their best to exonerate him.

A competing theme that runs through this book explains perhaps the diffuse nature of the writing and lack of focus. It is the theme of Nice's role and place in history, on which Mauviel has written extensively. Nice (Nizza to its Italian-speaking population) was in Mazzini's time one of those "frontier towns" where different cultures and ethnic groups met and mixed. It is useful to remember that Nice was also the birthplace of Garibaldi, who regarded it as essentially Italian and considered using force to prevent its union with France in 1860. Sappia was also an Italian patriot, but he lived long enough to transcend the sentiments of his youth and accept the French incorporation of Nice. The authors suggest that the transformation makes Sappia a precursor of European unity: "Sappia in his old age was in some ways radically transformed from what he had been as a young man, for his patriotism (*amor patrio*) found a different outlet. But there was also an equally undeniable continuity with Mazzini's legacy that found expression in a pervasive cosmopolitanism and in the ideals of European unity and republicanism" (p. 442). Whether a case can be made that Sappia was indeed a precursor of European unity is one more thing about him that remains to be proven.

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ALESSIO PONZIO. *La Palestra del littorio: L'Accademia della Farnesina; un esperimento di pedagogia totalitaria nell'Italia fascista.* (Temi di storia.) Milan: FrancoAngeli. 2009. Pp. 273. €32.00.

This book traces the history of Accademia della Farnesina, which the Italian fascist regime charged with training and educating future teachers of physical education, and it argues that the Accademia was more than a center for schooling. It also aimed at training fascist youth leaders and more consequentially at trans-



forming young Italians into perfect embodiments of the regime. The author's overall goal is to demonstrate fascism's totalitarian nature by looking at its educational work through the prism of the Accademia. Alessio Ponzio argues that the history of the Accademia reveals the regime's struggle to identify pedagogical models and ideals that would fulfill its totalitarian project. The Accademia represented a site in which fascism enacted its intent to both reinvent Italian politics and remake the Italians through an "anthropological revolution."

With a thorough and detailed analysis of archival documents and journals of the time, the author begins his account by contextualizing the Accademia within the broader history of physical education in post-unification Italy. We thus learn that already in 1861 the idea of physical education as a tool for the formation of Italian citizens emerged and led to the introduction of physical education in schools. The field of physical education, however, remained quite dysfunctional in liberal Italy, and once fascism came to power the government reorganized the teaching with the goal of creating new Italians. In 1927 the fascist youth organization Opera Nazionale Balilla (ONB) was charged with the task of providing physical education to all students in elementary and middle schools. Eventually, the growing need for trained teachers who could perform the tasks envisioned by the regime required new pedagogic means and structures. The Accademia della Farnesina was founded with this intent and soon became a political tool for the regime to train leaders for the fascist youth organization.

The author persistently underlines the political nature of the Accademia and contextualizes it within the broader goals of "fascistization" undertaken by the regime. He argues that the Accademia's political role appeared even more explicit in 1937, when the ONB lost its autonomy and was incorporated within the Gioventù Italiana del Littorio (GIL). More focused on sport and military preparation, and now under the direct supervision of the Party, at this juncture the Accademia also turned antisemitic and, beginning in 1938, its admission policy required proof of belonging to the "Italian race."

The second half of the book particularly focuses on the transformations the Accademia underwent when affiliated with the GIL. The author directs attention to the totalitarian acceleration visible in the Accademia's changed priorities, its main task now defined as training primarily young fascist leaders and only secondarily teachers of physical education. Although the differences in the way the ONB and the GIL organized the Accademia were significant, the author emphasizes the continuing political role the Accademia played over time. Its students were powerful tools of propaganda and were often showed off, especially during visits of foreign dignitaries; the formal perfection of their performances when engaged in collective athletic tests supposedly testified to fascism's success. The Accademia also became a model of fascist upbringing to be followed and applied in other educational contexts; schools and academies were opened that pursued the

pedagogic objective of endowing youth with discipline and a fascist conscience. Last but not least, the political importance of the Accademia in the pedagogic design of the regime was reaffirmed in 1943 when Benito Mussolini and his government moved to northern Italy. There the renamed Opera Balilla continued the work previously carried out by the ONB and the GIL during the peak years of the regime.

The book ends with an interesting section on post-fascist Italy and the struggle on the part of ex-students to justify their affiliation with the Accademia and deny being active members of the regime in order to keep their jobs as teachers in democratic Italy. The way the students described the Accademia and their own role and participation in it raises very important questions on issues of historical memory, political beliefs, activism, and popular reception. Ponzio, however, again elects to use this discussion to reaffirm the underlying political role of the Accademia. He generally refrains from delving deeply into other themes. All in all, the book sticks to its stated goal of proving fascism's totalitarian project through a historical analysis of the Accademia. It spends little time explaining why physical education was important to train fascist leaders, for example, or what differences the regime saw between sport activities and physical activities. One only wishes that, in addition to providing consistent material to support his thesis that fascism pursued a totalitarian project, the author had helped clarify the content of this project and the question of what meaning physical activity, however defined, held within fascism's view of totalitarian control.

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ROMAN KOROPECKYJ. *Adam Mickiewicz: The Life of a Romantic*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2008. Pp. xvii, 549. \$45.00.

Readers hoping to find in Roman Koropecyk's magisterial biography any but the most cursory introduction to the poetry of the great Polish writer (1798–1855) will be disappointed by this book. It is not a study in the life and works genre of literary biography; rather, the author makes it clear in his introduction that he is intent on writing a different kind of poet's biography, one focused on the poet's role in inspiring others to action in the cause of Poland's liberation (variously understood), to which Mickiewicz eventually dedicated his life. Koropecyk introduces Mickiewicz's greatest poetic achievements, for which he is revered in Poland as the national bard—the exquisite *Crimean Sonnets* (1825); the Romantic drama, *Forefathers' Eve, Part III* (1829), with its mysterious prophecy of Poland's redemption by a man born of a foreign mother; *Pan Tadeusz* (1834), Poland's "national epic" with its idyllic mythologizing of gentry life; along with other of his writings—as significant events in their author's evolving belief in himself (and his reception by others) as the inspired, chosen

prophet of Polish liberation. Neither these beautiful poetic masterpieces nor the blatantly propagandistic, biblically stylized *Books of the Polish Nation and Polish Pilgrimage*, in which Mickiewicz proclaimed his theory of Poland as the Christ of nations whose suffering would redeem other nations from bondage, are subjected to literary analysis. The poet's "works" examined here in meticulously documented detail include, instead, the astonishing number of love affairs he pursued with the wives of well-placed Russians and Poles; his several unsuccessful courtships of marriageable young women; his long marriage to a much younger, mentally unbalanced woman who bore him six of his seven known children; his impassioned engagement in Polish émigré politics, including his quixotic attempts to support Poland's liberation by raising a Polish militia to fight alongside Italian revolutionaries in 1848 and a Jewish militia in support of Turkey (and therefore against Russia) during the Crimean War; and, perhaps most shocking, this fervent Roman Catholic's years of self-abasing subservience to a bizarre cult ruled by his "Master," the mystic Andrzej Towiański. Readers interested in Mickiewicz's poetry—an interest that the present biography will no doubt stimulate—should seek out Koropeczky's excellent earlier monograph, *The Poetics of Revitalization: Adam Mickiewicz between Forefathers' Eve, Part 3, and Pan Tadeusz* (2001), and Wiktor Weintraub, *The Poetry of Adam Mickiewicz* (1954), still after half a century the best general introduction to Mickiewicz's poetic oeuvre available in English.

If Koropeczky occasionally disappoints with his avoidance of stylistic analysis, he more than compensates for this lack with his refreshingly frank discussion of Mickiewicz's chaotic life, "as misguided as it was sublime" (p. xi). Polish biographers of Mickiewicz are intent on the charismatic poet's importance in inspiring his countrymen, through his writings, with faith in partitioned Poland's historic mission and eventual resurrection even in the face of repeated failed uprisings; his extraordinary gift as an inspired improviser in verse; his brilliant lectures as France's first chaired professor of Slavic literature (preferring not to dwell on the fact that the lectures were often ill-informed and used by Mickiewicz to proclaim his Bonapartist-Catholic-Towianist vision); his self-sacrificing ardor; and so forth. As a dispassionate scholar "in whom the figure of Poland's national poet evokes no emotional associations," Koropeczky has succeeded in producing an utterly compelling portrait of "the human Mickiewicz, at once victim and beneficiary of tsarist repression, Polish patriot and habitué of cosmopolitan salons, pious Catholic and heterodox sectarian, womanizer and feminist, egotist and devoted friend, Bonapartist, mystic politician, and revolutionist" (p. xi). Koropeczky is also refreshingly straightforward in the way he addresses the uncomfortable truths and rumors concerning Mickiewicz's and his wife's partial Jewish ancestry and the poet's incontestable interest in Jewish mysticism and Polish-Jewish relations.

For all his single-minded focus on the Polish nation,

Mickiewicz was well-connected with and admired by many of the leading socialist thinkers and activists in France and elsewhere in Europe. (See, for example, historian Lloyd S. Kramer's discussion of Mickiewicz's influence in Parisian intellectual circles in *Threshold of a New World: Intellectuals and the Exile Experience in Paris, 1830–1848* [1988].) Mickiewicz's interests and influence extended beyond Europe via his friendship with Margaret Fuller to the American transcendentalists, especially Ralph Waldo Emerson. For all his undeniable charisma, his adoration of Lord Byron, his cult of Napoleon, and his Romantic poetry, Mickiewicz was not—or not just—a quintessential Romantic, as the subtitle of this superb biography suggests. And his biographer has given us not just a fully fleshed-out portrait of a single individual, but a vividly detailed picture of Polish émigré politics as conducted in Paris, Rome, and elsewhere, in all its contentious variety, that should be of general interest to historians.

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ROXANNE EASLEY. *The Emancipation of the Serfs in Russia: Peace Arbitrators and the Development of Civil Society*. (BASEES/Routledge Series on Russian and East European Studies, number 50.) New York: Routledge. 2009. Pp. xii, 226. \$160.00.

Despite an abundant and rich literature on the 1861 abolition of serfdom in Russia—covering everything from the legislative process and policy debates to economic impact and peasant resistance—our understanding of the execution of emancipation remains frustratingly incomplete. Therefore, Roxanne Easley's goal of illuminating "the processes by which society ingested and implemented" (p. 6) the emancipation settlement is most welcome. Also felicitous is Easley's choice to center her study on peace arbitrators, the state-appointed noble officials charged with ensuring the legality of land settlements, settling disputes between landlords and their former serfs, and establishing new institutions of peasant self-administration.

The office of peace arbitrator was a short-lived institution: abolished in 1874, its prestige and autonomy were already eroded within three years. Nevertheless, Easley argues, arbitrators played a key role in bringing Russia "one step closer to the development of a public sphere" (p. 7). By creating a local official with broad judicial and administrative authority over rural society as well as independence from the regular bureaucratic hierarchy, the government sought to co-opt the reformist wing of the nobility and thus circumvent the opposition. This "gamble," as Easley calls it, paid off in the short run: the arbitrators succeeded in navigating the twin dangers of noble obstructionism and peasant disappointment. Contrary to much of the historiography that has stressed arbitrators' shortcomings, Easley prudently measures their actions by the government's own immediate goals: peasant disorders declined rapidly,

reluctant villagers elected new officials within one year, and land charters respected statutory norms.

But, Easley argues, the government's deployment of arbitrators also had unintended long-term consequences. The authority of arbitrators forced a reconfiguration of rural politics: nobles found themselves in the unaccustomed position of articulating their interests in public sessions, and—in theory at least—in the presence of and on equal footing with their former serfs. This in turn promoted the creation of horizontal networks and new forms of communication and negotiation between previously isolated groups. In short, Easley places the arbitrators at the heart of a process of political mobilization that outlived the institution.

Two chapters of Easley's study—one covering the legislative process, the other press debate and fictional representations of arbitrators—show how the institution took on enormous symbolic importance, crystallizing the hopes of reformers and attracting the hostility of opponents of emancipation. The heart of the book, however, is to be found in chapters three and four, which examine how the arbitrators and the government's plans fared in the provinces. Some of this discussion cleaves quite closely to the work of Russian historian Natalia F. Ust'ianteva, to whom Easley generously recognizes her debt. The author ably traces the complex tug of war between the Ministry of Internal Affairs, governors, and local noble assemblies for control over appointments. She provides a profile of the seventeen hundred arbitrators, concluding that the state largely succeeded in shaping the institution's composition. There are lively vignettes revealing how different types of arbitrators navigated between unrealistic peasant demands and interference by status-sensitive landowners seeking to limit their losses. One of the book's main points—that even opponents of reform had to learn new ways of conducting politics that fostered horizontal ties and challenged autocracy's claims of political monopoly—is convincing.

Less convincing is the assertion that arbitrators also transformed peasant modes of politics. Lack of context is one problem: Easley gives the erroneous impression that pre-emancipation rural society was a place devoid of law, peasant petitions, the ability to articulate interests, or peasant-noble contacts. Another problem stems from the choice of sources. Memoirs and official investigations of incidents of peasant unrest tell us much about arbitrators' expectations and about the dynamics of peasant behavior when order broke down. But in the absence of more systematic investigation in provincial archives of peasant-arbitrator interactions, the assertion that the personality of the arbitrator was key in determining whether peasants "swallowed the bitter pill whole or spat it out" (p. 117) has to be taken on faith. There is also a tendency to cite numbers without providing the necessary context to judge their significance. For instance, was the filing of 1,622 peasant complaints over two years really evidence of a growing peasant propensity to use legal mechanisms to negotiate better terms? In light of the 73,000 land charters com-

pleted (half of which peasants refused to sign), one might easily conclude—contrary to Easley—that this number is astonishingly small. Our understanding of what happened in the vast majority of communes that neither petitioned nor rebelled remains nebulous. These caveats, however, do not invalidate the authors' commendably cautious conclusions, that the peace arbitrators contributed to loosening the ties that bound subjects to the autocratic state and were an important step in the process of public politicization.

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PERTTI LUNTINEN. *Sota Venäjällä—Venäjä sodassa [War in Russia—Russia at War]*. (Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia, number 1159.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura. 2008. Pp. 1037. €48.00.

Pertti Luntinen has previously published several English and Finnish-language books on imperial Russia, autonomous Finland, the Russian army and navy stationed in Finland, and World War I. It took him ten years to write this book, probably the first ever to deal with wars in Russia from the earliest history up until contemporary times (i.e., the war in Georgia in 2008). Luntinen's work is based on the prevailing knowledge and interpretations of events and is a flawless and reliable description of Russia's military past, exhaustive but readable. The focus of the book is on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Only 200 pages of the total 900 are devoted to the preceding centuries.

Luntinen refuses to depict Russia as eternally aggressive or expansionist. Russia went to war in the pursuit of concrete benefits and many of its wars were defensive. According to Luntinen, there is no single rationale to explain the reasons or outcomes of armed conflicts. This notion is acceptable but in Luntinen's case the result is the lack of a specific focus. His book is an almost never-ending description of wars, bloodshed, and suffering with no special viewpoint or themes to give a structure to the course of events. A problem-oriented approach might have made the book more readable.

The political and social background of Russia's wars is given sufficient attention. Russia's adversaries are described adequately and competently. Some writers of Russian military history are too little aware of the situation of the enemy. Sometimes it is a question of inadequate linguistic knowledge. It would have been good if Luntinen had dealt with the various sets of interpretations on Russian history. The few individual remarks scattered across the book are not sufficient.

Some frequently appearing central themes in the history of Russia's wars are: Russia's ability to efficiently mobilize the resources of society (in this respect the country resembled its historical adversaries Sweden and Prussia); Russia's struggle to overcome its relative backwardness; the endurance of the Russian soldier; the indifference of those in power and of military commanders to the sufferings of their people and soldiers; military operations often a mixture of poor and sche-



matized leadership and an ability to learn from the enemy and one's own mistakes; insufficient freedom of action for the officers of low rank; and reliance on the superior number of one's own forces (this asset is seldom available to small nations).

Bizarre occurrences in Russian history do not escape notice. Luntinen deals with these with a sense of irony that contributes to the readability of the book. There are some instances where the reader cannot be sure if the author's assertions are factual or hyperbolic, but such passages are few.

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IGAL HALFIN. *Stalinist Confessions: Messianism and Terror at the Leningrad Communist University*. (Pitt Series in Russian and East European Studies.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2009. Pp. vii, 485. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$27.95.

Igal Halfin details the story of turmoil and death at Leningrad's Communist University, adding to the works that probe the Terror in particular sites or organizations. This book draws on the concept of the Soviet self developed by Jochen Hellbeck. It will therefore find favor with those who feel that available evidence allows access to the deepest reaches of the Soviet psyche. In any event, Halfin makes a useful contribution to our understanding of the Terror's dynamics.

Several related images appear frequently in the book: the Black Mass, the devil and demonization, messianic times, depravity, and purity. These are presented almost cinematically, à la Alain Resnais's *Last Year at Marienbad* (1961). Nothing takes place outdoors; the only settings that matter are the meeting halls of the Communist University and, above all, the seemingly endless interrogation chambers of the NKVD. There, Halfin argues, "Communists feared they were indeed the wicked enemies their interrogators accused them of being. At least in part, terror was in the soul" (p. 23). In this "salvational time" and apparently these salvational rooms, "the soul was becoming transparent" (pp. 109, 105). The accused participated in relinquishing their very selves and accepting ones that the NKVD created. Prisoners underwent "total voidance of their personalities" (p. 258). All of this self-abasement was driven by a "hypermoral" and "hyperrational" (pp. 8, 2) quest for absolute purity as the final days approached. "Deviants"—anyone less than perfect—could not be saved, only destroyed.

However, this messianism was also marked by depravity. Relying sometimes on "local legend" or "unverified accounts" (pp. 173, 269), Halfin depicts three heads of the NKVD in a row, Genrikh Iagoda, Nikolai Ezhov, and Lavrentii Beria, as sexual monsters. Nodding again to cinema, Halfin argues that "in a way, Stalinist fantasies were more real than reality itself. They structured desire . . . and delimited the moral imagination. In fantasy the Party and the NKVD chiefs exercised tremendous power, manipulating people and

situations to gratify themselves" (p. 227). Thus in this work, discourse and fantasy trump events. Only the many contemporary cartoons inserted in the book indicate that Nazi Germany and imperial Japan threatened the USSR; the Spanish Civil War and the tensions it produced are not mentioned. Halfin provides no sense of real enemies at hand.

His goal is rather discovering the communist "true self" (p. 357). One wonders how this could ever be found, especially in a torture chamber. Given the book's numerous references to the witch hunts, it would have been valuable for Halfin to examine trial records from those persecutions. These transcripts also overflow with confessions, elicited by torture, of murder and sabotage. Magistrates created fictitious, diabolical selves for the accused, based on coincidences and contacts with other "witches" dating well back in time. Recent studies of the witch hunts point to authorities' desire to cleanse society of enemies, not with eschatology in mind, but often in grim determination to halt perceived crimes that harmed humans or animals. Halfin senses this mood only once, when he acknowledges panic in the Terror (p. 78).

He does not indicate that the messianic times, if such they were, passed by the end of 1938; his account essentially ends in the middle of the Terror. But by November 1938, the NKVD, outside of the vast Gulag system, greatly reduced its presence in society, the use of torture, and the number of arrests. People criticized the police even in early 1938, daring to use their own minds, which Halfin occasionally grants they possessed. By 1939–1940, criticism of policy and practice appeared with some frequency, including at a Kremlin conference attended by Joseph Stalin to review the war with Finland.

Halfin is mistaken in saying that the "authorities officially banned jokes" (p. 267) and that "family values came under severe criticism" by the state apparatus (p. 275). He needs to make these arguments to reinforce his view that only official discourse animated the "communist self." But after the early 1930s, the state increased support for parental authority, and Pavlik Morozov virtually faded away as a symbol of contempt for the family. Jokes told privately proliferated, indicating that trust and critical views of Soviet existence did not disappear; they were seconded, for example, by Mikhail Zoshchenko's published stories and certain films, particularly *Volga, Volga*, released in 1938.

Halfin's book takes us into the heart of the duels, and sometimes the cooperation, between arrested and interrogator, and paints a vivid picture of a narrow but significant slice of the Terror. It is a valuable work on the dynamics of fear among the party elite, resulting in the closure of the Communist University in July of 1937. Once more, the dysfunctionality of the mass arrests emerges. But while surely some arrested communists did sincerely participate in trying to create a new self while in prison, there is no way to tell how many did so or for how long they accepted fresh personae. Some readers may doubt the overwhelming power of dis-



course, especially when it shifted rapidly from month to month, to construct the self and reality.

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#### MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

MARINA RUSTOW. *Heresy and the Politics of Community: The Jews of the Fatimid Caliphate*. (Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2008. Pp. xxxv, 435. \$55.00.

Exactly one hundred and fifty years ago a huge volume of historical evidence on Karaite Judaism published in Simhah Pinsker's *Liqqute Qadmoniyot* (1860) rendered traditional assumptions regarding the rabbinic character of medieval Jewish history obsolete and established that Jewish heterogeneity could not be ignored, especially the Karaite challenge to rabbinic Judaism. Now Marina Rustow's book problematizes that well-accepted twofold approach. Whereas many scholars of Karaism have worked from the perspectives of literary, linguistic, and religious studies, most have been unable or unwilling to consider social history in order to corroborate, falsify, or contextualize their conclusions. By thinking about religion and religious communities from the perspective of social history, Rustow opens up possibilities for extensive reconsideration of Jewish history in the medieval Near East. By seeing Judaism through the non-literary documentary records of the Cairo Geniza (and not through elite literary production), the polemical, legal, and theological emphases of Karaite and Rabbanite (i.e., rabbinic) literature are revealed to be only part of a more complicated multidimensional history.

In this regard, Rustow succeeds in making notions of heresy, sect, and mainstream that have a good deal of currency in modern scholarship obsolete. She argues that heresy is not as easily defined, categorized, or described as it would seem to be from reading both the medievals and moderns who write about it. Rustow demonstrates that heresy is a social construct that emerges and finds function under specific social and historical conditions. Her objective is not to define heresy but to ask what conditions were present when charges of heresy were articulated and mobilized in order to advance communal agendas. In the case of eleventh-century Egypt and Palestine, social and historical conditions often seem diametrically opposed to definitions and boundaries of heresy as found in the medieval Karaite and Rabbanite literary record. The book's argument does not efface difference among different types of Jews, but it does show how Jews themselves could contest or smooth over difference, whether in daily life, as recorded in scribal documents emanating from Jewish courts or through the implementation of intermarriage.

Any single chapter of the book offers a good case in point, but "The Affair of the Ban of Excommunication of 1029" (chapter eight) highlights Rustow's approach.

In the preceding chapters, the author shows that the social structure of Jewish society in medieval Egypt and Palestine was more interpersonal than institutional (mirroring Muslim norms) and establishes the significance of Karaite notables and their burgeoning relationship with Fatimid rule in Egypt. In this chapter, she describes the public ban on the Karaites pronounced by Rabbanites on the Mount of Olives in 1029. Through her understanding of power politics and networks of patronage among the Jews, Rustow is able to explain the sources using a sophisticated historical model in which Karaite notables had access to power in the imperial capital at Cairo and influence with both Rabbanite and Karaite Jewish leaders. Although sources report that the ban was pronounced on an annual basis, Rustow shows that this could not be the case, and in fact, such a description is a later political claim that supports a rabbinic triumphalist historicism characterized by the ineffectiveness and failure of Karaism. Her reading provides scholars with a historical model that has three parties (Karaites, Rabbanite notables, and Rabbanite masses) instead of the heretofore well-accepted view of two parties, Karaites and Rabbanites. In this telling, Rustow demonstrates that Karaite grandees could support Rabbanite leaders, who in turn depended upon that support, and that Rabbanite leaders could oppose the Rabbanite populace. Networks of reciprocity and patronage cut across Rabbanite-Karaite difference. In fact, Karaite courtiers in Cairo were indispensable to the entire Jewish community, often supporting the authority of rabbinic academies. Simple, polarized views of sects and sectarian loyalties are useless here. Any vestiges of Karaite-Rabbanite antipodes based on the scholarly perspective established by Pinsker are shattered.

In a later chapter, another tripartite division of the Jewish community is revealed in the emergence in the late eleventh century of a single administrative office for the Jews of the Fatimid empire: Rabbanites of the Babylonian (Iraqi) community, Rabbanites of the Palestinian community, and Karaites. Here all the parties found it beneficial to accede to a political arrangement that would have been unthinkable a century earlier. In this case, as in 1029, a key element in the unfolding of events is the ability of Jewish leaders to access political power, gambling on reward or ruin.

In a sense, this is Jewish studies at its best. By integrating Jewish and Islamic history into a seamless whole, Rustow illuminates both fields and thereby fully engages the scholarly discipline of history rather than occupying its margins. This book is one of the most accomplished syntheses of Geniza sources available, building upon the pivotal work of S. D. Goitein, who tried to study medieval Jewish history in all its dimensions, especially the social.

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MICHAEL EZEKIEL GASPER. *The Power of Representation: Publics, Peasants, and Islam in Egypt*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 294. \$55.00.

This book tackles a major topic in the historiography of Egypt: the “emergence of modern Egyptian identity” from the 1870s to the 1910s (p. 1). Michael Ezekiel Gasper’s focus is familiar enough—the ideas elaborated in the emerging capitalist press by a rising urban intelligentsia of “teachers, lawyers, engineers, clerks, accountants, and journalists” (p. 1), themselves seen in conventional terms as a byproduct of world economic integration. Gasper takes the reader through the texts of this emerging *‘afandiya* (salaried middle class) chronologically. His reading of newspapers, journals, and magazines from the period, encompassing well-known and lesser-known writers, is particularly comprehensive, meticulous, and focused. His special emphasis is on the early years of the press, before 1900, whereas cultural historians of the *‘afandiya* such as Lucie Ryzova—with whom Gasper would have done well to engage—have focused more on later years. Distinctive also is the author’s extended argument for the influence of Islamic modernism in forming the basic conceptual lenses adopted by urban literati. Clerics and Islamic activists are included in Gasper’s “protobourgeoisie” in ways which oppose the assumption that “there existed a set of secular aptitudes and areas of competency . . . somehow separate from religious ones” (p. 1). Above all, the author’s originality lies in his thorough focus on the role played by representations of the peasantry in the articulation and development of modern Egyptian identity. The leading idea is that urban literati adapted notions of individual moral autonomy and universal citizenship through their representations of peasants, who were often depicted as uncivilized, miserable, victimized, effeminate, and uneducated. By contrast, members of the urban *‘afandi* class imagined themselves to be the possessors of modern, civilized, masculine, and educated virtues and thus staked their claim to moral autonomy and political leadership in the emerging nation.

The most important achievement of the book is to expose the intellectual history of how it was that by the early 1900s urban intellectuals came to conceive of themselves as sharing a common collective destiny with rural cultivators. This is no minor accomplishment. Gasper’s emphasis throughout, however, is by no means on the emergence of a nationalism challenging colonialism. He analyzes, by contrast, the elaboration of modern, even disciplinary, political concepts present in colonial, nationalist, and Islamist texts, depicted as congruent rather than conflicting. Here the debt to figures in Subaltern Studies, especially Dipesh Chakrabarty and Partha Chatterjee, is writ large. Gasper argues that the *‘afandiya* were merely “an instrument for the success of a Western power’s constituting a new type of society in Egypt” (p. 223). The upshot is a book that, in spite of some protestations to the contrary, subsumes the agency of Egyptians “into the project of [universal]

secular Western political modernity” (p. 223). Nationalist resistance, in Gasper’s hands, challenged the form of colonial hegemony but reproduced its content.

This contribution echoes other criticisms of bourgeois nationalism (such as Joseph Massad’s), and it is made here in an erudite and serious way. But it is not necessarily persuasive. One might imagine that the diverse cultural, religious, social, economic, and even national origins and motivations of Gasper’s urban intelligentsia might have pointed elsewhere than Western, bourgeois, political modernity. Recall the origins of three of Gasper’s central characters: Abdallah Nadim (d. 1896) was the son of a peasant-cum-baker, largely self-educated, with an eccentric and itinerant lifestyle and a record of courageous activism that earned him a death sentence from the British; Yaqub Sannu’ was from a Jewish family of Italian origin, European-educated and from the “opposite end of the social spectrum” (p. 31), and Al-Afghani was an itinerant and diversely-educated activist of Iranian origins. It is simply not clear that these heterogeneous figures, along with other clerics and Islamic modernists of diverse provenance included in the book, were the spokespersons of a coherent social class emerging as a byproduct of world economic integration and elaborating derivative and monolithic Western modes of thought. Gasper’s narrow focus on texts leaves little room for enquiry into the forms of property and struggle that might give substance to the idea that his subjects indeed constituted a discrete social class. The teleological insistence, moreover, that this was a “protobourgeoisie,” “nascent,” “emerging,” and “rising” in a period characterized as “transitional,” is particularly difficult to accept given that it is never established that the “full-blown” bourgeoisie ever appeared in Egypt and there is little sustained discussion of the use of the terminology of class.

While Gasper suggests that he is analyzing a “modernizing power regime to produce morally autonomous individuals” (p. 207), in fact he spotlights *texts*, not discourses, representations, not practices, ideas, not institutions. Whereas Michel Foucault and Timothy Mitchell are emphatic in their inclusion of practices and institutions in their definition of discourse, Gasper uses the notion much more narrowly to refer simply to a body of texts produced for a relatively small circle of readers. Given this, the lockstep relationship between these texts and a modern disciplinary regime becomes indistinct. The criticisms of usury, debt, and dispossession in the countryside made by intellectuals and activists may not have been about the enactment and performance of a disciplinary “modern subjectivity” that was soon to be hegemonic. They may instead have represented uneven and highly differentiated forms of critique, delivered not by elites but by activists whose ideas were often ignored or repressed by landowning elites and colonial officials alike. Certainly the centrality in Egypt as a whole of the “protobourgeoisie” and the forms of subjectivity analyzed by Gasper is not empirically established.

Gaspar's scholarly achievement should be recognized. No study of Egyptian nationalism, identity formation, and the press can afford to ignore this book, and Gaspar's thesis is serious and deserves much discussion. But this book uses the terminology and teleology of class without analyzing property, production, or struggle; it uses discourse theory shorn of power and institutions; and it reproduces a form of Subaltern Studies without subalterns. These problems enable the book to dress the West in liberal modernist clothes even while colonial civilizational and racial hierarchies were violently opposed to these forms of thought, and even while struggles to subvert these hierarchies were a matter of life and death for their anticolonial protagonists, educated or not.

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ARIEH BRUCE SAPOSNIK. *Becoming Hebrew: The Creation of a Jewish National Culture in Ottoman Palestine*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2008. Pp. xii, 314. \$65.00.

Arieh Bruce Saposnik has written a provocative account of the formative years of Zionist national myth-making in early twentieth-century Palestine. With extensive analysis of debates among Zionists—both within and without Palestine—regarding the actual and symbolic direction of their project, Saposnik argues against historiographic trends claiming that Zionism illustrates a break with the religious Jewish past. Instead, he asserts that the early 1900s witnessed a struggle among Zionists to take existing trends in Jewish religious and cultural life in new directions, and to create a lived experience of what he calls “Hebrew Culture” that became the foundation for a new Jewish identity in Palestine. Although he admits that Zionism embodied but a fraction of the diverse experiences of Jewish life in late Ottoman Palestine—and that Jews made up only six to seven percent of the entire Palestinian population prior to 1881—Saposnik convincingly demonstrates that it was the creation of this new Hebrew identity that would come to shape the foundation of hegemonic Israeli nationalism.

Central to Saposnik's study is a desire to convince historians to consider Zionism within the larger context of modernity, as a nationalism that was both European and secular but also laden with the shared memory of the religious Jewish past. Zionism emerged as a paradoxical movement that at once took on the mantle of European secularism and claimed to be the only true representation of modern Jewishness. Zionism's leaders were aware that “Jews were entirely lacking in virtually all of the characteristics of modern nationhood” (p. 14). In consequence they set out to create a cultural foundation that would encompass every element of public and private life so effectively that it would have a totalizing impact on Jewish life in Palestine, forging the very nation to which Zionists ascribed belonging.

This cultural foundation was contentious and fluid in

the years between the Uganda controversy of 1903 and the outbreak of World War I in 1914. In this brief yet important period, Zionists battled amongst each other to establish Palestine as the location of their movement, Hebrew as the exclusive language of Zionist life, and Zionist society as the sole representative of authentic modern Jewish experience. Saposnik brings these heated debates to life with a variety of sources including the emerging Hebrew press, literature, and plays of the time, private and public correspondence, and the records of key institutions such as the Herzlia Gymnasium, the Bezalel art facilities, and the first Hebrew kindergarten in Jerusalem.

Along with his useful presentation of the creative products of Zionist cultural institutions, Saposnik makes an important contribution to the history of Zionism in Palestine by reading it within the context of the Ottoman Empire in which it operated. So much of the history of Zionism is treated as if it emerged *sui generis* from the larger Jewish experience of Palestine without Ottoman influence. Even the use of the word “Palestine” has evoked fierce debate in academic discussions of Zionism. By normalizing the proper name of the region and fitting Zionists into the larger realm of the Ottoman Empire, Saposnik makes a timely contribution.

However, his discussion of Orientalist imagery in the context of this burgeoning Hebrew culture deserves further analysis. Saposnik shows that many of the early Hebrew culture creators, such as Hemda Ben-Yehuda and Boris Schatz, incorporated imagery they attributed to “the East” into their own visions of a potent Hebrew nation. Saposnik argues that European Jews, particularly from the East, were accustomed to being “Orientalized” by non-Jewish society, and many Zionists came to see their efforts as a kind of return to their roots and a way to escape what they viewed as the decay and despair of life in the diaspora.

Educators in particular were keen to create a new generation of Jews who were physically fit, engaged with the landscape of Palestine, and unafraid to express themselves because they were unencumbered by the burden of Otherness. Saposnik asserts that the Orientalist tropes adopted by Zionists were more in line with what John MacKenzie has described—a rejection of modernity's ills—than what Edward Said argued—an exercise of power. However, by quoting prominent Zionist Itamar Ben-Avi's excitement that the first generation of Hebrew-educated children were “little Arabs, nice savages” (p. 157), Saposnik shows that deeper analysis of the motives and influence of Zionist Orientalism is still needed. Despite this weakness, Saposnik makes an outstanding contribution to our historical understanding of early Zionist cultural production in Palestine, and he will inspire many to pick up where he has left off and further explore the foundational moments of Zionist culture and nationalism in Palestine.

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## SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

MARJORIE KENISTON MCINTOSH. *Yoruba Women, Work, and Social Change*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 336. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

Marjorie Keniston McIntosh provides an overview of the history of Yoruba women between 1820 and 1960. Mainly a survey of the relevant secondary literature, the book is enriched by McIntosh's analysis of primary materials including travelers' accounts, mission records, Nigerian newspapers, colonial-era court transcripts, and the official and private writings of colonial administrators. Skillfully weaving together these sources, McIntosh creates a detailed and nuanced history of Yoruba women's lives, anchoring their experiences in the context of the major events affecting Yorubaland in the 140 years under investigation. She displays a sharp eye for regional variation, regularly noting distinctions between western, central, and eastern Yorubaland and particular Yoruba states.

McIntosh explores the major trajectories of Yoruba women's lives and how these evolved during the decades under consideration. This approach and time-frame allows her to highlight consistencies as well as discontinuities in the lives of Yoruba women resulting from both precolonial and colonial changes. She centers her investigation around three interpretive themes: gender and patriarchy; women's agency; and how women affected and were affected by the constellation of changes that came hand in hand with colonialism, including not only the political and judicial structures of British rule but also expanded export-oriented production, Western-style education, and heightened missionary activity. McIntosh's history is richly contextualized, situating Yoruba women's experiences in interesting mini-histories of a host of topics including precolonial Yorubaland's political, cultural, and economic contours, Yoruba religion, British colonialism, missionary activity, greater incorporation into the economy of the Atlantic world, unfree labor in the form of slaves and pawns, and the period of warfare following the early 1800s collapse of the Oyo Empire, which had provided stability throughout much of Yorubaland. Its end led, among other things, to the high degree of urbanization that characterized much of precolonial Yorubaland as people sought security in walled cities.

Detailed explorations of women's political authority, economic activities, religious roles, and membership in voluntary associations form the core of this book, and McIntosh addresses a host of important questions while examining these topics. For example, she considers how the Yoruba have understood gender in a discussion that will be of comparative interest to scholars of gender across various regions and time periods. The Yoruba expected women and men alike to partake in many activities, and either could fulfill a variety of roles; women and men were conceived of as complementary rather than existing in a hierarchical relationship. In short, fixed gender definitions did not characterize Yoruba beliefs. This way of conceptualizing what McIntosh

terms gender difference certainly allowed women significant authority over themselves and others, both male and female, in multiple areas of life, yet it did not result in the absence of a precolonial Yoruba patriarchy. Instead, male privilege disadvantaged women in a number of meaningful ways: women alone bore responsibility for domestic work, husbands held authority over wives, and certain political offices were closed to women. How this reality then intersected with the very different expressions of patriarchy eventually brought by the British is thoroughly examined. McIntosh also highlights the Yoruba assumption that women would work and produce their own incomes, and examines how their work lives changed as a result of both the precolonial dissolution of the Oyo Empire and the many manifestations of British colonialism later. Close attention is paid to the religious authority wielded by women as well as the ways in which religious beliefs were used to uphold male dominance. The expansion of Islam and introduction of Christianity, and their intersections with gender, are also addressed. Finally, McIntosh gives a place of prominence to Yoruba voluntary associations and examines their changing but always important roles in women's lives.

Fundamentally an overview—albeit one infused with insights gained from the primary sources McIntosh consulted—this book will prove easily accessible to non-specialists and is suitable for undergraduate and graduate African history, and women's and gender studies courses. The book's organization leads to occasional redundancies, and specialists in either Yoruba or African women's history will find that some background material treads very familiar ground. Nevertheless, this work provides a valuable survey informed by the unusually rich range of publications addressing the Yoruba of southwestern Nigeria. This achievement is particularly welcome since it is a rarity to be able to produce such a detailed women's history for this stretch of time in the field of African history. Consequently, this comprehensively researched and compellingly rendered study is sure to be valued by Africanists and will prove of considerable interest to non-Africanists concerned with its themes.

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CLIFTON CRAIS and PAMELA SCULLY. *Sara Baartman and the Hottentot Venus: A Ghost Story and a Biography*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2009. Pp. xiv, 232. \$29.95.

The so-called "Hottentot Venus" continues to be a strange obsession of certain segments of society in the West, recently under the guise of "redress," after having been subject to the spectacular racist, sexual obsessions of Europe during its nineteenth-century rush to empire. Although neither the Dutch, the British, nor the French looked at the being behind this phantasm of theirs as an individual, a woman, or a human, but as a "sub-human" type of southern Africa, she would be



transformed into an “individual” and a “woman”—on imperial Western bourgeois humanist terms—by a new brand of missionary work in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Enter Clifton Crais and Pamela Scully as “saviors.”

“But who *was* this person who became the Hottentot Venus?” (p. 4). They ask such a question after arguing that in the 1940s and 1950s a Scottish musicologist working in South Africa by the name of Percival Kirby brought her back to memory in a series of articles, and, further, that she “began appearing from history’s shadows” in the 1990s (pp. 3–4). If Crais and Scully do not take issue with this anthropological-archaeological approach of the colonizing tradition, they do question why scholars have failed in their use of Kirby’s work to question his assumption that “nothing could be found out about Sara Baartman’s life” in southern Africa before or after her personal appropriation by colonial empire (p. 4).

Aside from its exploitation for the labor and sexual pleasure of others, her body was publically exhibited by “science” and “theater” alike as an “ethnographic wonder” of *steatopygia* (p. 124). Arguably, the spectacle began in a colonial military hospital in Cape Town, moved on to London and England, and ended, most famously perhaps, in France, where her dissected remains were displayed at Paris’s Musée de l’Homme from the time of her sudden and unexplained death in 1815 until 2002. Then, as a result of enormous protest, her remains were returned to South Africa for a ceremonial burial—where conflict or competition for control over the symbolic capital of her body in a clearly global neocolonial social economy was rampant.

How can “knowledge” or “history” assume a posture of innocence here? One need only grapple with the book’s title. Many artists and scholars feel they have accomplished a great deal by learning to say “Sara Baartman” in English, or “Saartjie Baartman” in Dutch, instead of “The Hottentot Venus.” Yet this too remains a colonial inscription, a fundamentally colonial naming. Crais and Scully themselves must recognize briefly that “Saartje” is a “diminutive,” signifying “[co-

lonial] affection,” and that “Baartman” literally means “bearded man” in Dutch: “It also means uncivilized, uncouth, barbarous, savage. Saartje Baartman—the savage servant” (p. 9).

So what is this “ghost story,” after all? It is a partial admission that “without documents” an actual biography or history cannot be written, no matter how much “The Hottentot Venus” is desired for such a purpose. And yet they attempt one anyway. Avid research pieces together a tale full of “perhaps,” “likely,” “probably,” “we think,” and “we can imagine” statements that, once written down and published, will become “convincing” and authoritative. The scholars’ own fantasy is thus naturalized as sensational fact. For example: “The famous Abbey of Saint-Denis lay near the road. Just a few miles farther Sara and Henry reached the gates of the great capital, Paris, City of Light” (p. 115). This is fiction, even romantic fiction, masquerading *still* as “history” and “biography.” The fiction is often written as if the authors had been there themselves with a “Hottentot Venus” who could experience Paris as “great” and a “City of Light” from her point of view in the spectacle of empire.

This book is rife with once-chic postmodern clichés, but it cannot afford thoroughgoing criticism of the “Enlightenment.” If Crais and Scully make frequent symbolic gestures to black women’s “politics of location,” their book is unsettled by Yvette Abraham’s denunciation of the history of the scientific “gaze” in the current millennium, and they fail to engage Barbara Chase-Riboud’s *Hottentot Venus: A Novel* (2003) at all. They invest in “Sara Baartman” as a “woman,” *generically*, when the cultish, racist ideology of womanhood upheld by Western humanism codifies her and others as “closer to the great apes than to humans” (p. 144). This book may be useful to those who continue such discourses uncritically, but for those who counter such discourses in an alternative praxis, it may merely add to the object of a new and much-needed kind of study.

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## Collected Essays

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These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

### METHODS/THEORY

PASCAL BOYER and JAMES V. WERTSCH, editors. *Memory in Mind and Culture*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2009. Pp. viii, 323. Cloth \$95.00, paper \$35.99.

PASCAL BOYER, What Are Memories For? Functions of Recall in Cognition and Culture. HELEN L. WILLIAMS and MARTIN A. CONWAY, Networks of Autobiographical Memories. DORTHE BERNTSEN and ANNETTE BOHN, Cultural Life Scripts and Individual Life Stories. DANIEL L. SCHACHTER, ANGELA H. GUTCHESS, and ELIZABETH A. KENSINGER, Specificity of Memory: Implications for Individual and Collective Remembering. JAMES V. WERTSCH, Collective Memory. HENRY L. ROEDIGER III, FRANKLIN M. ZAROMB, and ANDREW C. BUTLER, The Role of Repeated Retrieval in Shaping Collective Memory. JAMES W. PENNEBAKER and AMY L. GONZALES, Making History: Social and Psychological Processes Underlying Collective Memory. ALAN J. LAMBERT, LAURA NESSE SCHERER, CHAD ROGERS, and LARRY JACOBY, How Does Collective Memory Create a Sense of the Collective? CRAIG W. BLATZ and MICHAEL ROSS, Historical Memories. DAVID W. BLIGHT, The Memory Boom: Why and Why Now? JAY WINTER, Historians and Sites of Memory. DAVID C. RUBIN, Oral Traditions as Collective Memories: Implications for a General Theory of Individual and Collective Memory. PASCAL BOYER, Cognitive Predispositions and Cultural Transmission.

### COMPARATIVE/WORLD

DEREK R. PETERSON, editor. *Abolitionism and Imperialism in Britain, Africa, and the Atlantic*. (Cambridge Centre of African Studies Series.) Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2010. Pp. ix, 235. Cloth \$64.95, paper \$28.95.

DEREK R. PETERSON, Abolitionism and Political Thought in Britain and East Africa. JOHN THORNTON, African Political Ethics and the Slave Trade. BOYD HILTON, 1807 and All That: Why Britain Outlawed Her Slave Trade. CHRISTOPHER LESLIE BROWN, Empire without America: British Plans for Africa in the Era of the American Revolution. PHILIP D. MORGAN, Ending the Slave Trade: A Caribbean and Atlantic Context. SEYMOUR DRESCHER, Emperors of the World: British Abolitionism and Imperialism. ROBIN LAW, Abolition and Imperialism: In-

ternational Law and the British Suppression of the Atlantic Slave Trade. JONATHAN GLASSMAN, Racial Violence, Universal History, and Echoes of Abolition in Twentieth-Century Zanzibar.

### CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

BENJAMIN H. JOHNSON and ANDREW R. GRAYBILL, editors. *Bridging National Borders in North America: Transnational and Comparative Histories*. (American Encounters/Global Interactions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, with the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies, Southern Methodist University. 2010. Pp. x, 373. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$24.95.

MIGUEL ÁNGEL GONZÁLEZ-QUIROGA, Conflict and Cooperation in the Making of Texas-Mexico Border Society, 1840–1880. MICHEL HOGUE, Between Race and Nation: The Creation of a Métis Borderland on the Northern Plains. JENIFER SELTZ, Epidemics, Indians, and Border-Making in the Nineteenth-Century Pacific Northwest. RACHEL ST. JOHN, Divided Ranges: Trans-border Ranches and the Creation of National Space along the Western Mexico-U.S. Border. LISSA WADEWITZ, The Scales of Salmon: Diplomacy and Conservation in the Western Canada-U.S. Borderlands. S. DEBORAH KANG, Crossing the Line: The INS and the Federal Regulation of the Mexican Border. ANDREA GEIGER, Caught in the Gap: The Transit Privilege and North America's Ambiguous Borders. CATHERINE COCKS, The Welcoming Voice of the Southland: American Tourism across the U.S.-Mexico Border, 1880–1940. DOMINIQUE BRÉGENT-HEALD, Projecting the In-Between: Cinematic Representations of Borderlands and Borders in North America, 1908–1940. BETHEL SALER and CAROLYN PODRUCHNY, Glass Curtains and Storied Landscapes: The Fur Trade, National Boundaries, and Historians.

BARBARA REEVES-ELLINGTON, KATHRYN KISH SKLAR, and CONNIE A. SHEMA, editors. *Competing Kingdoms: Women, Mission, Nation, and the American Protestant Empire, 1812–1960*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 415. Cloth \$89.95, paper \$24.95.

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WENDY URBAN-MEAD, *An Unwomanly Woman and Her Sons in Christ: Faith, Empire, and Gender in Colonial Rhodesia, 1899–1906*. CONNIE A. SHEMA, “So Thoroughly American”: Gertrude Howe, Kang Cheng, and Cultural Imperialism in the Woman’s Foreign Missionary Society, 1872–1931. SUSAN HASKELL KHAN, *From Redeemers to Partners: American Women Missionaries and the “Woman Question” in India, 1919–1939*. BETTY ANN BERGLAND, *Settler Colonists, “Christian Citizenship,” and the Women’s Missionary Federation at the Bethany Indian Mission in Wittenberg, Wisconsin, 1884–1934*. SUE GRONEWALD, *New Life, New Faith, New Nation, New Women: Competing Models at the Door of Hope Mission to Shanghai*. RUI KOHIYAMA, “No Nation Can Rise Higher than Its Women”: The Women’s Ecumenical Missionary Movement and Tokyo Women’s Christian College. BETH BARON, *Nile Mother: Lillian Trasher and the Orphans of Egypt*. BARBARA REEVES-ELLINGTON, *Embracing Domesticity: Women, Mission, and Nation Building in Ottoman Europe, 1832–1872*. DEREK CHANG, *Imperial Encounters at Home: Women, Empire, and the Home Mission Project in Late Nineteenth-Century America*. SYLVIA M. JACOBS, *Three African American Women Missionaries in the Congo, 1887–1899: The Confluence of Race, Culture, Identity, and Nationality*. LAURA R. PRIETO, “Stepmother America”: The Woman’s Board of Missions in the Philippines, 1902–1930. MARY A. RENDA, *Doing Everything: Religion, Race and Empire in the U.S. Protestant Women’s Missionary Enterprise, 1812–1960*.

#### CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

JUANITA DE BARROS, STEVEN PALMER, and DAVID WRIGHT, editors. *Health and Medicine in the Circum-Caribbean, 1800–1968*. (Routledge Studies in the Social History of Medicine, number 33.) New York: Routledge. 2009. Pp. viii, 309. \$103.00.

NIKLAS THODE JENSEN, “For the Benefit of the Planters and the Benefit of Mankind”: The Struggle to Control Midwives and Obstetrics on St. Croix, Danish West Indies, 1800–1848. TARA A. INNISS, “Any elderly, sensible, prudent woman”: The Practice and Practitioners of Midwifery During Slavery in the British Caribbean. STEVEN PALMER, *From the Plantatio to the Academy: Slavery and the Production of Cuban Medicine in the Nineteenth Century*. DAVID SOWELL, *Race and the Authorization of Biomedicine in Yucatán, Mexico*. DENISE CHALLENGER, *A Benign Place of Healing? The Contagious Diseases*

*Hospital and Medical Discipline in Post-Slavery Barbados*. APRIL J. MAYES, *Tolerating Sex: Prostitution, Gender, and Governance in the Dominican Republic, 1880s–1924*. NICOLE TRUJILLO-PAGÁN, *The Politics of Professionalization: Puerto Rican Physicians during the Transition from Spanish to U.S. Colonialism*. JUANITA DE BARROS, “Improving the Standard of Motherhood”: Infant Welfare in Post-Slavery British Guiana. JACQUES DUMONT, *Health in the French Antilles: The Impact of the First World War*. ROSEMARYN HOEFTE, *The Difficulty of Unhooking the Hookworm: The Rockefeller Foundation, Grace Schneiders-Howard, and Public Health Care in Suriname in the Early Twentieth Century*. DEBBIE MCCOLLIN, *World War II to Independence: Health, Services, and Women in Trinidad and Tobago, 1939–1962*. DAVID MCBRIDE, “Red Marly Soil”: Medicine, Environment, and Bauxite Mining in Modern Jamaica, 1938 to Post-Independence.

#### EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

JULIA L. HAIRSTON and WALTER STEPHENS, editors. *The Body in Early Modern Italy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2010. Pp. x, 437. \$70.00.

MARGARET BROSE, *Fetishizing the Veil: Petrarch’s Poetics of Rematerialization*. LUCA MARCOZZI, *The Metaphor of the Corpus Carcer in Petrarch’s Canzoniere and in the Lyrical Tradition*. RONALD L. MARTINEZ, *Petrarch’s Lame Leg and the Corpus of Cicero: An Early Crisis of Humanism?* KATHERINE PARK, *Holy Autopsies: Sainly Bodies and Medical Expertise, 1300–1600*. WALTER STEPHENS, *Habeas Corpus: Demonic Bodies in Ficino, Psellus, and Malleus maleficarum*. ANTHONY COLANTUONO, *The Penis Possessed: Phallic Birds, Erotic Magic, and Sins of the Body, ca. 1470–1500*. SERGIUS KODERA, *Nymphomaniac Matter: The Prostitute as Metaphor for the Body in Renaissance Philosophy*. Jeanette Kohl, *Icons of Chastity, Objets d’Amour: Female Renaissance Portrait Busts as Ambivalent Bodies*. ALBERT R. ASCOLI, *Like a Virgin: Male Fantasies of the Body in Orlando furioso*. JULIA L. HAIRSTON, “Di sangue illustre & pellegrino”: The Eclipse of the Body in the Lyric of Tullia d’Aragona. DOUGLAS BLOW, *The Beard in Sixteenth-Century Italy*. ELIZABETH HORODOWICH, *Body Politics and the Tongue in Sixteenth-Century Venice*. SANDRA SCHMIDT, “Sauter et voltiger en l’air”: The Art of Movement in Late Renaissance Italy and France. BETTE TALVACCHIA, *The Double Life of St. Sebastian in Renaissance Art*. D. MEDINA LASANSKY, *Body Elision: Acting out the Passion at the Italian Sacri Monti*.

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- GRANDIN, MADAME LÉON. *A Parisienne in Chicago: Impressions of the World's Columbian Exposition*. Translated and with an introduction by MARY BETH RAYCRAFT. Essay by ARNOLD LEWIS. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2010. Pp. xliii, 190. \$50.00.
- RASMUSSEN, KATHLEEN B., and EDWARD C. KEEFER, editors. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976. Volume XXXI: Foreign Economic Policy, 1973–1976*. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office. 2009. Pp. xxix, 1111. \$75.00.
- ROOSEVELT, ELEANOR. *The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers, Volume 1: The Human Rights Years, 1945–1948*. Edited by ALLIDA BLACK. Foreword by HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON. Paperback edition, in two parts. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2010. Pp. lviii, 576; xii, 578–1121. \$99.50 the set.
- ROOSEVELT, THEODORE. *Theodore Roosevelt's History of the United States: His Own Words*. Edited by DANIEL RUDDY. Foreword by EDMUND MORRIS. New York: Smithsonian Books. 2010. Pp. xxiv, 418. \$27.99.
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- BURKARDT, JOHANNES, editor. *Urkunden und Regesten des Klosters Cornberg*. (Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Hessen, number 9.) Marburg, Germany: Historische Kommission für Hessen. 2010. Pp. xii, 210. €20.00.

## EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

- DE BEAUVOIR, SIMONE. *The Second Sex*. Translated by CONSTANCE BORDE and SHEILA MALOVANY-CHEVALLIER. Foreword by JUDITH THURMAN. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2010. Pp. xxi, 800. \$40.00.
- VON HUMBOLDT, ALEXANDER, and AIMÉ BONPLAND. *Essay on the Geography of Plants*. Edited and foreword by STEPHEN T. JACKSON. Translated by SYLVIE ROMANOWSKI. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2009. Pp. xx, 274. \$45.00.
- HUMPHRIES, MARK OSBORNE, and JOHN MAKER, editors. *Germany's Western Front: Translations from the German Official History of the Great War. Volume 2, 1915*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press. 2010. Pp. xli, 413. \$85.00.
- PERIČIĆ, HELENA. *On the Red Horse, Peter and Paul: A Small Book about a Big War (Diary Entries, Articles, Letters, 1991–1998)*. Translated by PETRA SAPUN. Edited by NICK SAYWELL. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2010. Pp. xvi, 142. \$39.99.



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## Other Books Received

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The following books were recently received in the AHR office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

### METHODS/THEORY

- BERG, MATTHIAS, JENS THIEL, and PETER TH. WALTHER, editors. *Mit Feder und Schwert: Militär und Wissenschaft—Wissenschaftler und Krieg*. (Wissenschaft, Politik und Gesellschaft, number 7.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 2009. Pp. 380. €46.00.
- BERKOWITZ, ROGER. *The Gift of Science: Leibniz and the Modern Legal Tradition*. (Just Ideas: Transformative Ideals of Justice in Ethical and Political Thought.) Paperback edition. New York: Fordham University Press. 2010. Pp. xviii, 214. \$25.00.
- COLE, ANDREW, and D. VANCE SMITH, editors. *The Legitimacy of the Middle Ages: On the Unwritten History of Theory*. (Post-Contemporary Interventions.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2010. Pp. viii, 276. Cloth \$84.95, paper \$23.95.
- DAY, WILLIAM, and VICTOR J. KREBS, editors. *Seeing Wittgenstein Anew*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2010. Pp. xvi, 393. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$27.99.
- ELSNER, NORBERT, and NICOLAAS A. RUPKE, editors. *Wissenswelten-Bildungswelten*. Göttingen: Wallstein, with the Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen und der Georg-August-Universität Göttingen. 2009. Pp. 143. €14.00.
- HALL, MARCUS, editor. *Restoration and History: The Search for a Usable Environmental Past*. (Routledge Studies in Modern History, number 8.) New York: Routledge. 2010. Pp. xii, 329. \$95.00.
- MANTECÓN MOVELLÁN, TOMÁS A., editor. *Bajtín y la historia de la cultura popular: Cuarenta años de debate*. Cantabria, Spain: PUBliCAN—Ediciones de la Universidad de Cantabria. 2008. Pp. 413. €20.00.
- REBEL, HERMANN. *When Women Held the Dragon's Tongue and Other Essays in Historical Anthropology*. (Dislocations, number 7.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2010. Pp. xix, 309. \$95.00.
- STUHR, JOHN J., editor. *100 Years of Pragmatism: William James's Revolutionary Philosophy*. (American Philosophy.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2010. Pp. 215. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.
- The Heavens on Earth: Observatories and Astronomy in Nineteenth-Century Science and Culture*. (Science and Cultural Theory.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 384. Cloth \$94.95, paper \$25.95.
- BELLACQUA, JAMES, editor. *The Future of China-Russia Relations*. (Asia in the New Millennium.) Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2010. Pp. xi, 360. \$50.00.
- BEN-ZE'EV, EFRAT, RUTH GINIO, and JAY WINTER, editors. *Shadows of War: A Social History of Silence in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2010. Pp. ix, 223. \$85.00.
- BYFIELD, JUDITH A., LARAY DENZER, and ANTHEA MORRISON, editors. *Gendering the African Diaspora: Women, Culture, and Historical Change in the Caribbean and Nigerian Hinterland*. (Blacks in the Diaspora.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2010. Pp. xiv, 329. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.
- CHAUVAUD, FRÉDÉRIC, et al. *La dynamique de la violence: Approches pluridisciplinaires*. Foreword by MICHEL AUDIFRENN. (Collection Essais.) Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes. 2010. Pp. 240. €16.00.
- CHICKERING, ROGER, and STIG FÖRSTER, editors. *War in an Age of Revolution, 1775–1815*. (Publications of the German Historical Institute.) New York: Cambridge University Press. Washington, D.C.: German Historical Institute. 2010. Pp. xii, 422. \$80.00.
- DRESCHER, SEYMOUR, and PIETER C. EMMER, editors. *Who Abolished Slavery? Slave Revolts and Abolitionism: A Debate with João Pedro Marques*. (European Expansion and Global Interaction, number 8.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2010. Pp. viii, 208. \$39.95.
- DÜR, ANDREAS. *Protection for Exporters: Power and Discrimination in Transatlantic Trade Relations, 1930–2010*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2010. Pp. xv, 246. \$39.95.
- FERGUSON, NIALL, et al. *The Shock of the Global: The 1970s in Perspective*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 434. \$29.95.
- HELGREN, JENNIFER, and COLLEEN A. VASCONCELLOS, editors. *Girlhood: A Global History*. Foreword by MIRIAM FORMAN-BRUNELL. (The Rutgers Series in Childhood Studies.) New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 2010. Pp. xvi, 422. \$70.00.
- HOOK, STEVEN W., editor. *Democratic Peace in Theory and Practice*. (Symposia on Democracy Series.) Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press. 2010. Pp. x, 317. \$29.95.
- KROENIG, MATTHEW. *Exporting the Bomb: Technology Transfer and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons*. (Cornell Studies in Security Affairs.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 233. \$22.95.
- KUPCHAN, CHARLES A. *How Enemies Become Friends: The Sources of Stable Peace*. (Princeton Series in International History and Politics.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2010. Pp. xiii, 442. \$29.95.

### COMPARATIVE/WORLD

- ADAM, THOMAS, SIMONE LÄSSIG, and GABRIELE LINGELBACH, editors. *Stifter, Spender und Mäzene: USA und Deutschland im historischen Vergleich*. (Transatlantische historische Studien, number 38.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag. 2009. Pp. 341. €52.00.
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- LAW, RANDALL D. *Terrorism: A History*. Cambridge: Polity. 2009. Pp. xv, 363. Cloth \$69.95, paper \$24.95.
- LEWIS, JOHN DAVID. *Nothing Less than Victory: Decisive Wars and the Lessons of History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2010. Pp. 354. \$29.95.
- MILAM, ERIKA LORRAINE. *Looking for a Few Good Males: Female Choice in Evolutionary Biology*. (Animals, History, Culture.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2010. Pp. 236. \$60.00.
- POPE, S. W., and JOHN NAURIGHT, editors. *Routledge Companion to Sports History*. New York: Routledge. 2010. Pp. xv, 655. \$155.00. Sachs, Dana. *The Life We Were Given: Operation Babylift, International Adoption, and the Children of War in Vietnam*. Boston: Beacon Press. 2010. Pp. xix, 258. \$26.95.
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- STARCK, KATHLEEN, editor. *Between Fear and Freedom: Cultural Representations of the Cold War*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2010. Pp. viii, 219. \$39.99.
- STEGER, MANFRED B., editor. *Globalization: The Greatest Hits, A Global Studies Reader*. Boulder, Colorado: Paradigm Publishers. 2010. Pp. vi, 320. \$24.95.
- SUBAK, SUSAN ELISABETH. *Rescue and Flight: American Relief Workers Who Defied the Nazis*. Afterword by WILLIAM F. SCHULZ. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2010. Pp. xxix, 310. \$40.00.

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- CHENG, SEALING. *On the Move for Love: Migrant Entertainers and the U.S. Military in South Korea*. (Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2010. Pp. 291. \$55.00.
- HABIB, IRFAN. *Man and Environment: The Ecological History of India*. (A People's History of India, number 36.) New Delhi: Tulika Books. 2010. Pp. xii, 161.
- HAYTON, BILL. *Vietnam: Rising Dragon*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2010. Pp. xv, 254. \$30.00.
- RAMAN, SITA ANANTHA. *Women in India: A Social and Cultural History*. In two volumes. Santa Barbara, Calif.: ABC-CLIO. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2009. Pp. xix, 215; xviii, 253. \$100.00.
- SCHUMACHER, JOHN N. *Growth and Decline: Essays on Philippine Church History*. Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press. 2009. Pp. x, 291.
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- MCKENZIE, KIRSTEN. *A Swindler's Progress: Nobles and Convicts in the Age of Liberty*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2010. Pp. 344. \$29.95.

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- ALEXANDER, ADELE LOGAN. *Parallel Worlds: The Remarkable Gibbs-Hunts and the Enduring (In)significance of Melanin*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2010. Pp. x, 375. \$29.95.
- BAGLEY, WILL. *Overland West: The Story of the Oregon and California Trails, Volume 1: So Rugged and Mountainous: Blazing the Trails to Oregon and California, 1812–1848*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2010. Pp. xxii, 458. \$45.00.
- BAKER, LEE D. *Anthropology and the Racial Politics of Culture*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2010. Pp. xiv, 277. Cloth \$79.95, paper \$22.95.
- BAUGHMAN, JAMES L. *Same Time, Same Station: Creating American Television, 1948–1961*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2007. Pp. xiii, 443. \$35.00.
- BECKMANN, MATTHEW N. *Pushing the Agenda: Presidential Leadership in U.S. Lawmaking, 1953–2004*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2010. Pp. xiii, 194. Cloth \$90.00, paper \$26.99.
- BEIDLER, PHILIP D. *The Victory Album: Reflections on the Good Life after the Good War*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2010. Pp. 279. \$29.95.
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- BISZICK-LOCKWOOD, BAR. *Restless Giant: The Life and Times of Jean Aberbach and Hill and Range Songs*. (Music in American Life.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2010. Pp. xiv, 304. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$25.00.
- BOW, LESLIE. *Partly Colored: Asian Americans and Racial Anomaly in the Segregated South*. New York: New York University Press. 2010. Pp. x, 285. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$25.00.
- BROTHERTON, MARCUS. *A Company of Heroes: Personal Memories about the Real Band of Brothers and the Legacy They Left Us*. New York: Berkley Caliber. 2010. Pp. xviii, 346. \$24.95.
- BROTHERTON, MARCUS. *We Who Are Alive and Remain: Untold Stories from the Band of Brothers*. Paperback edition. New York: Berkley Caliber. 2010. Pp. xviii, 294. \$16.00.
- BUNKER, NICK. *Making Haste from Babylon: The Mayflower Pilgrims and Their World; A New History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 2010. Pp. xiv, 489. \$30.00.
- BURGOYNE, ROBERT. *Film Nation: Hollywood Looks at U.S. History*. Rev. ed. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2010. Pp. xvi, 235. \$22.50.
- BURROUGH, BRYAN. *The Big Rich: The Rise and Fall of the Greatest Texas Oil Fortunes*. Paperback edition. New York: Penguin. 2010. Pp. xiv, 466. \$16.00.
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- CAMPBELL, JOHN MARTIN. *Slinging the Bull in Korea: An Adventure in Psychological Warfare*. Introduction by KATHERINE KALLESTAD. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2010. Pp. xiii, 178. \$27.95.
- CHARTRAND, RENÉ. *The Forts of New France: The Great Lakes, the Plains and the Gulf Coast, 1600–1763*. Illustrated by BRIAN DELF. (Fortress, number 93.) Oxford: Osprey. 2010. Pp. 64. \$18.95.
- COHEN, HARVEY G. *Duke Ellington's America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 688. \$40.00.
- COLLINS, JANE L., and VICTORIA MAYER. *Both Hands Tied: Welfare Reform and the Race to the Bottom in the Low-Wage Labor Market*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2010. Pp. xiii, 219. \$22.50.
- COOK, WILLIAM W., and JAMES TATUM. *African American Writers and Classical Tradition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2010. Pp. 454. \$45.00.
- COOPER, MARK GARRETT. *Universal Women: Filmmaking and Institutional Change in Early Hollywood*. (Women and Film History International.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2010. Pp. xxix, 230. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$25.00.
- CORDERY, SIMON. *Mother Jones: Raising Cain and Consciousness*. (Women's Biography Series.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2010. Pp. x, 213. \$21.95.
- COTKIN, GEORGE. *Morality's Muddy Waters: Ethical Quandaries in Modern America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2010. Pp. 262. \$29.95.
- CRICK, NATHAN. *Democracy and Rhetoric: John Dewey on the Arts of Becoming*. (Studies in Rhetoric/Communication.)

- Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 224. \$49.95.
- CRUISE, DAVID, and ALISON GRIFFITHS. *Wild Horse Annie and the Last of the Mustangs: The Life of Velma Johnston*. New York: Scribner. 2010. Pp. 308. \$26.00.
- DAMROSCH, LEO. *Tocqueville's Discovery of America*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 2010. Pp. xxi, 277. \$27.00.
- DAVIN, ERIC LEIF. *Crucible of Freedom: Workers' Democracy in the Industrial Heartland, 1914–1960*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books. 2010. Pp. ix, 453. \$90.00.
- DAVIS, JOHN W. *Wyoming Range War: The Infamous Invasion of Johnson County*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2010. Pp. xvii, 357. \$29.95.
- DE LONG, DAVID G., editor. *Sunnylands: Art and Architecture of the Annenberg Estate in Rancho Mirage, California*. Foreword by KATHLEEN HALL JAMIESON. Afterword by ANNE D'HARNONCOURT. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2010. Pp. xi, 185. \$34.95.
- DE QUESADA, ALEJANDRO. *Spanish Colonial Fortifications in North America, 1565–1822*. Illustrated by STEPHEN WALSH. (Fortress, number 94.) Oxford: Osprey. 2010. Pp. 64. \$18.95.
- DILLARD, TOM. *Statesmen, Scoundrels, and Eccentrics: A Gallery of Amazing Arkansans*. Foreword by ROY REED. Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press. 2010. Pp. xvi, 266. \$22.95.
- ESHELMAN, RALPH E., SCOTT S. SHEADS, and DONALD R. HICKEY. *The War of 1812 in the Chesapeake: A Reference Guide to Historic Sites in Maryland, Virginia, and the District of Columbia*. (Johns Hopkins Books on the War of 1812.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2010. Pp. xi, 410. \$65.00.
- FAIRFIELD, JOHN D. *The Public and Its Possibilities: Triumphs and Tragedies in the American City*. (Urban Life, Landscape, and Policy.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2010. Pp. xii, 355. \$37.50.
- FERLING, JOHN E. *The First of Men: A Life of George Washington*. Paperback edition. New York: Oxford University Press. 2010. Pp. xiii, 598. \$22.95.
- FISCHER, CLAUDE S. *Made in America: A Social History of American Culture and Character*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2010. Pp. x, 511. \$35.00.
- FLORES, DAN. *Caprock Canyonlands: Journeys into the Heart of the Southern Plains*. Foreword by ANNIE PROULX. Afterword by THOMAS R. DUNLAP. (Environmental History Series, number 23.) Rev. ed. College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2010. Pp. xxi, 204. \$24.95.
- FLORES, DAN. *Visions of the Big Sky: Painting and Photographing the Northern Rocky Mountain West*. (The Charles M. Russell Series on Art and Photography of the American West.) Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2010. Pp. ix, 234. \$45.00.
- FROST, GARY L. *Early FM Radio: Incremental Technology in Twentieth-Century America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2010. Pp. 191. \$60.00.
- GASTON, PAUL M. *Coming of Age in Utopia: The Odyssey of an Idea*. Montgomery, Ala.: NewSouth Books. 2010. Pp. 358. \$27.95.
- GINSBERG, BENJAMIN. *Moses of South Carolina: A Jewish Scalawag during Radical Reconstruction*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2010. Pp. xi, 219. \$50.00.
- GOLDSTEIN, RICHARD. *Helluva Town: The Story of New York City during World War II*. New York: Free Press. 2010. Pp. xi, 321. \$28.00.
- GORDON, SARAH BARRINGER. *The Spirit of the Law: Religious Voices and the Constitution in Modern America*. Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2010. Pp. x, 316. \$29.95.
- GRAHAM, JOHN D. *Bush on the Home Front: Domestic Policy Triumphs and Setbacks*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2010. Pp. ix, 425. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$27.95.
- GRATHWOL, ROBERT P., and DONITA M. MOORHUS. *Bricks, Sand, and Marble: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Construction in the Mediterranean and Middle East, 1947–1991*. (U.S. Army in the Cold War.) Washington, D.C.: United States Army, Center of Military History and Corps of Engineers. 2009. Pp. xxi, 672. Cloth \$73.00, paper \$61.00.
- GRATZ, ROBERTA BRANDES. *The Battle for Gotham: New York in the Shadow of Robert Moses and Jane Jacobs*. New York: Nation Books. 2010. Pp. xxxix, 350. \$27.95.
- GREEN, MATTHEW N. *The Speaker of the House: A Study of Leadership*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2010. Pp. viii, 292. \$30.00.
- GREENE, JULIE. *The Canal Builders: Making America's Empire at the Panama Canal*. (The Penguin History of American Life.) Paperback edition. New York: Penguin Press. 2010. Pp. 475. \$18.00.
- HALBROOK, STEPHEN P. *Securing Civil Rights: Freedmen, the Fourteenth Amendment, and the Right to Bear Arms*. Rev. ed. Oakland, Calif.: Independent Institute. 2010. Pp. xi, 241. \$22.95.
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- HENDERSON, BRUCE. *Hero Found: The Greatest POW Escape of the Vietnam War*. New York: HarperCollins. 2010. Pp. xix, 288. \$27.99.
- HORN, JAMES. *A Kingdom Strange: The Brief and Tragic History of the Lost Colony of Roanoke*. New York: Basic Books. 2010. Pp. 296. \$26.00. Horner, William T. *Ohio's Kingmaker: Mark Hanna, Man and Myth*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press. 2010. Pp. xi, 367. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$29.95.
- HSUEH, VICKI. *Hybrid Constitutions: Challenging Legacies of Law, Privilege, and Culture in Colonial America*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2010. Pp. ix, 192. Cloth \$74.95, paper \$21.95.
- HUNT, DARNELL, and ANA-CHRISTINA RAMÓN, editors. *Black Los Angeles: American Dreams and Racial Realities*. New York: New York University Press. 2010. Pp. vii, 439. Cloth \$75.00, paper \$26.00.
- IRONS, JENNY. *Reconstituting Whiteness: The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission*. Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press. 2010. Pp. xviii, 260. \$49.95.
- JACOBY, SUSAN. *Alger Hiss and the Battle for History*. Paperback edition. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2009. Pp. viii, 256. \$16.00.
- JONES, DAVID W. *Mass Motorization and Mass Transit: An American History and Policy Analysis*. Paperback edition. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2010. Pp. x, 268. \$24.95.
- JONES, ROSEN. *Memphis Boys: The Story of American Studios*. (American Made Music Series.) Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 2010. Pp. xx, 409. \$50.00.
- JUNG, MOON-KIE. *Reworking Race: The Making of Hawaii's Interracial Labor Movement*. Paperback edition. New York: Columbia University Press. 2006. Pp. xii, 292. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$26.50.
- KAMINSKI, JOHN P. *The Great Virginia Triumvirate: George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and James Madison in the Eyes of Their Contemporaries*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press. 2010. Pp. xi, 249. \$27.95.
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- KAPSCH, ROBERT J. *Historic Canals and Waterways of South*

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- KHAN, YASMIN SABINA. *Enlightening the World: The Creation of the Statue of Liberty*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2010. Pp. viii, 231. \$24.95.
- LEE, JOHN K. *George Clinton: Master Builder of the Empire State*. Foreword by JAMES B. BELL. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 2010. Pp. xxiii, 62. \$19.95.
- LEWIS, FELICE FLANERY. *Trailing Clouds of Glory: Zachary Taylor's Mexican War Campaign and His Emerging Civil War Leaders*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 2010. Pp. xix, 326. \$35.00.
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- LOUGHEED, RICHARD. *The Controversial Conversion of Charles Chiniquy*. (Texts and Studies in Protestant History and Thought in Quebec, number 1.) Toronto: Clements Academic. 2008. Pp. xvi, 366. \$29.95.
- LOVE, ROBERT. *The Great Oom: The Improbable Birth of Yoga in America*. New York: Viking. 2010. Pp. xii, 402. \$27.95.
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- MOYE, J. TODD. *Freedom Flyers: The Tuskegee Airmen of World War II*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2010. Pp. vii, 241. \$24.95.
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- PACKARD, GEORGE R. *Edwin O. Reischauer and the American Discovery of Japan*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2010. Pp. xv, 351. \$32.50.
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## REVIEWS

### TO THE EDITORS:

We are extremely honored that the *AHR* reviewed our book *Thomas Barclay (1728–1793): Consul in France, Diplomat in Barbary* (*AHR*, February 2010, 222–223). And we thank Lawrence A. Peskin for his judicious and thoughtful review. However, one of his statements perplexes us. Referring to Barclay, Professor Peskin writes that “Samuel Flagg Bemis suggested that he may have been a British secret agent during the American Revolution, a charge that Roberts and Roberts find unconvincing.” Nowhere in our study of Barclay’s life and career do we write, nor in our research did we find, anything to suggest that Bemis or anyone else ever thought Barclay “may have been a British secret agent.”

The works by Bemis that we consulted—“British Secret Service and the French-American Alliance,” *AHR* 29, no. 3 (April 1924): 474–495; “Secret Intelligence, 1777: Two Documents,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 24, no. 3 (May 1961): 233–249; *Pinckney’s Treaty: America’s Advantage from Europe’s Distress, 1783–1800* (1960); and *The Diplomacy of the American Revolution* (1957)—have no mention of Barclay. In *The American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy* (1963), Bemis does give “our” Thomas Barclay a few lines, but in the *Guide to the Diplomatic History of the United States, 1775–1921* (1963), he confuses American consul and diplomat Barclay (1728–1793) with the New York-born Loyalist of the same name (1753–1830) who served as

British consul-general for over twenty years, a Bemis confusion we mention in our introduction (pp. 18–19). Perhaps Professor Peskin was misled by that or by our discussion (p. 336 n. 16) of Bemis’s suggestion that William Carmichael may have been a British secret agent.

PRISCILLA H. AND RICHARD S. ROBERTS  
*Independent Scholars*  
Denver, Colorado

### LAWRENCE PESKIN RESPONDS:

The Robertses are right to be perplexed. I confused Edward Bancroft with Thomas Barclay in my notes on Samuel F. Bemis, “British Secret Service and the French-American Alliance,” an article I had recently read for a different project. I apologize to the Robertses, readers of the *AHR*, and Thomas Barclay’s memory for the error.

LAWRENCE A. PESKIN  
*Morgan State University*

### TO THE EDITORS:

Odd Arne Westad’s review of my book *The Myth of American Diplomacy: National Identity and U.S. Foreign Policy* (*AHR*, February 2010, 256) reflects an unfortunate parochialism. I’m not bothered that Westad did not like the book but rather that he did not actually review its contents, so put off was he by certain terms and frames unfamiliar to him. Westad thus chose to frame his own review as a defense of simple prose rather than to analyze the book.

*The Myth of American Diplomacy* analyzed the culture behind U.S. foreign policy over the sweep of American history. This culture empowered a national mythology that drove an aggressive foreign policy, including the regular resort to war. The culture—raced, gendered, classed, and religioned—marginalizes critics of militarism and privileges a warfare state over a welfare state. The mythology drives a remarkably continuous foreign policy. This history can only be understood through deconstruction of the mythology, which requires some effort to understand Gramscian cultural hegemony, discourse analysis, and psychology, includ-



ing the formation of identity, subjectivity, and the role of the Other. I offered four appendices in an effort to play out the interpretive framework.

More traditional scholars who do not do or like this approach to historical reconstruction can be stymied by unfamiliar language, which they then often dismiss as needless jargon. Such was the case with Professor Westad's review. I especially object to his referencing of my work with the term "bad prose."

Destabilized by unfamiliar methodology that he made little attempt to understand, Westad withdrew to familiar ground. Ultimately this was not especially high ground to occupy for such an accomplished practitioner of international history.

WALTER L. HIXSON,  
*Distinguished Professor*  
*University of Akron*

#### ODD ARNE WESTAD RESPONDS:

I have no problem with employing theory (cultural or other) when writing history. Most historians use theory

in some form (and the majority of us, unfortunately, do so without having much sense of its origins). The problem with Professor Hixson's book is therefore less his methodology than his style; by electing to use theory-specific jargon, he deliberately cuts off the vast majority of the reading public from immediate access to the history he wants to present. This is a significant problem. On both sides of the Atlantic, radical historians have in the past been able to speak to whole generations by writing works of history that were widely read and discussed, way outside select academic communities. We should attempt to do the same today.

ODD ARNE WESTAD  
*London School of Economics*

#### ERRATA

At the end of his review of Emmet Kennedy's *Secularism and Its Critics from Augustine to Solzhenitsyn* (AHR, April 2010, 502–503), Jonathan Israel's academic affiliation was incorrectly stated as Princeton University rather than the Institute for Advanced Study. The editors regret the error.

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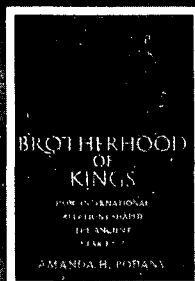
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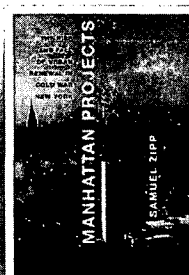
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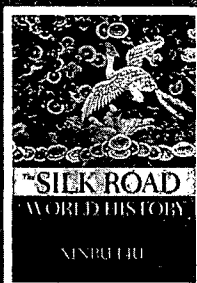


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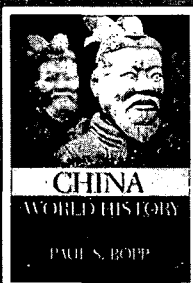
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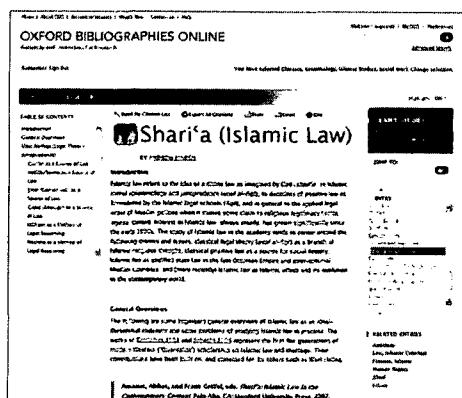
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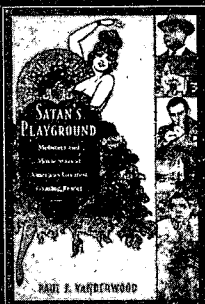
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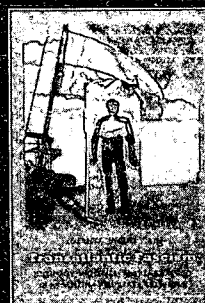
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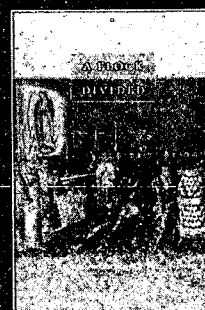
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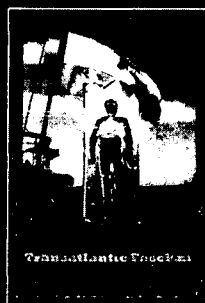
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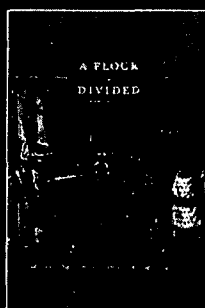
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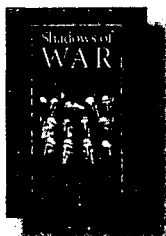


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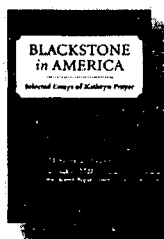


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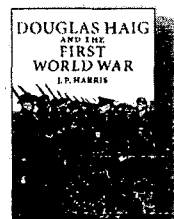
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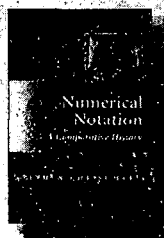
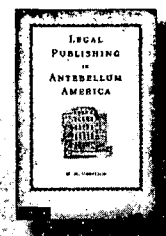


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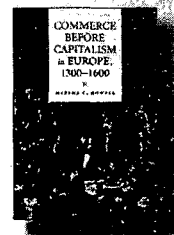
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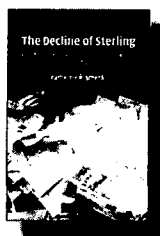
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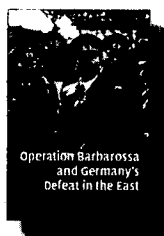


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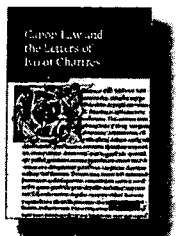
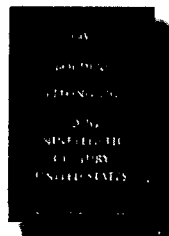
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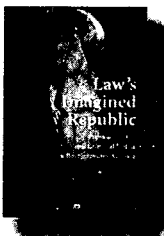


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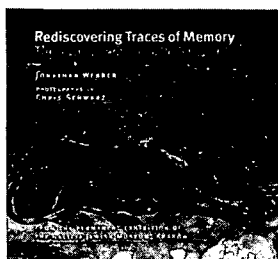
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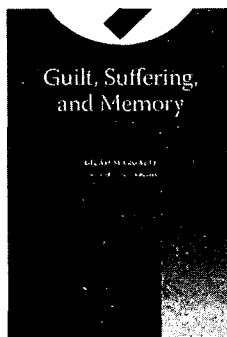
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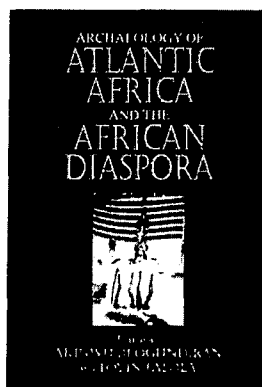
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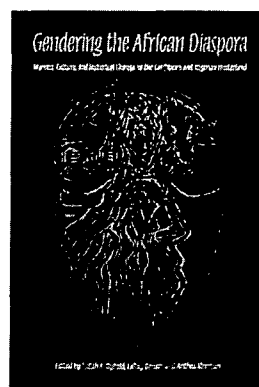
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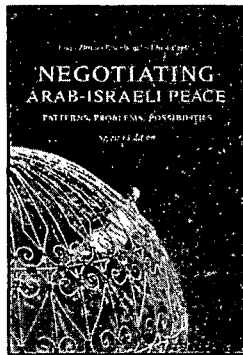
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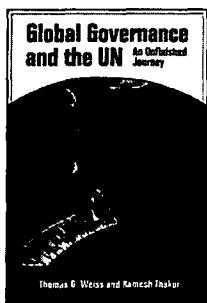
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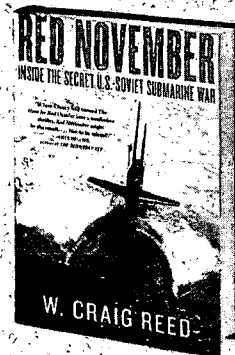
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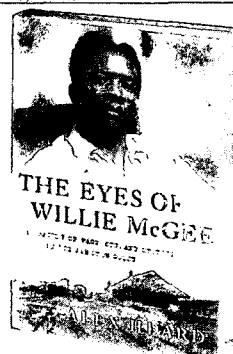
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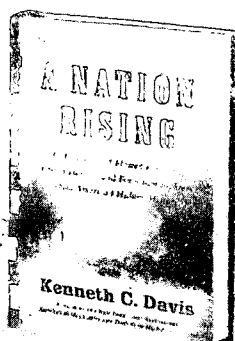
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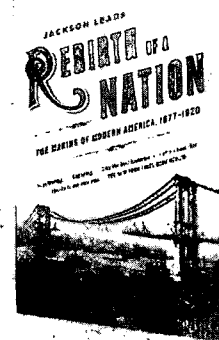
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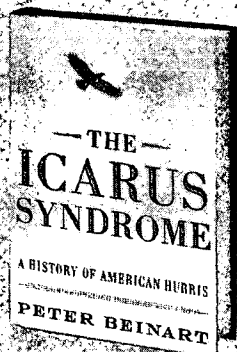


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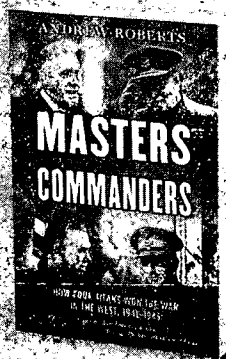
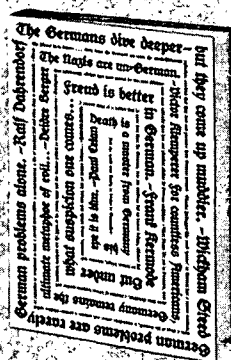
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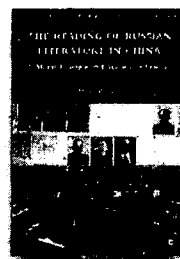
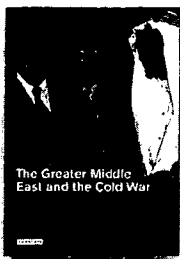
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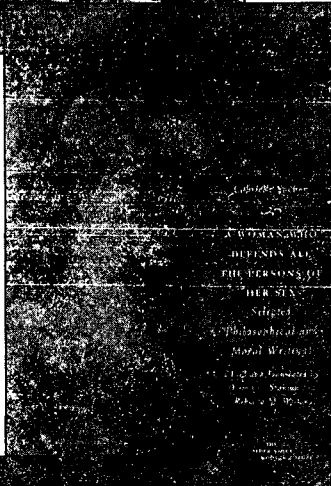
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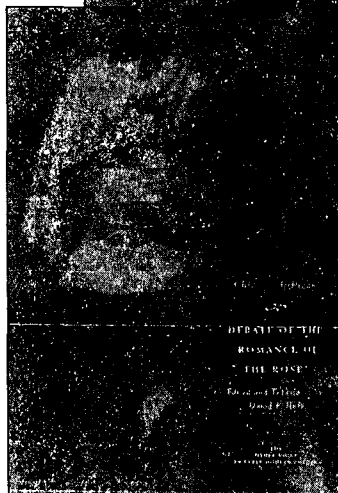
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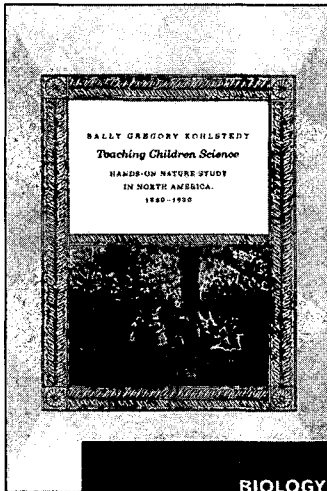
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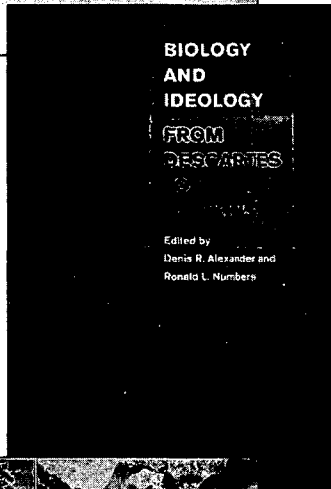
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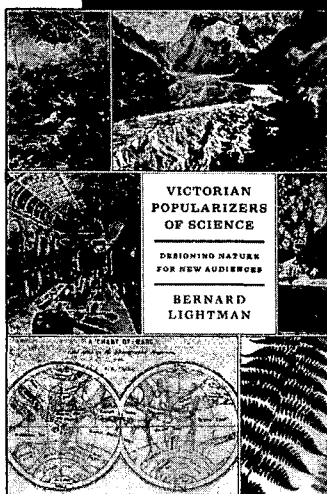


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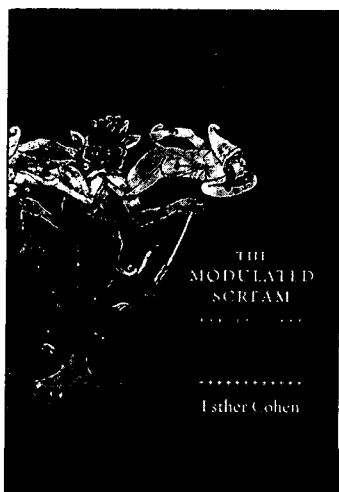
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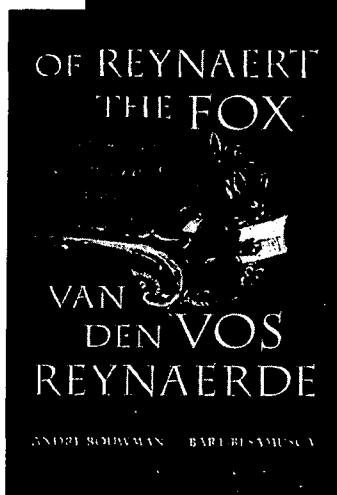
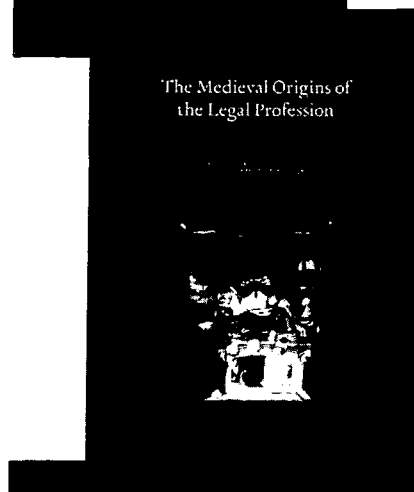
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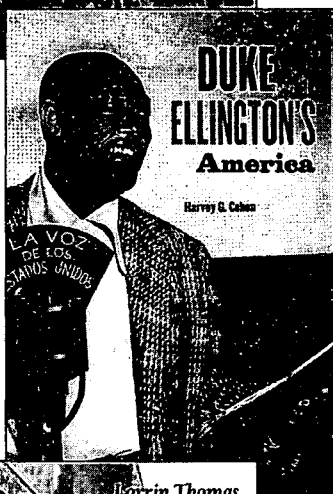


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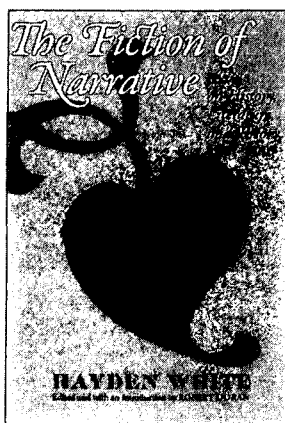
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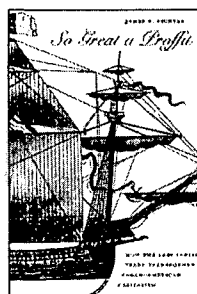
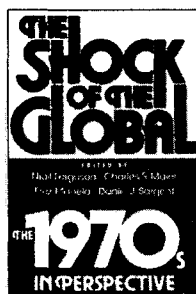
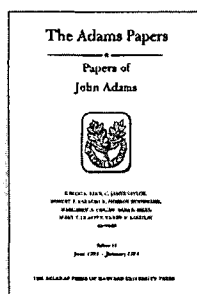
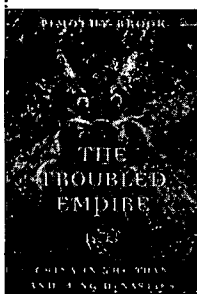
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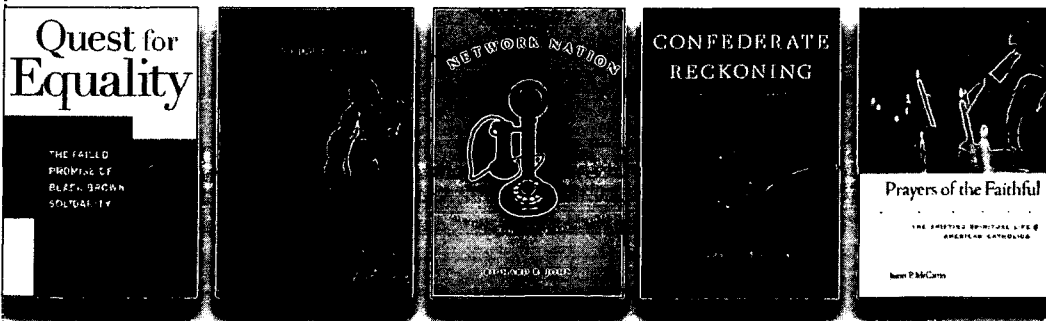
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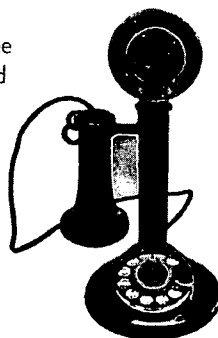
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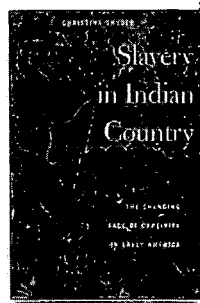
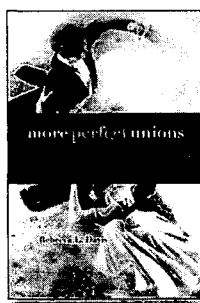
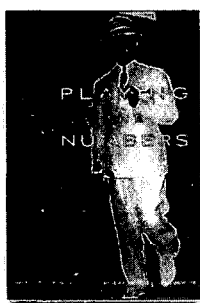
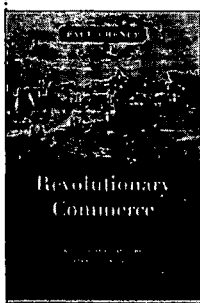
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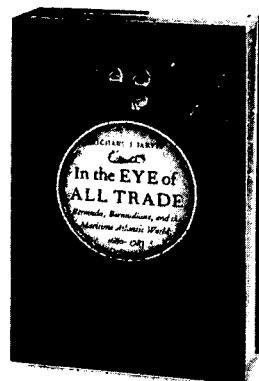
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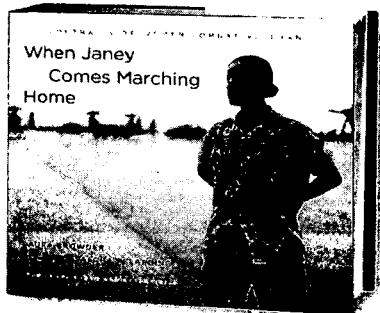
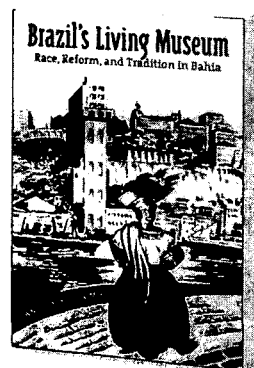
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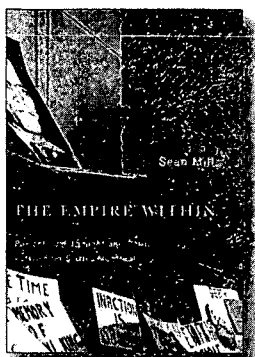
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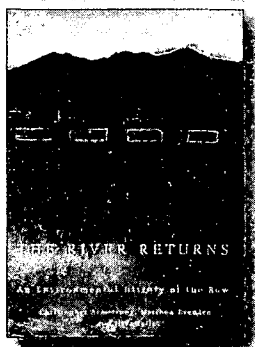
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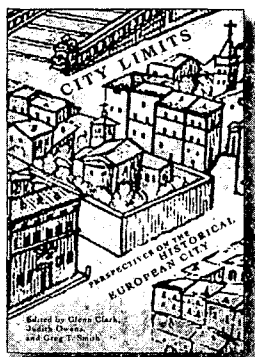
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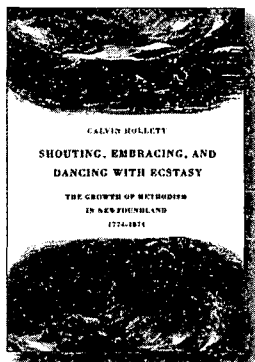
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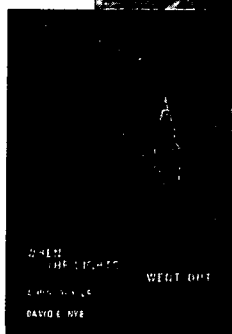
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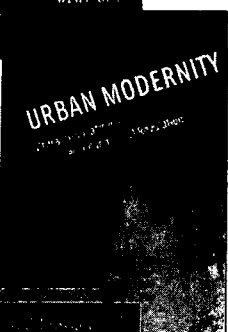
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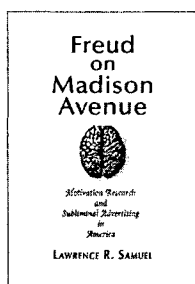
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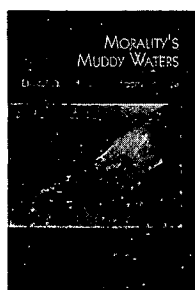
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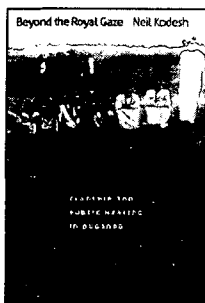
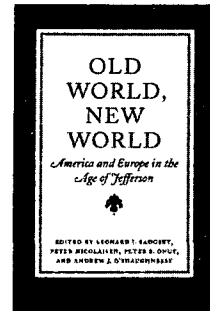
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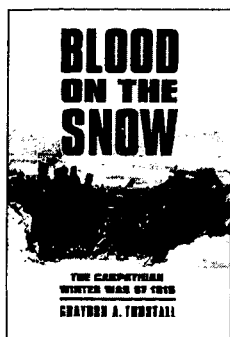
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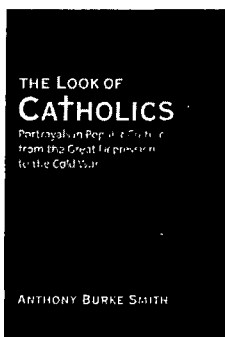
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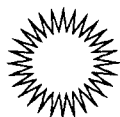
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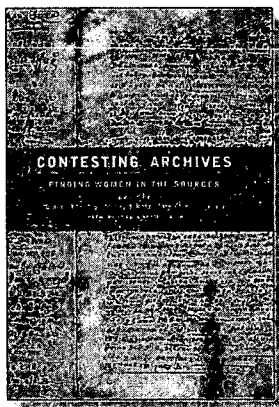
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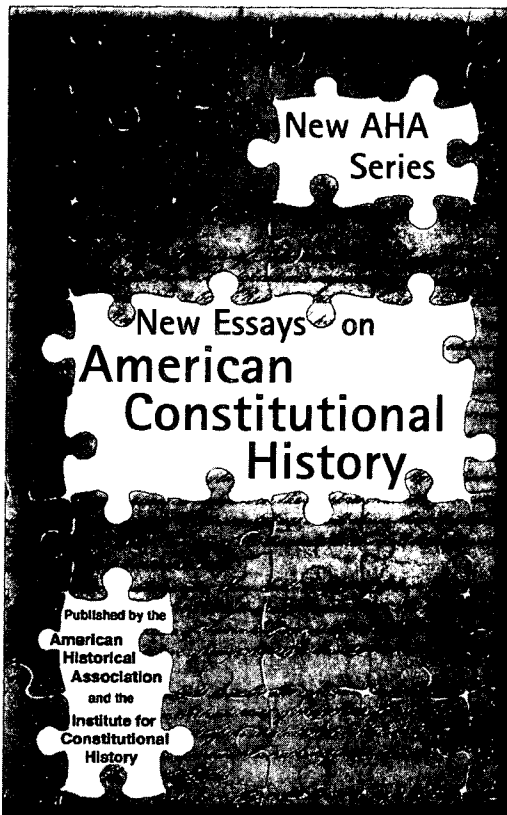
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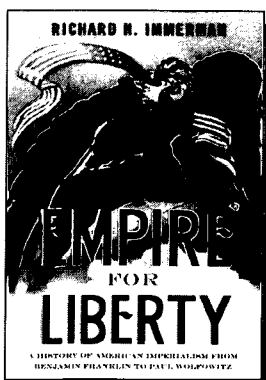
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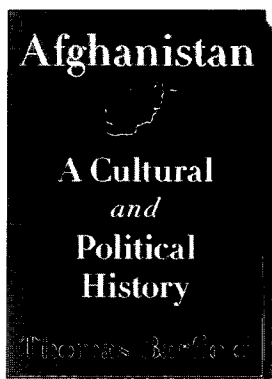
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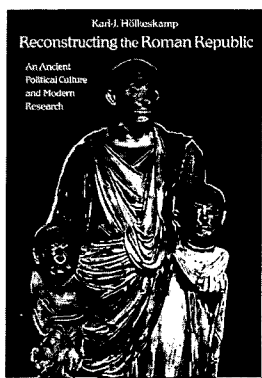
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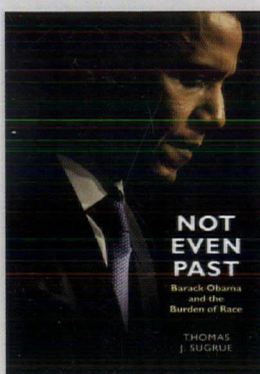
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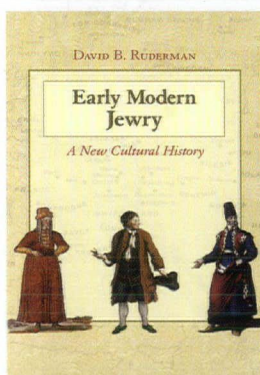
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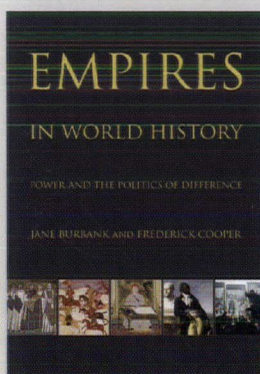
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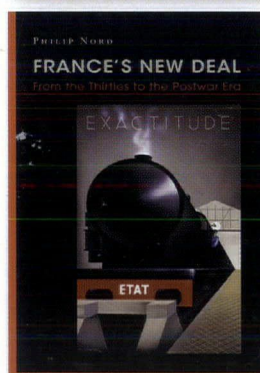
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